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Current history of the
European War : in 8 vols.





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PROFESSOR PAUL PAINLEVE



Minister of War in the Ribot Cabinet and Designated as New Premier
of France

(Photo Bain News Service)

THE DUKE OF AOSTA



Cousin of the King of Italy and Commander of One of the Italian
Armies Operating Against the Austrians
(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VII. } No. 1
Part I. }

October, 1917

25 Cents a Copy
\$3.00 a Year

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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 20, 1917]

THE MONTH'S OUTSTANDING EVENTS

PORTENTOUS events marked the month ended Sept. 20, 1917. It was in that period that Russia was on the brink of civil war, which was avoided only by the quick action and firmness of Premier Kerensky and the Provisional Government; on Sept. 15 Kerensky proclaimed a republic, and the Constituent Assembly was summoned to meet in December.

In military affairs the most important event was the capture of Riga by the Germans, with the conquest of important sections of the rich provinces of Lithuania and Livonia, which the Germans assert they will permanently possess. On the western front the brilliant advance of the Italians in the Julian Alps was the outstanding feature, making the fall of Trieste seem probable and an invasion of the plains stretching to Vienna a possibility. The French made important gains in the Verdun section, restoring the line practically to what it was before the German advance in 1915. In Flanders there was continuous fighting, and there were some gains by the British in the Lens district; the sanguinary character of this fighting is shown by the casualty statements, which have been averaging for the British alone over 100,000 a month.

In political matters the most important occurrence was the disclosure by our State Department of German intrigues in Argentina and Mexico, in using the hospitality of the cables of the Swedish Legations to dispatch code messages of an offensively unneutral nature. In France the Ribot Ministry fell on account of lack of vigor, and Professor Painlevé, former War Minister, formed a new Cabinet which contained no Socialist members. In his initial statement to the Chamber the Premier announced a vigorous determination to fight until Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France, with indemnities; he was sustained by

the Chamber on Sept. 19 by a vote of 378 to 1, the Socialists abstaining from the vote.

* * *

RUSSIAN REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED

THE Russian Republic was proclaimed Sept. 15, as follows:

General Korniloff's rebellion has been quelled. But great is the confusion caused thereby, and again great is the danger threatening the fate of the fatherland and its freedom.

Holding it necessary to put an end to the external indefiniteness of the State's organization, remembering the unanimous and rapturous approval of the republican idea expressed at the Moscow State Conference, the Provisional Government declares that the constitutional organization, according to which the Russian State is ruled, is a republican organization, and it hereby proclaims the Russian Republic.

(Signed)

Minister and President, KERENSKY.

Minister of Justice, YAROUNDNI.

Russian matters preceding this proclamation are treated elsewhere, (Pages 63-72.) On Sept. 20 the Russian situation seemed greatly improved; the political tension had relaxed and a better spirit prevailed in army and navy than at any time since the revolution was launched.

* * *

FINANCING OUR WAR ACTIVITIES

ANARRATIVE of the remarkable achievements by the United States in the first six months after our war declaration appears on Pages 9-26. The gigantic nature of the nation's task is best demonstrated by the statement made to the House of Representatives on Sept. 14 by John J. Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, in Congress. He explained that the contemplated expenditures by our Government during the first year of the war, without reference to any unforeseen emergencies, would reach \$18,208,228,085, of which \$7,000,000,000 would be loaned to the Allies; this sum represents 23 per cent. of what all the other Governments had spent in three years. The revenue from

taxes was estimated at a little over \$4,000,000,000, the balance to be provided by bonds. On Sept. 18 Congress passed one war appropriation bill of \$7,000,000,000, the largest measure of its kind in history; this bill authorizes Government contracts for navy and artillery of \$2,314,000,000, and gives the Shipping Board for new ships, plants, material, charters, construction, &c., \$1,749,000,000. The bill carries \$3,477,000,000 for the army alone.

* * *

THE KAISER AND ENGLAND

IN evidence that the feeling of hatred toward England in Germany had not subsided, Emperor William on Aug. 24, in an address to German battalions that had fought at the Flanders front, issued the following official statement:

It is in God's hands when in His wisdom He will give us victory. He has taught our army a hard lesson, and now we are going to pass the examination. With the old German confidence in God, we shall show what we can do. The greater and mightier the problem, the more gladly we shall grapple with it and solve it. We shall fight and conquer until the enemy has had enough of these struggles.

All Germans have realized who is the instigator of this war, and who is the chief enemy—England. Every one knows England is our most spiteful adversary. She spreads the hatred of Germany over the whole world, filling her allies with hatred and eagerness to fight. Thus every one at home knows what you know still better, that England is particularly the enemy to be struck down, however difficult it may be.

Your relatives at home, who, too, have made great sacrifices, thank you through me. A difficult struggle lies ahead of us. England, proud of her stubborn resistance, believes in her invincibility, but you will show that you can achieve still greater things, for the prize of the war is the German people's freedom to live—freedom at sea and freedom at home. With God's help, we shall see the struggle through and be victorious.

BRITISH CASUALTIES IN FLANDERS

A STATEMENT issued by the British War Department shows that the Allies between April 9 and Aug. 22, 1917, captured 167,780 German and Austrian prisoners. Up to Aug. 22 Great Britain had captured 102,218 German prisoners and lost to Germany 43,000

British and East Indian prisoners. During August, 1917, the British losses were: Killed and died of wounds, 1,283 officers, 10,605 men; wounded, 3,671 officers, 39,025 men; missing, 310 officers, 2,774 men; total casualties, 5,264 officers, 52,404 men. The figures for April, May, June, and July, respectively, were:

	Officers.	Men.
April	4,381	31,619
May	5,991	107,075
June	3,601	84,667
July	2,490	68,858

The figures demonstrate the intensity of the fighting along the Flanders front during the five months since April, 1917, costing the British in casualties nearly 375,000 officers and men.

* * *

CANADA'S draft law was given the final assent by the Justices of the Supreme Court Aug. 29, which was the final official sanction required to make it effective. It provides for raising 100,000 men and applies to males between 20 and 45 years of age; the first class is unmarried men between 20 and 34. All the predictions of dire civil conflicts to follow its enactment went amiss; Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who led the opposition, announced after the bill's final passage that "it was the duty of all loyal subjects to see that it was carried out harmoniously." The first call under the law is expected in early October.

* * *

THE DIRECTORY IN RUSSIA AND FRANCE

THE Russian revolution is following the French Revolution closely, so far as names go. Thus it has become the custom to speak of the "Constituent Assembly," where American usage would say "Constitutional Convention." And now we have the proposal to form a Directory of five, an Executive Committee to carry on the war, such as was established in France in 1795, (the Year III.) There is a marked difference: the French Directory was a committee chosen by the Legislature, which consisted of two houses. But in Russia even the Duma, the representative legislature which practically engineered the revolution, seems to have disappeared; this is the more

striking because it was the Czar's intention to prorogue the Duma that precipitated the revolution. Though legally elected and endowed with authority, the Duma seems to exist only as a shadow, and the present Provisional Government has established itself without any election or legal organization whatever.

In 1795 the French Directory worked hard to prevent a restoration of the monarchy, and was even accused of falsifying election returns for this purpose. It was at this point that a young officer, Napoleon Bonaparte, fired the famous "whiff of grapeshot." Napoleon was rewarded with the command over the French armies in Italy in 1796; his splendid success there so strengthened him that in 1799 he was able to supersede the Directory, establishing a government of three Consuls, but retaining all real power in his own hands. In 1802 Bonaparte had himself elected Consul for life. In 1804 a vote of the nation declared him Emperor of the French, and he crowned himself at Paris, in the Pope's presence, as the successor of Charlemagne. How far the events which succeeded the Directory in France will be paralleled in Russia remains to be seen.

* * *

THE INVASION OF RUSSIA: 1917 AND 1918

HINDENBURG'S threat of an advance against the Russian capital and the presence of invaders on Russian soil in the Provinces of Kovno, Grodno, Volhynia, and Podolia inevitably recalls the last great invasion of Russia. The refusal of the Russian Emperor, Alexander I., to enforce the blockade of England led to that invasion, and in September Napoleon's army, which had numbered 500,000 when crossing the frontier, had reached Moscow, remaining there until the middle of October, although Moscow had been burned by the Russians. When the French retreat began the severe Russian Winter had already set in, and the sufferings of the retreating Grand Army have become an epic tradition. Only 20,000 of the invaders recrossed the Niemen.

Exactly the same conditions which resulted in the ruin of the Grand Army now face the Teuton invaders; with the dif-

ference that, while the invading army of Napoleon practically followed a single road to Moscow, thus simplifying the problems of supply, the Teuton armies will, apparently, be compelled to advance with a continuous, unbroken front nearly a thousand miles long if they try to carry out a great invasion. Such an advance, through a region of vast marshes and primeval forests, which extend for thousands of square miles immediately before the present Teuton lines, will without doubt involve enormous, perhaps insuperable, difficulties, now that the killing Russian Winter is beginning. The problem of supply will assume enormous proportions, since the Teuton army must be at least six times as large as the Grand Army of Napoleon. Even for motor trucks much of the country seems likely to be impassable. And the severity of Winter will last for the next six months.

* * *

THE ARGENTINE CIPHER AND OTHERS

THE intercepted Argentine and Mexican cipher dispatches are only the latest chapter in one of the world's great romances, the tale of secret messages sent between Kings and Ministers for thousands of years. One of the oldest examples of cipher is in Isaiah, vii., 6, "Let us set a King in the midst of Judah, even the son of Tabeal"; the last word being a cipher disguise for the name Remaliah. Another is in Jeremiah, xxv., 26, "the King of Sheshach" for the King of Babylon; the prophet's cipher consisted in using the second and twelfth letters from the end, instead of from the beginning, of the Hebrew alphabet—exactly the principle of substitute letters used today. In both these instances, dating from the eighth and seventh centuries before our era, the purpose was to conceal a perilous political secret.

Julius Caesar used a similar system, and cryptic writings were used by the Spartans, and by Ennius and Cicero. A group of political messages sent from England in the reign of Queen Mary by Giovanni Michael, the Venetian Ambassador, were based on a cipher so intricate that they have only recently been deciphered. Some time before Queen Mary's day Cardinal Wolsey, then at the

Court of Vienna, sent long cipher messages to Mary's father, the much-married Henry VIII. And seven centuries earlier the great founder of European nations, Charlemagne, wrote his dispatches in cipher.

But perhaps the high-water mark of secret writing was reached in the seventeenth century, when the Stuart Kings devoted much time and high ingenuity to cryptography. Charles I. wrote long letters in cipher to his Queen, and also to his Ministers. After his defeat at Naseby in 1645 a large bundle of political documents in cipher, taken with his baggage, fell into the hands of the commanders of the Roundhead army. Some of these were deciphered at the time, one of them containing large concessions to Irish Roman Catholics; but one, at least, in a numerical cipher, was translated only as recently as 1858, more than 200 years after Naseby, by Wheatstone, who even devised a machine for the deciphering of cryptograms based on numbers. Another set of documents in cipher, of the same period, disclosed the Earl of Argyll's plot against James II. Yet another famous cipher document of the same time is the diary of the immortal Pepys, who perfected his system in 1660.

Francis Bacon in the same century applied his genius to the devising of ciphers, primarily "for the use of Princes" in political correspondence. Bacon says the three great requisites of ciphers are "that they be not laborious to write or read; that they be impossible to decipher, and, in some cases, that they be without suspicion." Applying this test to the Argentine cipher messages, it would seem that they comply with the first and last requirements: they seem to have been fairly easy to read, and, so far as the Swedish Minister, Baron Löwen, was concerned, they appear to have been wholly "without suspicion."

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

THE ill-starred Stockholm Conference was the latest effort to revive the international, the worldwide federation of Socialists. The first attempt to organize the Socialists of all countries

into one federation was made in London in 1847 by Karl Marx and his fellow-exiles. It was called the Communist League. It issued a manifesto just before the Revolution of 1848, but it was dissolved in 1852. The next attempt began through the visit of a number of French workmen to the London Exhibition of 1862, and called itself the International Association of Workingmen. It was not till 1866, however, that the first congress was held—in Geneva. The outbreak of the Franco-German war seems to have struck the deathblow of this international, for it never really recovered from the fact that owing to the war it was unable to hold a conference called in Paris. After the war its headquarters were removed to New York. It died in 1873.

No further attempts at the international fraternization of workingmen were made till 1889. The centenary of the French Revolution was being celebrated in Paris, and the French Socialist Parties called an International Socialist Congress. There were, as a fact, two Socialist Congresses—the Maixist and Possiblist. They combined later, and congresses were held at Brussels in 1891, Zurich in 1893, London in 1896, and Paris in 1900.

It was at the Paris Congress that the International Socialist Bureau was formed. Conditions of affiliation were drawn up, and were drawn to exclude anarchists, while including trade unions and other labor organizations. The conditions of affiliation are:

(1) All associations which adhere to the essential principles of socialism: Socialization of the means of production and distribution; international union and action of the workers; conquest of the public powers by the proletariat, organized as a class party.

(2) All the constituted organizations which accept the principle of a class struggle and recognize the necessity for political action (legislative and parliamentary) but do not participate directly in the political movement.

One of the duties of the bureau was to summon ordinary congresses at stated intervals and special congresses at times of international crises. In the present war nationalism proved stronger than

internationalism even with Socialists, and until Stockholm was suggested there were no serious efforts to revive the International.

* * *

THE MONTH'S SHIPPING LOSSES

THE British Admiralty figures of merchant ships sunk by submarines or mines show a slight decrease for the last month. The record reads:

	Over, 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended Aug. 19...	15	3	2
Week ended Aug. 26...	18	5	0
Week ended Sept. 2....	20	3	0
Week ended Sept. 9....	12	6	4
Week ended Sept. 16...	8	20	1
Total for five weeks.	73	37	7
Total for previous four weeks.	74	10	4

French official figures for the three weeks ended Sept. 9 show the following sinkings: Over 1,600 tons, 7; under 1,600 tons, 6; fishing vessels, 2. One of the largest steamers recently lost was the Atlantic Transport liner Minnehaha, 13,714 tons. The vessel was sunk off the coast of Ireland on Sept. 7, with a loss of forty-three lives. Since the war began she had made twenty-six voyages between America and England, carrying 16,000 tons on each trip. More exhaustive studies of submarine sinkings for the last eight months will be found on Pages 135 and 137.

* * *

THE WORLD AT WAR

OF the six continents—Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, and Australasia—Asia and Australasia are the most completely involved in the world war. Asia is completely implicated. The greater part of Asia is either British or Russian. Russian Siberia is in area equal to the whole of North America down to the Mexican border. Russia also has a large area further south, conquered by Russia from Mohammedan Princes, and generally known as Turkestan, Transcaspia, and so on.

The two powers which dominate nearly all the rest of Asia are China and Turkey, holding the eastern and western parts of the continent, as Russia and

Britain hold the north and south. By a treaty of 1914, negotiated after the Chinese revolution, Tibet recognized China's suzerainty, and by a treaty signed in 1905 Afghanistan intrusted the management of its foreign affairs to England, a practical recognition of dependence. In Southeastern Asia, Annam is in the war, as belonging to France; Siam has recently declared war on her own account, while Japan, on the extreme verge of the Orient, has been in the war from the beginning. While Persia has not declared war, there has been much fighting on Persian soil, and the revolt of South Arabia brings that country also in, as the opponent of Turkey.

As nearly all Africa has been practically annexed by European powers, the whole continent is involved except the ancient empire of Abyssinia and unappropriated portions of the Libyan Desert. The fighting in Africa has been spread over a larger area than in any other continent, and has involved French, British, Belgians, Portuguese, and Germans. All North America, down to the Mexican line, is now belligerent; Mexico is neutral; Central and South America are more or less involved, but in a diplomatic rather than a military sense. In Europe six independent nations still remain neutral—Sweden, Norway, Denmark, (with Iceland and Greenland,) Holland, Switzerland, and Spain. Holland has large colonies in the East Indies and a foothold in Guiana, which are, therefore, out of the war.

* * *

POLISH LIBERTY POSTPONED

GERMANY and Austria, by a joint decree issued Sept. 15, transferred the supreme authority in Poland to a regency council of three members, appointed by the monarchs of the Central Empires. The council has legislative powers, but its decrees must be countersigned by a Premier, likewise to be appointed. This decree does not rescind but supersedes the proclamation of Nov. 5, 1916, granting autonomy to Poland. The Central Powers explain it as being a necessary measure during the continuance of the war. It was also

announced that the Central Powers "would be obliged to occupy Polish soil during the war for the purpose of defending their eastern front."

In letters forecasting the new order the Emperors insist that this is simply a temporary measure, and that a Polish King and a Polish Parliament will sit at Warsaw after the war. The Polish armies raised originally as a national home organization were taken over by Austria just before the decrees were published; it is reported that they were sent to the Italian front. General Pilsudski, leader of the Polish Legion, was arrested by the Central Powers, and the Provisional State Council at Warsaw resigned in a body when the Polish troops were sent away.

* * *

POPE BENEDICT'S LETTER AND THE TEMPORAL POWER

IN quarters hostile both to Germany and the Vatican it has again and again been said that, in refraining from all protest against the violation of Belgium, the invasion of Serbia, and the numberless breaches of international law committed by the Teutons, Pope Benedict was obviously partial to Germany; and it was sometimes added that the Kaiser had promised to restore the temporal power of the Popes, as a reward for this partisanship. The temporal power, in this view, means, apparently, the restoration of the Papal States, which before 1860 extended across central Italy from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Adriatic, and which from 1860 to 1870 were restricted to the western part of this area, with Rome as capital.

But there is another meaning of the term temporal power; and, in this sense, Pope Benedict's letter goes a long way to re-establishing it, or at least to asserting a claim for its exercise. For Pope Benedict offers himself as the arbiter between Kings, including not only those subject to the Church of Rome but the whole of Europe, and the Moslem Turkish Empire as well, to say nothing of the Hindu, Buddhist, and Shinto nations, India, Siam, China, and Japan, all now listed among the belligerents. This claim to be the arbiter between Kings

was gradually developed in the centuries which followed the alliance between the Pope and the Emperor, when Charlemagne was crowned at Rome on Christmas Day in the year 800. It was soon extended to include the right to make and dethrone Kings; while the Emperor, on his part, exercised the right to appoint Popes.

Thus the Emperor Henry III. appointed four German adherents successively to the Papal throne, while Henry IV. was practically deprived of the imperial throne and restored to it again, on the occasion of the memorable pilgrimage to Canossa, when he kneeled as a suppliant at the feet of Pope Gregory VII. In the same way King John of England, who in 1215 set his seal to Magna Charta, had previously been compelled to give up his kingdom by Pope Innocent III., receiving it again as a Papal fief. Perhaps the largest exercise of this power ever made was by Pope Alexander VI., who in 1493 divided the larger part of the world's oceans between Portugal and Spain, Portugal receiving all seas, with the lands they washed, to the east of a certain line, while Spain received everything to the west of it. This led to the establishment of Latin America, and the line of cleavage still exists, Brazil, to the east of the Pope's line, still speaking Portuguese, while the rest of South America, which lies to the west of the line, still speaks Spanish. Pope Benedict claims an equally extended jurisdiction, intervening in purely political questions of territories, annexations, indemnities, which affect every region of the globe.

* * *

TRIESTE, MIRAMAR, AND MAXIMILIAN

SOME four miles northwest of the port of Trieste, along the beautiful coast, on the jutting headland of Grignano, is Miramar, a charming and picturesque villa in the Norman style, built some sixty years ago by Maximilian, the ill-starred younger brother of the late Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. Maximilian had great gifts and two hobbies—botany, which created the lovely gardens of Miramar, and naval tactics, which turned Trieste into the greatest

naval base of the Austrian Empire. Maximilian, as a vigorous and able naval officer, had much to do with building up the Austrian fleet. He was, before the formation of United Italy, the Austrian Viceroy of Lombardy and Venetia, which Austria lost in 1859 and 1866. Maximilian then retired to Miramar with his wife Charlotte, daughter of Leopold I. of Belgium, the monarch chosen to rule over that small kingdom when Belgium was created and guaranteed as a neutral, inviolable State by the great European powers in 1831. At Miramar Maximilian received Mexican exiles, who asked him to go to Mexico and establish a monarchy. He at first refused, as both Francis Joseph and Napoleon III. were strongly opposed to the plan, and went instead on a botanizing trip to Brazil, then an empire. Later he allowed himself to be overpersuaded, went to Mexico, set up a monarchy, and was deposed and shot on June 19, 1867. This tragedy drove his wife insane, and Miramar became her prison-hospital. As the Italian and British monitors bombard Trieste, and as the Italian troops approach from the Carso on the north, the shells are likely to pass over the gardens and villa of Miramar.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN "WILLY" AND "NICKY"

THE highly sensational group of letters and telegrams recently printed in The New York Herald, between the two monarchs who signed themselves "Willy" and "Nicky," will stand, perhaps, as the last chapter in the monarchical diplomacy of the world in which Kings and Emperors, in the high-handed mediaeval fashion, disposed of peoples and nations without saying "by your leave." It is, perhaps, no secret that the treacherous proposal for a secret treaty between these two Emperors, forced by the masterful and magnetic "Willy" upon the weak-minded and weaker willed "Nicky," a treaty which involved the betrayal of France by Russia and the ruin of England by Germany and Russia acting in concert, was defeated by the resolute and far-seeing statesmanship of Count Witte, who became so well known to Americans

at the time of the Peace of Portsmouth. On his return to Russia he discovered the treaty and, using the Berlin bankers as a lever, forced Kaiser Wilhelm to tear it up; but it appears that before it was destroyed Count Witte showed it to the famous international journalist and linguist, Dr. E. J. Dillon, who now vouches for its authenticity. The Willy-Nicky correspondence carries the world back to the days when nations and kingdoms were practically the private property of Kings and Emperors; when peoples and provinces were handed about as marriage dowries and were left in the wills of monarchs to their children. The granting of large regions of what are now the United States by Charles II. to his brother, the Duke of York, afterward James II., is an instance that comes home to us; and to that grant the largest city in the New World owes its name.

* * *

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA

THE world war, which is touching the British Empire at all points, is deeply affecting the development of India. In the House of Commons on Aug. 20 Samuel Montague, Secretary of State for India, made an important statement—the most important, perhaps, since the Imperial Government took over the administration of India from the old East India Company in 1858.

He laid down four principles which will be applied to the government of India. The first is that of increasing the employment of Indians in every branch of administration. The second promises the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. The third declares that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The fourth lays stress on the point that the British Government must be the judge of the time and measure of each advance, and that they must be guided by the co-operation they receive from Indians, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

In the period since the Mutiny, 1857,

some progress has been made in the development of representative institutions in India. In 1909 the Indian Councils act established a Legislative Council for the whole of India, in which distinguished Indians representing all sections of the population take part. There are Indian members also in the Provincial Councils of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, and the other Provinces. There are elective District Boards, dealing, on the average, with populations of about a million each, whose members are predominantly Indians. Over 700 municipalities are also elective, and largely Indian in membership. So that, for the first time in the history of India, large sections of her population are receiving a practical training in representative self-government.

* * *

VAST TRADE IN EXPLOSIVES

THE wonderful development of the explosives manufacturing industry in the United States during the last four years is shown in a report issued by the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior. In the year 1913, which was a normal year, the exports reached \$5,521,077. The following year, in which the European war started, the exports reached \$10,037,587; in 1915, \$188,969,893; and in 1916, when the entire industry had been thoroughly organized, the total was \$717,144,649. The total production of explosives in the United States during 1916, exclusive of exports, was 252,708 tons, an increase of 22,000 tons over the previous year.

* * *

THE RACE QUESTION IN FINLAND

FINLAND was joined to Russia by the Treaty of Frederikshavn, Sept. 17, 1809, as one of the results of the fraternization between Napoleon I. and Alexander I., which followed the Peace of Tilsit, July, 1807. France, it was agreed, should dominate Western Europe, while

Russia might expand at the expense of Sweden and Turkey. Finland, taken from Sweden, is still governed under a Swedish Constitution dating from 1772, four years before the Declaration of Independence, though this Constitution has several times been amended. These amendments have given Finland a single Chamber of 200 members, elected by the vote of every citizen, man or woman, who is 24 years old. Finland, until March 15 of the present year, when Nicholas II. abdicated, was bound to Russia much as Hungary is bound to Austria, by the person of the sovereign, the Czar of Russia being also Grand Duke of Finland.

The present issue between Finland and Russia is whether the rights of the Czar, as Grand Duke of Finland, are inherited by the Provisional Government of Russia. In Finland, which has a population of three and a quarter millions, the Finns themselves number two and a half millions, while the Swedes number a third of a million. But the Swedes, though outnumbered eight to one by the Finns, are strongly intrenched, forming the landed aristocracy, and they are devoted to Sweden and Teutonic culture.

The Finns are one of the non-Aryan peoples, the most important of whom are the Turks and Magyars, (Hungarians,) both of whom represent successful invasions from Asia. To both Turks and Huns the Finns are related, forming a part of the group of North Asiatic peoples that stretch from Bering Strait across Siberia and northern Russia to the Gulf of Bothnia, which separates Finland from Sweden. In Northern Norway there is a small Finnish colony and a larger Lapp colony, numbering about 18,500, the Lapps being in all probability the last remnant of the oldest race in Europe, the race which was contemporary with the reindeer in France during and immediately after the glacial epoch, the race which hunted and painted the mammoth.



Preparing to Fight Germany

Military and Naval Progress of the United States in the First Six Months as a Belligerent

IT is now six months since the United States declared war on Germany, but as preparations for war had been begun immediately after the breaking of diplomatic relations, the period during which this country has developed its capacities as a belligerent is somewhat longer. A vast transformation of the whole nation's activities and modes of thought has been taking place, which at times it is difficult to perceive because of our very closeness to it. But we do know that in a comparatively short time the nation has multiplied its fighting forces tenfold, and under the direction of its captains of industry created the "army behind the army" on which military efficiency is dependent.

When the United States declared war against Germany, the strength of the regular army, including officers, was not quite 126,000, and that of the National Guard about 181,000, a nominal total of about 307,000. But the majority of these officers and men were not fit to take the field in a war such as is being now waged in Europe. In fact, it may be said that not a single unit was of immediate use, for the first troops sent to France with General Pershing are still undergoing training in the methods which have revolutionized the art of warfare. The Government's task was now to create practically a new army, an army trained in the light of the experience gained in Europe since August, 1914, and an army large enough to be of account in the desperate struggle with the unconquered millions led by the German war chiefs.

The regular army had to be increased to the full strength authorized by Congress. But voluntary enlistment proceeded slowly, and it was not until Aug. 9 that the 183,898 men required at the beginning of the recruiting campaign were obtained, thus bringing the regular army up to its

full strength of 300,000 men. In March, a start had been made in mobilizing the National Guard, which even now is below its full strength, but enlistments have been fairly steady, and when the last units were drafted into Federal service on Aug. 5, the National Guard represented an addition of 350,000 men under arms. Here, then, were 650,000 men who, in the course of a year, would gradually form the nucleus of the nation's armed forces on land.

Training the New Officers

These men, in common with those secured by the selective draft law, however, would be useless without skilled leaders; and even more urgent than the need of raising armies was that of training officers. Special camps for this purpose were speedily established, and men, mainly belonging to the professional and educated classes, were selected to qualify for commissions. In August nearly 30,000 of these men qualified and were commissioned; while at the end of the month another 16,000 candidates were admitted to a second series of officers' training camps. By this time further enlistments in the regular army and National Guard, the calling into service of reservists and the assignment of duties to the new officers brought the total of the army up to more than 800,000, as is shown in the following statement, prepared by the Committee on Public Information from Government records:

On Sept. 6, 1917, there were in the regular army, National Guard and Reserve Corps of the army 72,828 officers and 741,053 enlisted men. In the navy there were 141,867 enlisted men, 41,473 Naval Reserves and 14,500 of the Naval Militia in the Federal service. There were 5,000 men in the Coast Guard and 6,500 in the Hospital Corps, making a total of 209,340. The enlisted strength of the Marine Corps was 29,971; reserves in the services, 1,070; National Naval Volunteers,

704; retired men on active duty, 14. There were approximately 12,000 officers in the navy and 1,166 in the Marine Corps.

In other words, on that date the army had, including officers and enlisted men, 819,881, and the navy 254,265, making a total armed strength on that date of 1,074,146 men, all of whom are volunteers. Prior to that time there was not a drafted soldier in a single training camp.

For an Army of 2,300,000

Following this statement came the announcement of the War Department's plan for an army of 2,300,000 before the Summer of 1918. The first inkling of these plans was given when Secretary Baker testified on Sept. 7 that the United States Army would have a strength of 2,030,000 on Jan. 1, 1918. Then on Sept. 19, in asking Congress for emergency appropriations totaling \$277,416,000, Secretary Baker stated that the money would be required to equip and supply an army of 2,300,000 men. This was the first official announcement made by the War Department concerning the number of Americans who will be prepared for service in France during the next year.

Announcement of the beginning of work on two more great army camps was made by the War Department on Sept. 7. These camps are at Newport News, Va., and Tenaflly, N. J. "The camps are designated as concentration camps," an official announcement said, "and it is proposed to assemble and equip here, from time to time, troops that are awaiting orders. From these camps the troops may move to whatever locality is selected as the port of departure." Each of the new concentration camps will be capable of accommodating approximately 20,000 men, and will consist of from 800 to 1,000 buildings. The new camps will be rushed to completion by Nov. 1. Building of these camps on the seaboard is an indication that plans are rapidly maturing to send heavy reinforcements to Pershing's army in France.

This army of 2,000,000 will be made up of the 687,000 drafted men in the first levy, the National Guard expanded to 470,000 men, the regular army expanded to 450,000, auxiliary troops, including engineers and aviators, of 170,000; a

hospital corps of 140,000, and Quartermaster and other supply troops making up the remainder.

About 70,000 Colored Troops

The problem presented by the large number of negro troops in the National Army was disposed of on Sept. 10 by the announcement of Secretary Baker that the rule of the regular army would be followed in their training, that is, they will be trained in separate organizations. There has, however, been no decision either on whether the negro troops are to be sent to France to fight in distinct units, as in brigades, or will be assigned to service by regiments. The call for negroes will be postponed, so that they will be called at a separate time, giving an opportunity to the officers of the camps to assemble the organizations of which they are a part substantially all at one time. They will not be the last called, but will be called separately. Of the 687,000 men called for as the first increment of the National Army, it is estimated that approximately 70,000 are negroes. In all, the army in France will need, it has been estimated, more than 100,000 men behind the lines for use along the roads and railways or on other special work. Negro troops will be largely employed in this way.

Progress of the Draft Army

The progress in creating the National Army has been steady and without a hitch since the President signed the selective draft law on May 18. Over 9,500,000 young men were registered on June 5; the first quota of 687,000 men were drawn on July 20; the exemption boards then proceeded promptly with their work, and the first 30 per cent. of the first quota were ordered to report for duty on Sept. 5. On the day before the first drafted men were due in camp, parades and other celebrations were held in their honor throughout the country. The procession at Washington was led by President Wilson himself, with members of the Cabinet and of Congress and others following behind him.

President Wilson issued the follow-

ing message of welcome to the soldiers of the National Army:

The White House,
Washington, D. C., Sept. 3, 1917.

To the Soldiers of the National Army:

You are undertaking a great duty. The heart of the whole country is with you.

Everything that you do will be watched with the deepest interest and with the deepest solicitude, not only by those who are near and dear to you, but by the whole nation besides. For this great war draws us all together, makes us all comrades and brothers, as all true Americans felt themselves to be when we first made good our national independence.

The eyes of all the world will be upon you, because you are in some special sense the soldiers of freedom. Let it be your pride, therefore, to show all men everywhere not only what good soldiers you are, but also what good men you are, keeping yourselves fit and straight in everything and pure and clean through and through.

Let us set for ourselves a standard so high that it will be a glory to live up to it, and then let us live up to it and add a new laurel to the crown of America.

My affectionate confidence goes with you in every battle and every test. God keep and guide you!

WOODROW WILSON.

In a letter written to Thomas L. Chadbourne, Jr., of the Mayor's Committee on National Defense, New York City, the President declared he would like to be in the trenches. The letter follows:

The White House,
Washington, Aug. 30, 1917.

My Dear Mr. Chadbourne:

Please say to the men on Sept. 4 how entirely my heart is with them and how my thoughts will follow them across the sea, with confidence and also with genuine envy, for I should like to be with them on the fields and in the trenches where the real and final battle for the independence of the United States is to be fought, alongside the other peoples of the world, struggling, like ourselves, to make an end of those things which have threatened the integrity of their territory, the lives of their people, and the very character and independence of their Governments. Bid them godspeed for me from a very full heart. Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Our Soldiers in France

The million men now under arms are at every stage of training, but of course those who are most nearly ready for actual fighting are the men who were

sent under General Pershing to France in June, and whose training is being completed within sound of the big guns, just behind the front. The preparation of Pershing's army for its work in the trenches is being carried out largely under French guidance, though British instructors are also helping. French and British officers have also come to the United States to place their experience at the disposal of the War Department and of the officers who are to lead the new armies.

General Pershing on Sept. 1 moved his headquarters from Paris to a point nearer the American training camps. Discussing plans for the coming Winter, the General said that the American people must learn the meaning and value of patience, and not expect that the expeditionary forces landed in France can be rushed immediately to the front line trenches. When America does take her place in the line, shoulder to shoulder with the other allies, next year, she will be, General Pershing said, fully prepared to go through the Summer campaign and make the Germans feel the full weight of her military power.

The announcement was made on Sept. 12 that a large section of American field artillery had arrived in France, and that considerable progress had already been made in intensive training under the general supervision of the most expert French artillerists.

Preparing the Aircraft Fleet

In no branch of modern warfare is skilled instruction more necessary than in the aerial service; and in both Europe and America our aviators are learning all they can from French and British experience. The United States has made one of its particular aims in the war the greatest possible achievement in aviation, and so that no obstacle should stand in the way, Congress voted the sum of \$640,000,000 to be spent by the Aircraft Production Board in providing an enormous number of the most up-to-date and efficient flying machines. The appropriation was approved by President Wilson on July 24.

The Sheppard Bill legalizing the Aircraft Board was passed by the Senate

Sept. 12. Senator Sheppard of Texas, author of the bill, made this statement after its passage:

The bill gives the present Aircraft Committee of the Council of National Defense a legal status and puts it under the joint control of the War and Navy Departments. All production contracts are subject to the control and approval of the Secretaries of War and Navy.

The board is authorized to supervise and direct, under the requirements prescribed by the War and Navy Departments, the purchase, production, and manufacture of airship equipment and machinery, including purchase, lease, or construction of plants.

The board will co-operate effectively with our allies in developing an aviation war program on a gigantic scale.

The bill provides that the personnel of the board shall consist of the Chief Signal Officer of the army, the Chief Constructor of the navy, and not more than seven other members, to be appointed by the President with consent of the Senate.

The Liberty Aircraft Motor

What is regarded by American experts as the greatest military airplane motor yet built in the United States has been evolved by the combined efforts of American scientists, engineers, army officers, and Government officials. Secretary Baker on Sept. 12 announced that the Government had procured designs for such a motor and that it had been built and successfully tested. Secretary Baker's statement was issued after careful preparation of the material submitted to him by the Signal Corps and the Aviation Production Board. His statement follows in part:

The United States aviation engine has passed its final tests. They were successful and gratifying. The new motor, designated by the Signal Service as the "Liberty Motor," is now the main reliance of the United States in the rapid production in large numbers of high-powered battleplanes for service in the war. In power, speed, serviceability, and minimum weight the new engine invites comparison with the best that the European war has produced.

I regard the invention and rapid development of this engine as one of the really big accomplishments of the United States since its entry into the war. The engine was brought about through the co-operation of more than a score of engineers, who pooled their skill and trade

secrets in the war emergency, working with the encouragement of the Aircraft Production Board, the War Department, and the Bureau of Standards. The story of the production of this engine is a remarkable one. Probably the war has produced no greater single achievement.

An inspiring feature of this work was the aid rendered by consulting engineers and motor manufacturers who gave up their trade secrets under the emergency of war needs. Realizing that the new design would be a Government design and no firm or individual would reap selfish benefit because of its making, the motor manufacturers nevertheless practically revealed their trade secrets, and made available trade processes of great commercial value. These industries have also contributed the services of approximately 200 of their best draftsmen.

While it is not deemed expedient to discuss in detail the performances and mechanics of the new motor, it may be said that standardization is a chief factor in the development of the Government's motor. Cylinders, pistons, and every other part of the motor have been standardized. They may be produced rapidly and economically by a great many factories operating under Government contracts. They may be as rapidly assembled, either by these plants or at a central assembly plant.

The standardization of the new engine does not mean there will be no change in it during the war. There will be continuous experimentation as new types and improvements develop at the front and new ideas are born of the war emergency. If the engine can be improved, it will be improved, but as the motor stands today it is one of wonderful success and produced under dramatic circumstances. [See also Page 77.]

What the Navy Has Done

The doings of the navy in the last six months are less obvious than of the land forces; but, relatively speaking, this branch of the United States defense service was at a much more advanced stage of preparation when America entered the war. The fleets had been mobilized before the declaration of hostilities. From the moment that President Wilson decided that he could by Executive act arm merchant vessels, the Navy Department had been busy arming and manning such ships as needed protection against the German submarines. Altogether, two hundred merchant vessels were supplied with gun crews and gunners in the first

few months, and this number has been added to almost daily.

The Navy Department has rendered a great service to the British Admiralty by sending destroyers to the British Isles to help in the work of checking the ravages of the German submarines, and has taken over the cruiser patrol in the Western Atlantic all the way from Brazil to Newfoundland. Fuel and supply ships to serve the United States naval vessels in European waters have also been sent across the Atlantic so as to relieve the Allies of this service, and several small craft have been placed at the disposal of France. Two United States naval bases have been established on the French coast, as well as the one in the British Isles, from which the destroyers are operating against the German submarines. The navy has even gone to the aid of the Allies' aerial service by sending a hundred navy aviators to France. In addition to taking over the cruiser patrol of the coasts from Brazil to Newfoundland, the Navy Department has taken over the Coast Guard and Light-house Services.

To meet the demand for a larger personnel, two classes at Annapolis were graduated far ahead of their time, thus providing 380 new officers, while the enlisted strength of the navy has increased from 53,000 to over 120,000, and is gradually reaching the 150,000 maximum strength authorized by Congress.

Not the least important accomplishment of the navy has been its work in conveying Pershing's army to France. Under Admiral Gleaves this was so well carried out that neither a ship nor a single man has been lost. To sum up, it may be said that so far all the real burden of the war has fallen upon the navy, and that it has in no single case yet failed to live up to its traditions of the past or to the emergencies of the present.

War needs have caused the reorganization of the Atlantic fleet, which has been doubled in size and divided into two forces. This reorganization did

not affect the division under Vice Admiral Sims, which is operating in European waters.

The naval vessels in which the greatest development has been taking place are those classed as destroyers. Secretary of the Navy Daniels conferred on Aug. 20 with representatives of twenty-five ship and engine builders for the purpose of providing the United States Navy with more destroyers than any other power. "Destroyers," he said, "are the one thing that a submarine fears." He indicated that the Navy Department would order all the destroyers the builders could produce. The sum of nearly \$400,000,000 was mentioned as necessary to carry out this program. On Aug. 29, President Wilson approved the Navy Department's estimate of \$350,000,000 for new destroyers. The main building program under the four-year plan will not be interfered with. Under the speeding-up régime a destroyer can be produced in about half the time it took before the war, that is, from ten to twelve months, instead of from eighteen to twenty months.

America had been rendering valuable medical aid in France and Belgium before becoming a belligerent. Work of the highest importance had been done by the American ambulances and hospitals organized by private effort; and when the war came these services were co-ordinated with new war medical activities. Special camps have been provided for thousands of civilian doctors for military service, and special hospitals built in the United States, while the number of medical units sent to France has been steadily increasing. The war has imposed a very severe strain upon the medical resources of the allied countries, so that one of the greatest services America has been able to offer to the Allies has been the prompt dispatch of doctors, nurses, and medical supplies.

[Next month's issue will present the no less interesting story of what the United States has done on the economic side of the war.]

Army and Navy Training Camps

Thirty-two great training camps, each a city in itself, have been established and constructed for the drilling of the new recruits, and are now the chief centres of the nation's military activities. Besides these there are nine training camps for new officers, sixteen organization camps for the regular army, and similar centres for the drilling of aviators, medical officers, engineers, and Naval and Marine Corps.

The following table gives the names and other details of the National Guard mobilization camps, national army cantonments, regular army camps, second series of officers' training camps, medical, engineers', and aviation camps, army departments, and navy training camps and stations:

National Guard Mobilization Camps

Division or Branch of Service.	Name of Camp.	Location.	Commander.	Troops from.
Twenty-seventh Division	Camp Wadsworth	Calvert, six miles southwest of Spartanburg, S. C.	Maj. Gen. John F. O'Ryan	Guard from New York State.
Twenty-eighth Division	Camp Hancock	Wheless, near Augusta, Ga.	Maj. Gen. Charles M. Clement	Guard from Pennsylvania.
Twenty-ninth Division	Camp McClellan	U. S. Military Reservation, near Anniston, Ala.	Maj. Gen. C. G. Morton	Guard from New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, Maryland, and District of Columbia.
Thirtieth Division	Camp Sevier	Near Greenville, S. C.	Maj. Gen. J. F. Morrison	Guard from Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina and District of Columbia.
Thirty-first Division	Camp Wheeler	Seven miles from Macon, Ga.	Maj. Gen. F. J. Kernan	Guard from Georgia, Alabama, and Florida.
Thirty-second Division	Camp MacArthur	Waco, Texas	Maj. Gen. James Parker	Guard from Michigan and Wisconsin.
Thirty-third Division	Camp Logan	Five miles from Houston, Texas	Maj. Gen. George Bell, Jr.	Guard from Illinois.
Thirty-fourth Division	Camp Cody	Deming, New Mex.	Maj. Gen. A. P. Blocksom	Guard from Nebraska, Iowa, South Dakota, and Minnesota.
Thirty-fifth Division	Camp Doniphan	U. S. Military Reservation, Fort Sill, Okla.	Maj. Gen. W. M. Wright	Guard from Missouri and Kansas.
Thirty-sixth Division	Camp Bowie	Fort Worth, Texas	Maj. Gen. E. St. J. Greble	Guard from Texas and Oklahoma.
Thirty-seventh Division	Camp Sheridan	Three miles from Montgomery, Ala.	Maj. Gen. C. G. Treet	Guard from Ohio.
Thirty-eighth Division	Camp Shelby	Ten miles south of Hattiesburg, Miss.	Maj. Gen. W. H. Sage	Guard from Indiana, Kentucky, and West Virginia.
Thirty-ninth Division	Camp Beauregard	Five miles from Alexandria, La.	Maj. Gen. H. C. Hodges	Guard from Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana.
Fortieth Division	Camp Kearny	Fifteen miles north of San Diego, Cal.	Maj. Gen. F. S. Strong	Guard from California, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado.
Forty-first Division	Camp Fremont	Near Charlotte, N. C.	Maj. Gen. H. Liggett	Guard from Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming.
Forty-second ("Rainbow") Division	Camp Mills	Mineola, Long Island, N. Y.	Maj. Gen. William A. Mann	Guard units from 27 States.

PRESIDENT WILSON AND HIS CABINET



Front row (left to right): William C. Redfield, Robert Lansing, David F. Houston, President Wilson, William G. McAdoo, A. S. Burleson. Back row (left to right): Josephus Daniels, William B. Wilson, Newton D. Baker, Thomas W. Gregory, Franklin K. Lane
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY



Accompanied by Field Marshal Lord Grenfell, the Primate is inspecting a Battalion Recruited From the Church Lads' Brigade
(Photo © International Film Service)

National Army Cantonments

Division or Branch of Service.	Name of Camp.	Location.	Commander.	Troops from.
Seventy-sixth Division	Camp Devens	Ayer, Mass.	Maj. Gen. H. F. Hodges	Quotas from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York.
Seventy-seventh Division	Camp Upton	Yaphank, Long Island, N. Y.	Maj. Gen. J. F. Bell	Quotas from New York, including New York City.
Seventy-eighth Division	Camp Dix	Wrightstown, N. J.	Maj. Gen. Chase W. Kennedy	Quotas from New Jersey, Delaware, and New York.
Seventy-ninth Division	Camp Meade	Admiral, Md.	Maj. Gen. J. E. Kuhn	Quotas from District of Columbia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.
Eightieth Division	Camp Lee	Three miles from Petersburg, Va.	Maj. Gen. A. Cronkhite	Quotas from Virginia, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania.
Eighty-first Division	Camp Jackson	Five miles from Columbia, S. C.	Maj. Gen. F. H. French	Quotas from South Carolina, North Carolina, Florida, and Porto Rico.
Eighty-second Division	Camp Gordon	Thirteen miles northeast of Atlanta, Ga.	Maj. Gen. Eben Swift	Quotas from Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee.
Eighty-third Division	Camp Sherman	Three miles from Chillicothe, Ohio	Maj. Gen. E. F. Glynn	Quotas from Ohio and Pennsylvania.
Eighty-fourth Division	Camp Taylor	Dumesnil, seven miles from Louisville, Ky.	Maj. Gen. H. C. Hale	Quotas from Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois.
Eighty-fifth Division	Camp Custer	Four miles west of Battle Creek, Mich.	Maj. Gen. J. T. Dickman	Quotas from Michigan and Wisconsin.
Eighty-sixth Division	Camp Grant	Four miles from Rockford, Ill.	Maj. Gen. Thomas H. Barry	Quotas from Illinois.
Eighty-seventh Division	Camp Pike	Eight miles north-west of Little Rock, Ark.	Maj. Gen. S. D. Sturgis	Quotas from Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.
Eighty-eighth Division	Camp Dodge	Eleven miles north of Des Moines, Iowa	Maj. Gen. E. H. Plummer	Quotas from North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois.
Eighty-ninth Division	Camp Funston	Four miles east of Fort Riley, Kan.	Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood	Quotas from Kansas, Missouri, South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona.
Ninetieth Division	Camp Travis	Adjoining the U. S. Military Reservation at Fort Sam Houston, San Antonio, Texas	Maj. Gen. H. T. Allen	Quotas from Texas and Oklahoma.
Ninety-first Division	Camp Lewis	American Lake, sixteen miles south of Tacoma, Wash.	Maj. Gen. H. A. Greene	Quotas from Alaska, Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, and Utah.

SIGNAL CORPS AVIATION CAMPS

Location.	Field.	Squadrons.	Officers.	Enlisted Men.
Essington, Penn. ....	.....	1	3	150
Fairfield, Ohio	Wilbur Wright.....	4	12	600
Fort Sill, Okla. ....	.....	1	3	150
Mincola, Long Island, N. Y.	Hazelhurst	2	6	300
Mount Clemens, Mich. ....	.....	2	6	300
Rantoul, Ill.	Chanute	2	6	300
San Antonio, Texas	Camp Kelly	8	24	1,200
San Diego, Cal.	Rockwell	2	6	300
Total .....	.....	22	66	3,300

Officers' Training Camps

Second series: Aug. 27 to Nov. 26, 1917.
Total men admitted to all camps, 20,669.

Plattsburg Barracks, N. Y.—Commanding officer, Colonel Paul A. Wolf.

Fort Niagara, N. Y.—Commanding officer, Colonel J. W. Heavey.

Fort Myer, Va.—Commanding officer, Lieut. Col. C. W. Fenton.

Fort Oglethorpe, Ga.—Commanding officer, Colonel Herbert J. Slocum.

Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind.—Commanding officer, Major Alvan C. Read.

Fort Sheridan, Ill.—Commanding officer, Lieut. Col. James A. Ryan.

Fort Snelling, Minn.—Commanding officer, Colonel J. D. Leitch.

Leon Springs, Texas.—Commanding officer, Lieut. Col. J. D. L. Hartman.

Presidio of San Francisco, Cal.—Commanding officer, Lieut. Col. F. W. Sladen.

The regular army organization camps are located at:

Chickamauga National Park, Ga.

Douglas, Ariz.

El Paso, Texas.

Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind.

Fort D. A. Russell, Wyo.

Fort Douglas, Utah.

Fort Ethan Allen, Vt.

Fort Myer, Va.

Fort Riley, Kan.

Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

Fort Sill, Okla.

Fort Snelling, Minn.

Gettysburg National Park, Penn.

Presidio of San Francisco, Cal.

San Antonio, Texas, (Camp Wilson.)

Vancouver Barracks, Wash.

MEDICAL OFFICERS' TRAINING CAMPS

Allentown, Penn., 150 students, (Ambulance Corps.)

Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind., 1,200 students.

Fort Des Moines, Iowa, 75 students, (colored.)

Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., 1,300 students.

Fort Riley, Kan., 900 students.

Total approximate number attending, 3,625 students.

ENGINEER OFFICERS' TRAINING CAMPS

American University, Washington, D. C., 425 students.

Fort Leavenworth, Kan., 525 students.

Vancouver Barracks, Wash., 160 students.

Total, 1,110 students.

DEPARTMENTS AND COMMANDERS

HEADQUARTERS, COAST ARTILLERY DISTRICTS, &C.

EASTERN DEPARTMENT.—Headquarters, Governors Island, N. Y.; commander, Brig. Gen. Eli P. Doyle, retired.

Middle Atlantic Coast Artillery District—Headquarters, Fort Totten, N. Y.

Panama Coast Artillery District—Headquarters, Ancon, Canal Zone.

NORTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT.—Headquarters, Boston, Mass.; commander, Brig. Gen. John A. Johnston.

North Atlantic Coast Artillery District—Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

CENTRAL DEPARTMENT.—Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.; commander, Major Gen. William H. Carter, retired.

SOUTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT.—Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.; commander, Major Gen. William P. Duvall, retired.

South Atlantic Coast Artillery District—Headquarters, Charleston, S. C.

SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT.—Headquarters, Fort Sam Houston, Texas; commander, Major Gen. John W. Ruckman.

WESTERN DEPARTMENT.—Headquarters, San Francisco, Cal.; commander, Major Gen. Arthur Murray, retired.

South Pacific Coast Artillery District—Headquarters, Fort Miley, Cal.

North Pacific Coast Artillery District—Headquarters, Seattle, Wash.

PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT.—Headquarters, Manila, P. I.; commander, Major Gen. Charles J. Bailey.

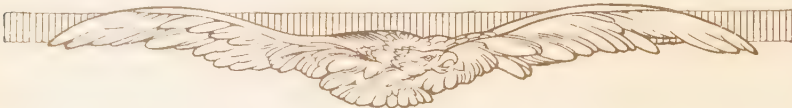
HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT.—Headquarters, Honolulu, Hawaii; commander, Major Gen. Frederick S. Strong.

NAVY TRAINING CAMPS AND STATIONS

Philadelphia, (League Island;) Newport, R. I.; Cape May, N. J.; Charleston, S. C.; Pensacola, Fla.; Key West, Fla.; Mare Island, Cal.; Puget Sound, Wash., (Bremerton;) Hingham, Mass.; Norfolk, Va.; New Orleans, La.; San Diego, Cal.; New York Navy Yard; Great Lakes, Ill.; Pelham, N. Y.; Hampton Roads, Va., and Gulfport, Miss., (Winter.)

MARINE CORPS TRAINING CAMPS

Port Royal, S. C.; Mare Island, Cal., and Quantico, Va.



A Great American Mercantile Marine for the War Emergency

THE destruction of allied and neutral shipping since the war began in 1914 and the diversion by the Allies of an enormous amount of tonnage from normal trade channels had already, before the United States became a belligerent, forced this country to consider very seriously the problem of creating a mercantile marine of its own on a scale commensurate with its commerce. Ever since the civil war the United States has occupied a secondary position as a carrying nation. It has depended upon foreign ships for its ocean transportation, although for half a century efforts were repeatedly made to establish a mercantile marine.

The European war accentuated the problem. The Government was urged to take the matter in hand, and finally President Wilson secured the passing of legislation which authorized the appointment of a Shipping Board and the creation of a corporation to build ships. It was provided that the majority of the stock in this corporation should be held by the Government. Again there was delay, but our entry into the war hastened events, and on April 16, 1917, the Emergency Fleet Corporation was organized by the Shipping Board, and Major Gen. George W. Goethals, the engineer who built the Panama Canal, was appointed General Manager. Congress authorized the use of \$50,000,000, and work was immediately begun to build a vast fleet of both steel and wooden ships to transport supplies to the Allies and thus frustrate the German submarine campaign. Contracts were awarded to various ship-building firms, and shipyards on both the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts began to hum with increased activity.

Seizure of German Shipping

The first warlike act of the United States on entering the war was to seize all the German merchant ships laid up in the ports of the United States and its insular possessions. As many of these

ships had been disabled by their crews, work was immediately begun to repair them. Early in June fourteen of the seized ships were assigned to the service of the Navy Department and renamed, while at the end of the same month President Wilson signed an executive order authorizing the Shipping Board to take "possession and title" of eighty-seven of the German-owned ships, representing 500,000 tons. The board secured from the President the broadest powers to repair, equip, man, operate, lease, or charter the vessels in any service for the United States or in any commerce, foreign or coastwise. These ships were in various ports on the Atlantic and Pacific and in insular ports. The directions referring to them did not affect the fourteen ships which had been taken over by the Navy Department. The eighty-seven ships were specified by name in the President's executive order.

On July 27 Secretary Daniels announced that the American flag had that day been hoisted on the great German liner *Vaterland*. He also stated that fifteen other German ships had been taken over by the Government and the work of fitting them out for transport service would be rapidly pushed to completion. The work on all these ships was begun some time previously by contract under the Shipping Board. The Navy Department had now taken over this work under its direction. Repairs to the *Vaterland*, which has been renamed the *Leviathan*, cost slightly less than \$1,000,000. The *Leviathan* is the largest merchant vessel in the world. Subsequently other German ships were placed under the American flag.

The seized German ships represent the beginnings of the new American mercantile marine. But more important additions are being made by purchase and construction. Thus, Austro-Hungarian ships have been acquired by purchase, since a state of war thus far does not exist between the United States and

Austria-Hungary. International law permits the requisition of foreign tonnage if due compensation is paid to the owners. The first Austro-Hungarian ship thus acquired was the *Martha Washington*, 8,312 tons, which the Shipping Board announced would be requisitioned and turned over to the War Department for emergency service.

The Shipbuilding Program

Major Gen. Goethals on July 13 outlined his shipbuilding program. He stated that contracts had then been awarded for 348 wooden ships, representing 1,218,000 tons and costing \$174,000,000, and seventy-seven steel ships, representing 642,800 tons and costing \$101,660,356. He added that negotiations were proceeding for another hundred wooden ships. Major Gen. Goethals then explained that he mainly relied on the construction of steel ships of standard pattern for getting the greatest amount of the most serviceable tonnage in the shortest time. Contracts were to be offered for the building of two plants (to be owned by the Government) for the construction of fabricated steel ships, to produce 400 ships, aggregating 2,500,000 tons, within eighteen to twenty-four months, and absorbing \$550,000,000. Major Gen. Goethals also foreshadowed the commandeering of ships then in process of building for private account, aggregating more than 1,500,000 tons.

Disagreement between Major Gen. Goethals and the Shipping Board, of which William Denman was President, led to the resignation on July 20 of Major Gen. Goethals and the demand by President Wilson that Mr. Denman likewise resign. Edward N. Hurley, formerly Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, was appointed President of the Shipping Board, and Rear Admiral W. L. Capps, Chief Constructor of the Navy, was designated General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Bainbridge Colby of New York was also appointed a member of the Shipping Board.

The first important act of the Government after the reconstitution of the Shipping Board was the commandeering of all power-driven cargo-carrying and pas-

senger vessels above 2,500 tons dead weight capacity under construction, and all materials, machinery, equipment, and outfit pertaining to such construction. The order was issued to the owners of shipyards on Aug. 3 by Admiral Capps in virtue of the authority delegated to the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Compensation, the order explained, would be paid at a later date. Thus, by a single stroke, the United States came into possession of over 1,500,000 tons of shipping in process of construction. Most of the 700 vessels commandeered were owned in Great Britain and Norway. When completed, these vessels will almost double America's steam tonnage in foreign trade.

With the submission of new estimates by the Shipping Board on Aug. 24 the Government's complete shipbuilding program was made public. It called for a total of 1,270 ships, of 7,968,000 tons, in addition to nearly 2,000,000 tons of shipping which was already under construction in American yards, and which had been commandeered by the Emergency Fleet Corporation. The program is to be carried out by the end of the fiscal year on June 30, 1918, and requires a new billion-dollar appropriation, thus bringing the total amount required for building, commandeering, and purchasing vessels up to two billions. The details of the program are shown in the following table:

BUILDING PROGRAM

	Num- ber.	Ton- nage.	Estimated Cost.
Ships contracted for.	433	1,919,200	\$285,000,000
Ships ready to be contracted for when funds are available.	452	2,968,000	455,500,000
Ships under negotia- tions	237	1,281,400	194,000,000
			\$934,500,000
Miscellaneous vessels.	150	1,800,000	300,000,000
Organization and other miscel- laneous expenses.....			35,000,000
Amount authorized by Congress June 6, 1917, (\$300,000,000 ap- propriated)			550,000,000
Amount to be authorized for building program immediately in sight, making no allowance for changes in cost of labor and material			719,500,000

COMMANDEERING PROGRAM

For commandeered ships, amount required.	\$515,000,000
For commandeered ships, amount authorized by Congress June 6, 1917	250,000,000

Balance requiring authorization by Congress	\$265,000,000
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PURCHASE PROGRAM

For vessels to be purchased other than under construction or commandeered	150,000,000
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SUMMARY

Total amount, in round figures, to be purchased in addition to amounts already authorized:	
For commandeered vessels.....	265,000,000
For construction of new vessels.	719,500,000
For purchase of new vessels....	150,000,000

Grand total	\$1,134,500,000
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Amounts desired to be appropriated for remainder of fiscal year 1918:

For commandeered vessels.....	\$365,000,000
For building program.....	400,000,000
For purchase of vessels.....	150,000,000

Total	\$915,000,000
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Three Great Shipyards

Contracts for the construction of three great Government-owned shipbuilding yards were awarded on Aug. 31 by the Emergency Fleet Corporation to the American International Corporation, the Submarine Boat Corporation, and the Merchants' Shipbuilding Company. After the first ship is turned out from one of these yards it will be possible to produce one 5,000-ton steel vessel every two working days.

On Sept. 7 it was announced that the United States is to build a great fleet of merchant vessels of from 10,000 to 12,000 tons, capable of attaining a speed of 16 knots or better. Contracts already entered into for ships of smaller capacity and lower speed would be carried out, but practically all of the millions which Congress had been asked for in addition to the original appropriation of \$500,000,000 for construction would be devoted to the fast ships. At least 150 cargo ships aggregating from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons will be built under the new Shipping Board plan, and not one of them will be slower than 16 knots, while many of

them will be capable of 18 knots or more. Careful investigations made by Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board and Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce showed that vessels capable of 16 knots or more were practically free from successful submarine attack.

A question which is causing some perplexity was raised by the commandeering of the ships building for British interests. On one side it was proposed that they should be retained by the United States in spite of the objections of Great Britain, but it was pointed out on the other hand that soon after the arrival of the British War Mission in the United States the British Government gave assurances that it would not protest against the commandeering of British vessels on American stocks. Later there was an endeavor to put through an inter-allied chartering agreement, which, in the view of American officials, would have given the United States hardly enough representation of power in the control of allied shipping. For this reason the proposal was rejected. Following this, Great Britain is understood to have changed her position on the question of commandeering and to have demanded that the ships she is building here be turned back to her on their completion.

The Chartering Commission

Another far-reaching development in the control of the Shipping Board took place on Sept. 6, when Mr. Hurley announced the formation of an American Chartering Commission, with headquarters in New York, to have absolute power over all charters of American ships or by American shippers. The proposed powers of the American Chartering Commission are much broader than those of the Inter-Allied Chartering Committee in London. Mr. Hurley and the Shipping Committee of the Council of National Defense agreed upon a tentative universal shipping rate to be enforced on all Government shipments on American vessels. Close co-operation was also arranged between the Embargo Administration Board and the Shipping Board to insure the widest possible control of alien tonnage.

The rounding off of the Shipping Board's jurisdiction was made manifest in the conclusion arrived at by the Exports Board and the Shipping Board that the United States has full authority to commandeer neutral tonnage tied up in American ports, as "war necessity." This decision affected 400,000 tons of neutral shipping, of which 250,000 was Dutch. An interesting point involved in this step was the revival of the ancient right of angary, which is recognized as part of international law and means

the right to enforce transportation. All efforts to effect an agreement with the Allies for a general rate reduction in the Atlantic have so far proved ineffective, owing to the fact that Great Britain's method of shipping control has made it impossible for the British to co-operate in the Shipping Board plan. In regard to shipping on the Pacific, where Japan dominates the situation, negotiations were begun on the arrival of the Japanese War Mission headed by Viscount Ishii.

Enemies Within the United States

The Government's Treatment of Enemy Aliens. Spies, and Seditionists

THE large number of enemy aliens in the United States presents one of the many problems with which the Government has to deal. Technically, every German who has not taken out first papers and who, therefore, still owes allegiance to the Fatherland is an enemy alien; but, while the great majority of these aliens are naturally either sympathetic to German war aims, or at least unable to give their wholehearted support to the Allies, they are not a source of danger to the United States. Only a small section have given evidence of disaffection, or endeavored to cause trouble.

On the outbreak of war in 1914 the British Government interned all German subjects because it was difficult to know who were and who were not engaged in some form of espionage. Such a measure would be impracticable in the United States, and efforts have accordingly been limited to watching and arresting only those Germans whom there was some reason of suspecting as spies or agents of the German Government. This is the task of the Secret Service, and from the nature of its work it is impossible to give any idea of what has been done except where the arrest of Germans has actually been reported.

Prisoners of War

The largest group of interned Germans consists of those who come under the heading of prisoners of war, as distinct from men suspected of espionage. Practically all these prisoners of war are officers and men who formed the crews of the German merchant vessels seized in American ports; and most of them were arrested in New York and sent in the first place to Ellis Island. The Government has leased a hotel and grounds at Hot Springs, N. C., and there established a detention camp, where several hundred German merchant officers and sailors are now accommodated in very comfortable quarters. Five hundred officers and a hundred sailors here enjoy their new-found leisure in a hundred acres of shaded lawn, and need not work unless they feel so inclined. As soon as new buildings are erected another six hundred men will be sent to Hot Springs.

The Germans at Hot Springs have caused no trouble, and do not seem inclined to do so. They are seafaring men and philosophic enough to enjoy their enforced holiday. They obey the few rules imposed on them. They answer roll call at 9 A. M. daily and take part in a fire drill. Then they are practically free within the grounds until taps sound at 11 P. M. They are practically on the

"honor system" and are allowed to make rules for their own guidance through a number of committees. They work when they work and play when they play, idling but little. The chief officers have organized classes, and daily instruction is given to petty officers and common seamen in mathematics, navigation, and languages. Squads run through military setting-up exercises daily. Some of the men work for the Government, including fifty ship carpenters engaged in the construction of the new barracks, and others are employed as day laborers. The pay ranges from \$20 to \$30 a month. A number of the men work in the seven-acre tract, where a fine crop of vegetables is growing, and others find diversion in their own little garden plots. Agriculture appeals to most of the interned men.

By the riverside the officers have built a village of miniature rustic houses, using tree limbs and roots, stones, odds and ends of material found on the hotel grounds. One house has panels of old matting. A small church with a steeple is nearing completion. The prisoners are allowed to receive newspapers and other reading matter, and, subject to the station censorship, to write and receive letters. About thirty members of German officers' families have gone to the village of Hot Springs, and these the officers are privileged to receive for an hour each Sunday. They can see them as often as they wish, the families coming to the fence, but no conversation is allowed except during the Sunday hour. Few visitors are allowed to inspect the station, and they are not permitted to speak to the Germans except by way of salutation in passing. The Germans do not salute the Americans in charge, although they generally speak in salutation. The watchmen are not supposed to talk with them. The Germans are well fed on plain food—potatoes, beans, cabbage, turnips, and material for soups and stews. The United States furnishes the food at a cost of about 50 cents per man a day, and the German chefs cook it.

Methods of Handling Prisoners

In the expectation that the progress of the war will throw on the United States

the burden of looking after large numbers of prisoners, the War Department is completing plans for handling many thousands more. According to an official statement, all war prisoners, whether military or naval, will ultimately be placed in the custody of the War Department, and the Adjutant General of the army will have general control through five principal bureaus, namely:

1. A bureau of administration charged with the composition and personnel of the guards, the pay, rations, clothing, and transportation of them.

2. A bureau of employment in charge of the labor of prisoners, both within their places of internment and on Federal, State, and private projects without the prisons.

3. A bureau of religious and educational welfare, to which bureau all matters connected with religion, education, recreation, and the dealing with Red Cross and benevolent assistance will be conducted.

4. A bureau of inquiry charged with the custody of the records of war prisoners, and through which information concerning the prisoners will be transmitted to the enemy's Government and to the National Red Cross Society. This bureau is also charged with the forwarding of mail, money orders, and packages sent from the prisoners' home country for delivery to individual prisoners; and

5. A bureau of repatriation, charged with the final restoration of prisoners to their home country at the conclusion of hostilities.

Three War Prison Barracks

The places of detention are known as war prison barracks and at present three such barracks have been established, located at Fort McPherson, Ga.; Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., and Fort Douglas, Utah. Each barracks is commanded by a Colonel of the regular army, assisted by a staff of officers similar to that of a commanding officer of an army post or camp.

The general regulations under which war prisoners are held were made the subject of a special article of the Fourth Hague Convention. In addition to this, the United States is bound by certain provisions of the Geneva Convention.

Officers who may be made prisoners are allowed, under the provisions of The Hague Convention, the pay of officers of the corresponding grade in the army of the captors' Government, and such is the present practice in the United States.

The enlisted men who are made prisoners are given the same medical attention, pay, clothing, and quarters as are allowed United States soldiers. The quarters authorized for war prisoners are similar to and constructed in accordance with the specifications governing the construction of cantonments used by the army of the United States. War prisoners are not confined in the sense of being placed in jails or prisons or penal institutions, but as it is necessary to limit their freedom of movement, the cantonments in which they are confined are surrounded by a wire fence. Within the limits of this fence prisoners are given liberty of action.

Entire Religious Freedom

The Hague Convention requires that war prisoners shall enjoy complete liberty in the exercise of their religion. To provide for this, there is a chaplain of the regular army on the staff of the commandant of each war prison barracks, who has general supervision of the religious matters connected with the prison, and services are authorized for all prisoners so desiring where churches of special denominations are located in the vicinity of the places of internment. A representative of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations is also accredited to each war prison barracks and, in conjunction with the barracks chaplain, assists in the athletic and social affairs of the prisoners. In the event of the death of a war prisoner, the same honors and respect are shown as in case of the death of an individual of corresponding rank in the United States Army.

The educational welfare of the prisoners is under the immediate control of the barracks chaplain, who is charged with the organization of courses of instruction as elected by the prisoners and who is aided in the work by the prisoners themselves. Later, vocational training will be introduced in each barrack to provide for prisoners who are without any trade or vocation, the qualified prisoners being used as instructors for the others.

Prisoners are entitled to send mail matter through international mails with-

out postage. Mail matter for domestic destination is subject to postage, as is also all incoming mail, both outgoing and incoming mail being censored at the barracks.

As the number of prisoners increases, the Adjutant General will, under the authority granted him by Paragraph 6 of the Fourth Hague Convention, authorize the employment of these prisoners on work connected with the public service, for individuals, and upon their own account.

In arriving at the wages to be paid prisoners for these classes of work, the provisions of international law govern. When the work is for branches of the public service or for private persons, the conditions are settled in an agreement with military authorities. The wages of prisoners go toward improving their positions, and any balances remaining are paid them on their release, after deducting the cost of maintenance.

Complete records are kept of all sums disbursed for the care and upkeep of war prisoners, and at the close of hostilities reports of these disbursements are forwarded to the enemy Government for reimbursement.

Some of Those Interned

Among the Germans who have been arrested—on the suspicion of being spies—by Secret Service agents of the Government are Carl Heynen, for years one of the most influential German agents in North America, and at one time German Consul General at Mexico City; P. A. Borgemeister, formerly a New York banker, but more recently confidential secretary to Dr. Heinrich Albert, late Financial Attaché of the German Embassy in Washington; Professor Jonathan Zenneck, an expert in wireless telegraphy, and Heinrich S. Ficke, auditor in New York City of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, whose home on Staten Island commands a view of the ships entering and leaving New York Harbor. These and other suspects were connected either directly or indirectly with the German Government and great financial, industrial, and maritime concerns owned or controlled by

German interests. Most of the spy suspects are interned at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

A Copenhagen dispatch, dated July 26, stated that more effective measures than were then in force for supervision of Scandinavian liners plying to the United States must be put into effect if the passage of numerous German agents and couriers and the transmission of intelligence by German spies in America were to be checked. It was said authoritatively that German passport-forging bureaus were equipping German agents in Scandinavia with fraudulent Scandinavian passports. These were copied from genuine originals in the same fashion as American passports had been counterfeited photographically by the Pass Bureau of the Admiralty. New names and descriptions are substituted occasionally, but sometimes the only change is to attach a new photograph of the ostensible holder. Every liner sailing to the United States carries 200 or 300 passengers, principally of Scandinavian nationality. There is little to prevent the Intelligence Department of the German Admiralty, now under the leadership of Captain Karl Boy-Ed, ex-Naval Attaché at Washington, from planting any desired number of agents, equipped apparently with genuine Scandinavian passports, among the passengers. Various attempts to recruit neutrals for courier and information missions to the United States had been reported more or less definitely. The Scandinavian police, the dispatch continued, also could tell a tale of unmasked Americans who were employed in the German Secret Service.

Those Who Organize Sedition

Among the measures instituted by the United States Government is the prohibition of German residents from going within a certain distance of forts, armories, shipyards, piers, and other places where the presence of enemies or spies would be dangerous. Germans who can prove their good faith are allowed to go within the barred zones provided they have permits.

Another aspect of the enemy alien problem is the participation of Germans in movements of native origin, such as

the stirring up of labor troubles, aiding anti-war agitation, and encouraging the activities of anarchist groups. As many of these movements were in existence before the United States entered the war and are local manifestations of a worldwide discontent with the existing social order, it is not always easy to draw the line between genuine reformers and pro-Germans; but to be on the safe side the Government has taken vigorous action in combating all movements opposed to the conduct of the war or tending to prevent enlistment and to destroy the fighting spirit in the nation. Under the Espionage act it is unlawful to discourage or oppose recruiting, and the Postmaster General has power to stop the mailing privilege of any publications which give voice to anti-war or anti-conscription views. About twenty Socialist and radical newspapers and magazines have been so dealt with.

A further development has been in connection with the German-language papers of the United States. Some of these newspapers have been, either by direct comment or by insinuation and satire, conducting an active campaign against the Government, and already several of them have been suppressed.

Considerable resentment has been expressed by Socialists, radicals, and others against these measures on the ground that the Government is acting autocratically in abridging the freedom of the press and other rights guaranteed under the Constitution. Street meetings have also been prohibited or broken up; the headquarters of the Socialist Party in Chicago has been subjected to a domiciliary visit by Department of Justice agents, and papers seized; the home of Professor Scott Nearing, a radical writer on economics, has been similarly searched; and in every direction the Government has been vigorously endeavoring to suppress revolutionary and radical movements that are suspected of being seditious and treasonable.

The organization which has caused the greatest concern is the I. W. W., (the Industrial Workers of the World,) whose

main tenet is the Syndicalist idea of dispossessing employers of their property and conducting the industries of the nation under the direct ownership and management of the workers themselves, organized in industrial unions, or guilds. The I. W. W. program, however, besides aiming at this form of industrial democracy, also approves methods of violence, which are due to anarchist influences, such as the destruction of property. This is the so-called plan of "sabotage," and it is this which has caused the Government to regard the I. W. W. as the most dangerous element in the community at the present time, and to suspect that the organization is being encouraged by German interests.

Drafting Friendly Aliens

A resolution passed Congress on Sept. 13 authorizing the draft of all friendly aliens who have been in the country one year; those who claim exemption through

treaty will be allowed ninety days to leave the country. It is estimated that this action will call approximately 1,275,000 men to the American colors; besides these there are 81,000 enemy aliens who under the resolution could be put to work related to the war, but not as soldiers. It is understood that Great Britain and France will take over their drafted nationals; the others would become part of the American forces.

On Sept. 19 a joint committee on the Trading With the Enemy act approved a clause stipulating that all papers printed in foreign languages, when criticising war measures, must file translation accompanied by an affidavit, with the Post Office of the city in which the publications are located.

Congress also enacted into law a measure carrying drastic regulations against any commercial intercourse in this country in which subjects of Germany may be financially concerned.

Work of the American Red Cross

Sketch of a Great Relief System

THE War Council of the Red Cross, with Henry P. Davison of J. P. Morgan & Co. as Chairman, was created May 10, 1917, by President Wilson to carry on the extraordinary relief work made necessary by the entrance of the United States into the European war. From May 10 to Aug. 31 this council appropriated for its work in the countries of the Allies the sum of \$12,339,681. An elaborate report of the work of the American Red Cross, issued in September, contains many interesting details. The general objects of the work in France are described as follows:

1. To establish and maintain hospitals for soldiers in the American Army in France.
2. To establish and maintain canteens, rest houses, recreation huts and other means of supplying the American soldiers with such comforts and recreation as the army authorities may approve.
3. To establish and maintain in France canteens, rest houses, recreation huts, and other means of supplying comforts and

recreation for the soldiers in the armies of our allies.

4. To distribute hospital equipment and supplies of all kinds to military hospitals for soldiers of the American or allied armies.

5. To engage in civilian relief, including:

(a) The care and education of destitute children.

(b) Care of mutilated soldiers.

(c) Care of sick and disabled soldiers.

(d) Relief work in the devastated areas of France and Belgium, such as furnishing to the inhabitants of these districts agricultural implements, household goods, foods, clothing, and such temporary shelter as will enable them to return to their homes.

(e) To provide relief for and guard against the increase of tuberculosis.

6. To furnish relief for soldiers and civilians held as prisoners by the enemy and to give assistance to such civilians as are returned to France from time to time from the parts of Belgium and France held by the enemy.

7. To supply financial assistance to committees, societies, or individuals allied with the American Red Cross and carrying on relief work in Europe.

Scope of Red Cross Work

Separate commissions of representative Americans, skilled in medical and administrative work, have been sent to Europe. The first commission, which went to France, is headed by Major Grayson. M. P. Murphy, Vice President of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, has general supervision over the work of the American Red Cross in Europe, and its membership is composed of fourteen leading experts in special lines of work. Each of the other commissions has been selected along similar lines, and the work of all these commissions is either volunteer or is paid by private contributions.

"The effort," the report adds, "has been, in accordance with the expressed views of the President of the United States and of the civil and military authorities of France, to co-ordinate along helpful lines all relief work being done in France and America."

Concerning the scope of the Red Cross work in behalf of the United States Army the report says:

"The first and supreme object of American Red Cross care is our own army and navy. The American Army in France is received in large reception camps on the coast, and after several weeks of preliminary training the men are sent across the country to permanent training camps back of the firing lines. Along the route followed by the troops the Red Cross has established infirmaries and rest stations, each in charge of an American trained nurse with an American man to assist her.

"Additional infirmaries and rest stations will be established in the near future, and adequate buildings are also being erected wherever needed.

"Canteens are being established by the Red Cross at railway stations where American soldiers on reserve duty or on leave, and those returning to or from duty, may find rest and refreshment. Baths, food, games, and other comforts will be made available at these canteens.

"When American troops start for France the men are given comfort kits. Christmas parcels will be sent over later.

"The War Council has appropriated \$100,000 for medical research work in France.

"To be able to do its work without delay, the Red Cross is establishing warehouses at different points of importance in the French theatre of war. An appropriation of \$500,000 has been voted to establish this service and provide its first stock of supplies.

Millions Spent for Supplies

"In response to a cable from the commission in France, the War Council appropriated \$1,500,000 to purchase food-stuff to be sent to France.

"It has also appropriated \$1,000,000 for the purchase of supplies in France; all for use in the hospital supply service.

"Near the firing line the Red Cross is establishing field canteens. Extending the work already begun by the French Red Cross, it will provide one of these canteens for every corps of the French army, and as well later for the American Army.

"To carry out these plans the War Council has made appropriations of about \$700,000, which will establish the canteens and maintain them for about three months. Much of the equipment will be supplied by the French Army.

"A Red Cross transportation service, through the co-operation of the French, British, and Italian Governments, the United States Shipping Board, and the leading steamship and railroad companies, has been established to handle the vast quantities of medical and relief supplies now being shipped almost daily to France, Belgium, Serbia, Russia, and other belligerent countries.

"The Red Cross will have cargo space on every steamer chartered by the United States Shipping Board. Army transports also will carry Red Cross supplies.

"In advance of the fighting forces the United States sent to the European battlefields six base hospitals organized during the last year by the Red Cross—the first United States Army organization sent to Europe. These were sent at the request of the British Commission.

"More than a dozen base hospitals organized by the American Red Cross are

now seeing active service in France, and others are rapidly being made ready for foreign service. Each of these base hospitals has a staff of 22 physicians, 2 dentists, 65 Red Cross nurses, and 150 enlisted men of the Army Medical Corps. Before war was declared, 26 of these units had been formed, and 47 are now ready for service. It costs at least \$75,000 to equip a base hospital with beds, blankets, sterilizers, operating tables, tents, dental outfits, automobiles, and kitchens."

500,000 White Plague Victims

One of the most important undertakings of the Red Cross in France is to combat the tuberculosis peril. The report says that at the present time 500,000 persons are afflicted with tuberculosis as a direct result of the war, and that "scientific efforts to control the spread of the malady are not only of supreme concern to France herself but they are of great importance in making France healthy for our own troops." All work is being done under the general administration of the French Government and by French people.

For the relief of wounded and sick French soldiers and their families the American Red Cross has appropriated \$1,000,000, and the organization has made plans to take care temporarily of the hundreds of thousands of destitute refugees in France. The report cites the French Ministry of the Interior as authority for the statement that these refugees number about 400,000, but adds that "there is reason to think that the number is much larger."

Budget of Expenditures

The following summary, covering the financial part of the Red Cross' great undertakings, concludes the report:

The budget for expenditures in France to cover the period until Nov. 1, 1917, prepared by J. H. Perkins, Director of the Department of Military Affairs, Red Cross Commission in France, is for a total expenditure of \$1,773,250. This covers work for the United States Army, surgical dressings, equipment and operation of diet kitchens, canteens, American Red Cross Motor Ambulance service, hospital expenses, &c.

The budget of the Department of Civilian Relief in France, prepared by Homer Folks, Director of the Red Cross Department of Civil Affairs in France, up to Nov. 1, 1917, calls for \$2,190,353.

The budget of the Department of Administration in Paris, prepared by Carl Taylor, Director of Administration, up to Nov. 1, 1917, calls for \$115,700.

The budget of the Planning Department, prepared by George B. Ford, Director, up to Nov. 1, 1917, calls for \$3,890.

General appropriations have also been made, amounting in all to \$10,692,601. They cover hospital supplies, foodstuffs, transportation supplies and motors, building material, machinery, medical research, child welfare work, clothing, American Ambulance Hospital expenses, nurses, &c.

Before appropriations are recommended by the French Commission they are carefully prepared by the Director of the particular department concerned. They are then considered by a Finance Committee, consisting of Major Murphy, Chairman; J. H. Perkins, H. H. Harjes, H. O. Beatty, Carl Taylor, Homer Folks, William Endicott, and Ralph Preston. Three of this committee constitute a quorum, and every appropriation reported must receive the consent of all present.

Most of those in charge, for the Red Cross, of the work in France are giving their own time and paying their own expenses. A special fund of \$100,000 has also been privately contributed to meet expenses of members of the French Commission unable to pay their own way.

The appropriations made for use in Europe outside of France, covering drugs and medical supplies, relief funds, and expenses, are reported as follows:

For Russia	\$322,780.87
For Rumania	247,000.00
For Italy	210,000.00
For Serbia	222,500.00
For England	8,800.00
For Armenia	600,000.00
Other appropriations	36,000.00

The total appropriations by the War Council for Red Cross work in Europe are as follows:

In France	\$10,692,601.00
Outside of France.....	1,647,080.87
Grand total	\$12,339,681.87

Some of the European appropriations are to cover a full year, but the greater part, the report adds, will have been spent by November of this year.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From August 20 Up to and Including September 19, 1917

UNITED STATES

President Wilson issued a proclamation forbidding exports to neutral countries without licenses.

The first contingent of drafted men for the National Army arrived at their cantonments Sept. 5. The second contingent was sent Sept. 18.

Pacifists held a meeting in Chicago under the auspices of the People's Council of America for Democracy and Terms of Peace.

Labor voiced its loyalty to the Government at the conference of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy in Minneapolis.

President Wilson sent a reply to Pope Benedict's peace note, Aug. 27, rejecting the proposals and refusing to have any dealings with the present German autocracy.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

According to British official statements, England's losses for the week ended Aug. 18, included fifteen vessels of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended Aug. 25, eighteen vessels; for the week ended Sept. 1, twenty; for the week ended Sept. 8, twelve. These included the Royal Mail Company's steamer Desna and the Leyland liner Devonian.

France lost between two and five ships of over 1,600 tons each week.

Norway lost twenty-one ships in August.

Four American members of the crew of the British schooner Minas Queen were lost when the ship was torpedoed.

The American steamer Susan was sunk.

Several American vessels, including the Westwego, were attacked by submarines off the coast of France on Sept. 5. In the battle which followed, one submarine was lost.

The Atlantic Transport liner Minnehaha was sunk on Sept. 7, and fifty members of the crew were lost.

Statistics showed that 4,561,000 tons of shipping were sunk between Jan. 1 and Sept. 1.

Germany sent a note to Argentina promising to modify her blockade, giving Argentine food ships freedom of the seas. Argentina accepted an offer of indemnity for the sinking of the Toro and announced that she considered the incident closed. Soon after this, however, Secretary Lansing made public dispatches containing unneutral information for the German Government, sent in the Swedish code

through the Swedish Legation in Buenos Aires in charge of Baron Lowen, by Count Luxburg, German Chargé d'Affaires at that capital. The Swedish Foreign Office decided not to recall Baron Lowen, declaring that he did not know the contents of the messages. The British Government asked Sweden for an explanation. Argentina dismissed the German Minister, recalled her Naval Attaché at Berlin, and demanded an explanation from Germany. An oral apology from the Under Secretary of the German Foreign Office to the Argentine Minister at Berlin was pronounced unsatisfactory. Germany sent a note to Sweden expressing regret for the disagreeable issues raised.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Aug. 22—Germans begin offensive between the Tirul marshes and the River Aa, penetrating Russian positions.

Aug. 23—Russians evacuate Riga.

Aug. 24—Germans reach the River Aa at some places on the Gulf of Riga.

Aug. 27—Germans take important positions east of Czernowitz and advance on the Riga front northwest of Jacobstadt.

Sept. 2—Germans cross the Diva River near Ukkul and push northward, and also advance toward Riga from the south.

Sept. 3—Germans occupy Riga.

Sept. 4—Russians retire northeast of Riga; Germans cut a nine-mile gap in their line.

Sept. 5—Russians in their retreat toward the northeast cross the Livonian River; forces east from Riga retire to Segevoid, Lemberg, and Detesubrayd.

Sept. 10—Russians take the offensive in the region of Segevoid, and force Germans back in a southerly direction.

Sept. 11—Russians begin an offensive in the southeast section of Bukovina.

Sept. 14—Russians on the Riga front capture Kronberg, Keitzen, Sisseral, and Peine.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Aug. 24—Teutons repulse Russo-Rumanian attacks near Soveja, Rumania.

Aug. 29—Russian division abandons its position in the region of Fokshani.

Aug. 30—Teutons repulsed by Russians near Sochka.

Sept. 1—Rumanians ousted from hills northeast of Fokshani; Greek troops take part in raid in the Vardar sector.

Sept. 17—Italian troops move eastward through Albania and menace the Bulgarian right flank.

Sept. 18—Rumanians in the Suchitza Valley capture part of Teuton fortified positions near Varnitza.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- Aug. 20—French break German lines north of Verdun on an eleven-mile front, gaining Avocourt Wood, Dead Man Hill, Talou Ridge, and the Corbeaux and Cumières Woods; British repulse German counter-attack north of Epehy.
- Aug. 21—French capture the Côte de l'Oie, Regneville, and Samogneux; Canadians carry German positions on a mile front at Lens.
- Aug. 22—British capture important strategic positions for a mile along the Ypres-Menin road, and penetrate German trenches further north.
- Aug. 23—Canadians take important positions south of Lens.
- Aug. 24—French capture Hill 304 on the Verdun front and advance one and one-quarter miles beyond it; British forced from the ground won on the Ypres-Menin road.
- Aug. 25—French capture three fortified works near Béthincourt; British forced to give up ground captured near St. Quentin.
- Aug. 26—French gain on a two and a half mile front east of the Meuse; British advance half a mile east of Hargicourt.
- Aug. 30—British repulse German attacks on the Verdun front, and penetrate German positions in Champagne east of the Teton.
- Sept. 1-3—French repulse German attacks between Cerny and Hurtebise.
- Sept. 4—Canadians advance 250 yards on 600-yard front at Lens.
- Sept. 6—French repulse violent attacks in the region of Cerny.
- Sept. 7—British forced to relinquish positions gained north of Frezenburg.
- Sept. 8—French launch new offensive on the right bank of the Meuse, occupying important positions on a front of about one and a half miles; Germans repulsed in Lorraine, east of Rheims, and north of Courcy.
- Sept. 11—British on the Somme carry a German trench near Villeret and advance their line nearly a quarter of a mile.
- Sept. 12—French in Champagne drive across two lines of German trenches, between St. Hilaire and St. Souplet, and enter the third line.
- Sept. 14—Germans enter French trenches on a 500-yard front north of Caurières Wood.
- Sept. 15—French retrieve losses north of Caurières Wood, but lose height near Chaume; British advance in Belgium east of Westhoek.
- Sept. 18—Germans on the Champagne front, after a violent bombardment south of the Miette River, reach the French lines toward the Neufchatel Road; British improve their positions east of St. Julien and raid trenches in Inverness Copse.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Aug. 20—Italians cross the Isonzo River north of Gorizia.
- Aug. 21—Italians capture defenses between Corite and Selo.
- Aug. 22-24—Italians advance on the northern and southern wings of the Isonzo front in great drive on Trieste.
- Aug. 25—Italians capture Monte Santo.
- Aug. 27—Trieste civilians evacuate the city; Austrians evacuate Monte Santo.
- Aug. 29—Italians gain complete control of the Bainsizza Plateau and enter the Chiapovano Valley.
- Aug. 30—Italians surround Nakobil and attack the forest of Tarnovo.
- Aug. 31—Italians consolidate their gains on the Bainsizza and Carso Plateaus, and make further gains on San Gabriele.
- Sept. 1—German troops appear for the first time on the Carso front.
- Sept. 2-3—Italians push on in the Brestovizza Valley.
- Sept. 4—Italians capture Monte San Gabriele.
- Sept. 5—Italians capture an Austrian position south of Oerogio and repulse enemy attacks on the Carso Plateau from Castagnevizza to the sea.
- Sept. 6-9—Monte San Gabriele changes hands several times.
- Sept. 10—Turkish reinforcements thrown into the campaign along the Isonzo front.
- Sept. 14—Italians gain the northwestern crest and the peak of Monte San Gabriele.

AERIAL RECORD

- On Aug. 22 Zeppelins raided Yorkshire, killing one man, and Gotha airplanes raided Dover, Margate, and Ramsgate, killing eleven persons and injuring thirteen. Eight German machines were brought down. Another raid was made on the east coast on Sept. 2, and on Sept. 3 bombs were dropped on the naval station at Chatham, killing 108 persons and wounding 92. The first moonlight raid over the London district occurred Sept. 4. Eleven persons were killed and sixty-two hurt.
- The British bombarded Zeebrugge, Bruges, and many points back of the German lines in Belgium and Northern France.
- The Germans attacked Calais and Dunkirk. French aviators raided Stuttgart, Colmar, and bases near Metz.
- British naval seaplanes dropped bombs on German destroyers along the Belgian coast, hitting one destroyer and sinking at least one trawler.
- Italians raided Pola.
- The Germans attacked Vandelaincourt Hospital on Aug. 22, killing ten wounded men, one woman nurse, and nineteen men nurses. Another attack on the same hospital was made on Sept. 6, when nineteen persons were killed and twenty-six

injured. British-American hospitals on the French coast were attacked. One bomb fell on a Harvard hospital, killing four Americans and wounding ten others, and another fell on a St. Louis unit, killing one man.

NAVAL MANOEUVRES

Italian floats mounted with huge, new guns, bombarded Trieste, while British monitors shelled the rear slopes of the Hermada. Italian and British monitors shelled Pola. Four German mine sweepers were destroyed by British light craft off the coast of Jutland.

A German submarine bombarded Scarborough on Sept. 5, killing three persons and injuring five.

German submarines appeared in the Gulf of Riga, and shelled several places on the coast.

RUSSIA

The National Conference was held at Moscow on Aug. 26.

A counter-revolutionary, monarchistic conspiracy to accomplish a coup d'état by arresting the Provisional Government was unearthed and many arrests were made in Moscow. Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch and Grand Duke Paul were arrested, together with Mlle. Margaret Hitrova and Mme. Liubov Hitrova. The Minister of Justice resigned after being upbraided by Kerensky for his failure to unearth the plot.

Several adherents of the old imperial régime, including Mlle. Virubova, were exiled and taken across the Swedish frontier.

General Soukhomlinoff, the former Minister of War, was placed on trial on a charge of treason and his wife on a charge of being an accomplice.

A Cabinet crisis arose as a result of the opposition of the Constitutional Democratic Ministers to the food program of M. Pieschelonoff and the land policy of M. Tchernoff, as well as to the attitude of the majority toward the Ukraine.

Premier Kerensky deposed General Korniloff and arrested his envoy, Vladimir Lvoff, following Korniloff's demand that all civil and military powers be turned over to him as Commander in Chief of the army. Korniloff responded to the order of dismissal by moving an army against

Petrograd, where Kerensky proclaimed a state of siege. General Denikine, commander on the southwestern front, and the whole of his headquarters staff and General Erdelli were arrested. The Baltic fleet unanimously placed itself on the side of the Provisional Government. Kerensky became Commander in Chief of the army and General Alexieff, Chief of General Staff.

General Krymoff, commander of the troops sent by Korniloff to capture Petrograd, was arrested and committed suicide. Korniloff himself was taken into custody.

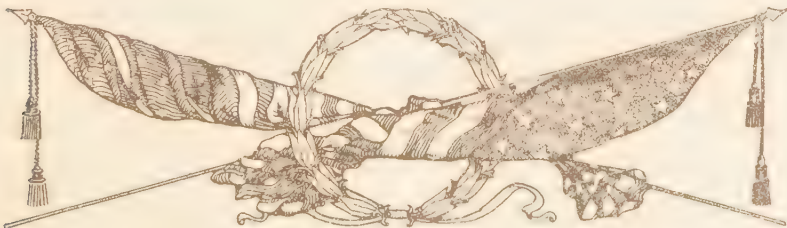
The Bolsheviks gained control of the Petrograd Council of Deputies. This resulted in friction between the Constitutional Democrats and the Socialists in the Cabinet, followed by the withdrawal of all the Constitutional Democrats save one. A new Cabinet of five members was formed.

A republic was proclaimed by the Provisional Government on Sept. 14.

MISCELLANEOUS

Louis J. Malvy, Minister of the Interior and Radical Socialist, quit the French Cabinet, and the head of the Secret Service, M. Leymarie, also gave up his post as a result of disclosures of alleged anti-patriotic activities on the part of Miguel Almeréyda, editor of the *Bonnet Rouge*, and some of the directors of the paper. The Ribot Cabinet resigned, and Paul Painlevé, Minister of War, formed a new Ministry.

Because of the failure of efforts to induce the Poles to fight for Germany and Austria, the Central Powers decided to abandon their project with regard to the Kingdom of Poland as outlined in the joint proclamation of Nov. 5, 1916. They were reported to have planned a new partition, Germany to annex such parts of Russian Poland as she needed to rectify her strategic frontier, this including about one-tenth of the territory, and Austria to annex the remaining nine-tenths, uniting it with Galicia and proclaiming the whole the Kingdom of Poland, with a status similar to Hungary's, and with Emperor Charles as King. A decree published at Lublin and Warsaw on Sept. 12 transferred the supreme authority to a regency council of three members, appointed by the monarchs of the occupying powers.



Military Events of the Month

From August 18 to September 18, 1917

By Walter Littlefield

AS last month's chronicle closed, the battle line from Flanders to the Adriatic seemed everywhere to be in movement. The British and French were again striking hard north-east of Ypres. The Canadians, already having cracked the carboniferous nut of Lens, appeared to be on the point of extracting the kernel. North of the Aisne and in Champagne the French were still checkmating the costly assault of the German Crown Prince. A bombardment at Verdun from the French side seemed to be puzzling military critics. The Italians were just launching their second great offensive of the year.

On the eastern front all was confusion and uncertainty—in the south the Rumanians and Russians were still gallantly contesting Moldavia with the Austrians, but further north the Russian military mutiny and the Teutonic obvious lack of men and munitions to take full advantage of it left the military situation there dominated by the question: Where will the Germans strike in order to obtain a maximum gain—strategic, political, or industrial—with the minimum extension of line?

In the course of the month three movements have developed and detached themselves from the foregoing mass until, by their intrinsic military importance, their sensational details, or their bearing upon the future, they have overshadowed all else. These are the great Italian offensive, which has changed the battle of the Isonzo into the battle of the Julian Alps; the occupation of Riga by the Germans, and the French expansion of their lines north of the town of Verdun, which, beginning as something of an enigma, like the great German assault on that place in 1916, is gradually assuming a strategic movement of definite progress and objective.

Flanders Offensive Suspended

But first let us dismiss as briefly as possible the events which have suffered obscurity by comparison on the western front. Between Aug. 18 and 22 the British and French had consolidated their gains in Flanders northeast of Ypres on a three-mile front beyond St. Julien and Fortuyn, and had made a perceptible gain on the Ypres-Roulers road. The English alone had done the same on the road to Menin. These movements seemed a necessary preparation to an attempted envelopment of the Westhoek Ridge, which lies between.

Then, in the early days of September, occurred an event which caused the Allies in this region to suspend operations until they could discover its meaning. This was the German order to the civil populations of Thourout, Courtrai, and Roulers to take refuge in Ghent and Limbourg. Two explanations of this act have been advanced: First, that the Germans meditated a retreat to their fortified line, Scheldt-Ghent-Sas van Get; second, that they intended to flood the front of the Allies from Dixmude to Ypres by damming the Scheldt east of Ghent and turning its waters at that place up the Lys, which would also be dammed by the same obstruction, just as they had already flooded the country between Nieuport and Dixmude by means of the Yser and its canals.

To meet either emergency would require an entirely different line of action. It will be remembered that in both the Nieuport-Dixmude affair of 1915 and the German retreat to the Hindenburg line last Spring the Allies were taken by surprise. Now, Germany's advertised evacuation by the civil population of an area of 550 square miles in West Flanders is full of interesting possibilities.

At Lens, on the night of Aug. 21-22, both Germans and the Canadians exe-

THE NATIONAL ARMY CELEBRATION



President Wilson Leading the Parade at Washington, Sept. 4, 1917, in Honor of the Men Drafted From the District of Columbia
(Photo © *Cineclix* from *Underwood & Underwood*)

DEPARTURE OF THE NEW YORK NATIONAL GUARD



The Crowd Outside the New York Public Library Bidding Farewell to the National Guard, August 30, 1917, Before
Going Into Camp
(Photo Paul Thompson)

cuted simultaneous assaults—like the rushing together of two locomotives head on—and, as usual, the Canadians had the best of it. This coal city of closely packed dwellings has now become a citadel of reinforced concrete—possibly the strongest single position that has ever confronted the Allies on the western front. They have already entered some of the isolated quarters of the town, and have firmly established themselves on the north at the Cité St. Laurent and the Cité St. Edouard; on the west at Cité Jeanne d'Arc; on the south at Eleu or Leauvette. But between these suburbs and the concrete citadel lie the coal pits with their fathomless depths of ages and the mysteries of kultural strategy. Meanwhile, the struggle there has become a succession of avalanches of gas, burning oil, rifle and machine-gun fire, and hand-to-hand struggles in which the German loss seems all out of proportion to the military value of the place with its present industrial uselessness. Less of an enigma is the fact that the besiegers are cautious in their use of big howitzers and high explosive shells.

The remainder of this front through Champagne and the Argonne has witnessed a constant application of attrition—artillery duels, bombing, air-plane combats, and raids carried out by the Allies—with particular emphasis on the St. Quentin sector, on the Aisne and in the Champagne. These three places and their relation as approaches to the great industrial city of Laon were sufficiently dwelt on last month. Toward the middle of September the British, by a series of small drives, had improved their positions amid the farms north of St. Quentin; on the Aisne and in Champagne the counter artillery bombardments of the French seemed to have gained dominance over those of the Crown Prince. The French raids, one of which in Champagne, between St. Hilaire and St. Souplet, on Sept. 12 swept over two of his trenches and established a line in the third, have accounted for many prisoners.

The wonders of the great Italian offensive begun on the night of Aug. 18-19

—scenic, strategic, and personal—will be found in a descriptive article elsewhere in this magazine. I shall merely try to conventionalize the stage of the great drama and record its acts and scenes.

Imagine a triangle erected on the forty-mile base extending from the Battery to Peekskill via Tarrytown, with its vertex at Boston. At forty miles on its northern side of 190 miles would fall Hartford; at forty-four miles on its southern side of 120 miles would fall Bridgeport. Place this triangle on a map of similar scale of the Austrian coastland, Carniola, Styria, and Lower Austria, with its base resting on Tolmino and Trieste, with Gorizia somewhere near Tarrytown, and Hartford would become the great Austrian fortress of Klagenfurt; Bridgeport, Laibach; while the vertex, Boston, would fall on Vienna. Superimpose the topography of Vermont and its Green Mountains, and we have a fair idea of the terrain over which the Italians are making their way, of the geographical obstacles which obstruct their path, and the remoteness of their objectives.

Their campaign of last year left them in the possession of Gorizia and its bridgeheads, but not of the heights, rising from 1,800 feet to 2,240 to the northeast and east of the town, and a foothold on the edge of the Carso Plateau, which is not unlike the approach to the Battery from Tarrytown, if only we imagine Manhattan Island strewn with volcanic heaps, some of them a thousand feet high.

No, the Hudson would not adequately represent the Isonzo, for between Peekskill (Tolmino) and Tarrytown (Gorizia) the river would have to become deep and swift and narrow and pass through gorges rising higher than the Palisades. On May 14 last, the Italians, in an attack which defied all rules of tactics, and almost the imagination of strategy, to say nothing of the forces of nature, crossed this gorge above Gorizia and won Monte Cucco, or Kuk, on the eastern bank of the river. In a sustained offensive of twenty-five days they developed their lines along this bank so as to include the Vodice Ridge and south to the steps of

Monte Santo; while on the Carso they had mounted further on the plateau and were within striking artillery distance of the great volcanic mounds there—Faitihrib, 1,200 feet; Castagnavizza, with its protecting mound, 550 feet high; Selo, backed by Starilokva, 580 feet, and

finally the great isolated mass of Hermada, with its varied summits rising from 500 to 800 feet above the surrounding lowlands, across which they moved until within mid-calibre range of Duino. In these twenty-five days the Italians captured 28,000 Austrians and had prob-



SCENE OF THE ITALIAN DRIVE IN THE JULIAN ALPS

ably rendered hors de combat over 100,000.

Italian Army's Achievement

Such was the situation when, on the night of Aug. 18, they began a second and still more spectacular offensive, the end of which is not yet. So far they have gained sixty-five square miles of territory. The Austrian casualties are calculated to be 150,000, over 35,000 of whom are known to be prisoners. The enemy has also lost an immense amount of war material, principally abandoned in the vast intrenched camps on Bainsizza or captured under convoy in the Chiapovano Valley, and over 2,000 cattle on the hoof.

But these figures give an inadequate idea of the vastness of the Italian achievement, its military and moral results, and its potentialities for the future. At the present moment it looms up the most important and longest sustained assault upon the enemy in his own territory since the war began.

For convenience it may be well to remember that four distinct forces, independent, yet each the complement of the other, are taking part: The Third Army, under General Cappello, in the north, on the Bainsizza Plateau, Monte Santo, Monte San Gabriele, and the approaches to San Daniele; the Second Army, under the Duke of Aosta, operating south to the sea, in the Valleys of Vippacco and Brestovizza, on the Carso, and before Hermada; the British and Italian monitors, which have bombarded Hermada and the Austrian ships and arsenals at Trieste and Pola; finally, the great Caproni aerial machines, which both on the battle line and over Trieste and Pola have ably aided the work of the soldiers and warships.

For weeks prior to Aug. 18 the Italians at sundown every night had by a great engineering feat diverted the water of the Isonzo above Anhovo, and had built in the shallow stream thus left ten-foot bridges, which were concealed from view when the water resumed its natural course each morning. On the eve of the crossing they supplemented these with four pontoon bridges laid while their searchlights blinded the eyes of the Aus-

trians on the opposite cliffs. These bridges extended from Anhovo up to Loga, a distance of four miles. That night the stream remained diverted and the army of Cappello crossed, while the Duke of Aosta performed a diversion on the Carso.

On the Bainsizza Plateau

Thus a foothold on the northern part of the Bainsizza was gained, while simultaneously the right wing of Cappello's army descended upon the plateau from Monte Cucco and the Vodice and began to envelop Monte Santo and deploy into the Val Chiapovano. The Austrian army on the Bainsizza, threatened from three sides, made a rapid retreat to the ridge, 1,000 feet high, which bounds the eastern edge of the plateau from its sheer drop into the Chiapovano.

Bainsizza Santo Spirito—"The Windy Bath of the Holy Ghost"—is called a plateau merely because it forms an elevated foundation upon which rest isolated masses of rock, just like the Carso. It is fifteen miles north and south and ten east and west. The Austrians had turned it into a series of intrenched camps and had burrowed into the hills for machine-gun nests and mid-calibre emplacements. All the material there which fell to the Italians showed that the Austrians believed that their stay would be permanent, protected as they were on the front by the deep-gorged Isonzo and on the south by the mountains from Cucco to San Daniele.

On Aug. 24 the tricolor of Italy was flung to the breeze from the summit of Monte Santo. From this commanding height of 2,240 feet it was seen from Loga to the Hermada. On Sept. 1 Cappello had penetrated to a depth of seven and a half miles on a front of eleven over the Bainsizza, occupying all fortified positions and more than 40 villages and hamlets. On Sept. 14, after several repulses, the Italians established themselves upon Monte San Gabriele, which rises 1,700 feet above the Isonzo and dominates San Daniele by 300 feet.

Meanwhile the Duke of Aosta had been engaged in complementary manoeuvres

in the south and with the object of enveloping the Hermada and clearing the Vippacco Valley and the approaches to Castagnavizza, and, on the low land in the extreme south, the marshes between San Giovanni and Duino. On Sept. 5 he suffered severe counterattacks from Castagnavizza (Kostanjevica) on the lines Castagnavizza-Korite and Korite-Celle, but he captured Selo in the Brestovizza and the Duino railway tunnel. From Aug. 19 to 22 his "diversion" before Hermada was assisted by the Italian and British monitors, commanded by Admiral Thaon de Revel, which later bombarded the shipping and naval depots at Trieste and Pola. On Aug. 29 a squadron of forty Caproni dropped more than 7,000 kilograms of bombs in the fortified woods of Panovizza.

An Austrian War Council

All this time the Austrians were attempting to create distractions by making heavy attacks in the Trentino region and along the Carnic Alps. Failing here, a council of war was called at Laibach on Sept. 7, presided over by Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf and attended by the commander on the Bainsizza front, General Boroevic, and the commander of the Carso, Field Marshal Koevess. There it was determined to hold the eastern ridges of the Bainsizza and concentrate attacks against the Duke of Aosta. Turkish and German reinforcements had already arrived on the front. According to Austrian Staff reports, made known at Laibach, the Italians had been able to concentrate 5,000 guns on a three-mile front, against 1,000 of the Austrians. On another front, half as long, 599 had been counted. These had discharged 91,500 projectiles of all calibres in fourteen hours. It was found that the shells discharged from the Italian monitors, which are really floats of a design never before used in warfare, were greater in calibre than those ever before fired from a warship.

I will leave to the imagination all speculations in regard to what the envelopment of Tolmino, the occupation of

Klagenfurt or Laibach (Lubiana)—Laibach would, of course, isolate the entire Istrian peninsula, with Trieste, Pola, and Fiume—may mean, and to the supplies of guns and munitions from her allies which, it is authoritatively stated, would enable Italy to secure a decision against Austria.

San Gabriele doubtless dominates San Daniele, but beyond, on the way to Laibach, rises the great Ternova plateau to an altitude at Mount Goliak of 4,400 feet. Still, the possession of San Gabriele should eventually make possible the outflanking of the Austrian positions on this plateau by way of the Chiapovano Valley on the northern side, and by the Laibach road at its southern base. With this accomplished, and with the removal of the danger of flanking which threatens the Duke of Asota's army on the Carso, the great Hermada might be carried by assault or "covered," and the road opened to Trieste. The rest is all speculation, which invites poetry but dismays existing strategy. Still, already by their bridging feats on the Isonzo the Italians have performed the impossible. They may do so again.

The Fall of Riga

The dispatches which came from Petrograd between Aug. 22 and Sept. 15 were so clothed in political digressions that little was really learned of the causes which led directly to the fall of Riga on Sept. 2, or the subsequent military manoeuvres in that region. It was taken for granted that the Germans had merely reached out their hand and grabbed the city from its mutinous garrison; that the Kaiser was inordinately pluming himself on a great military victory, which was really a political one of doubtful value; and that Petrograd might as well be surrendered in the same way and the Government withdrawn to Moscow.

This interpretation of the Petrograd dispatches is entirely wrong; the Germans fought hard for Riga, and won it by their superior artillery. This half-German city is of little military value as long as the Russian fleet remains in being. To be sure, three roads are laid open to the capital; but has Germany



SCENE OF THE GERMAN ADVANCE INTO RUSSIA ON THE RIGA FRONT

the men to deploy over 300 miles, and at this time of year, with a Russian Winter approaching?

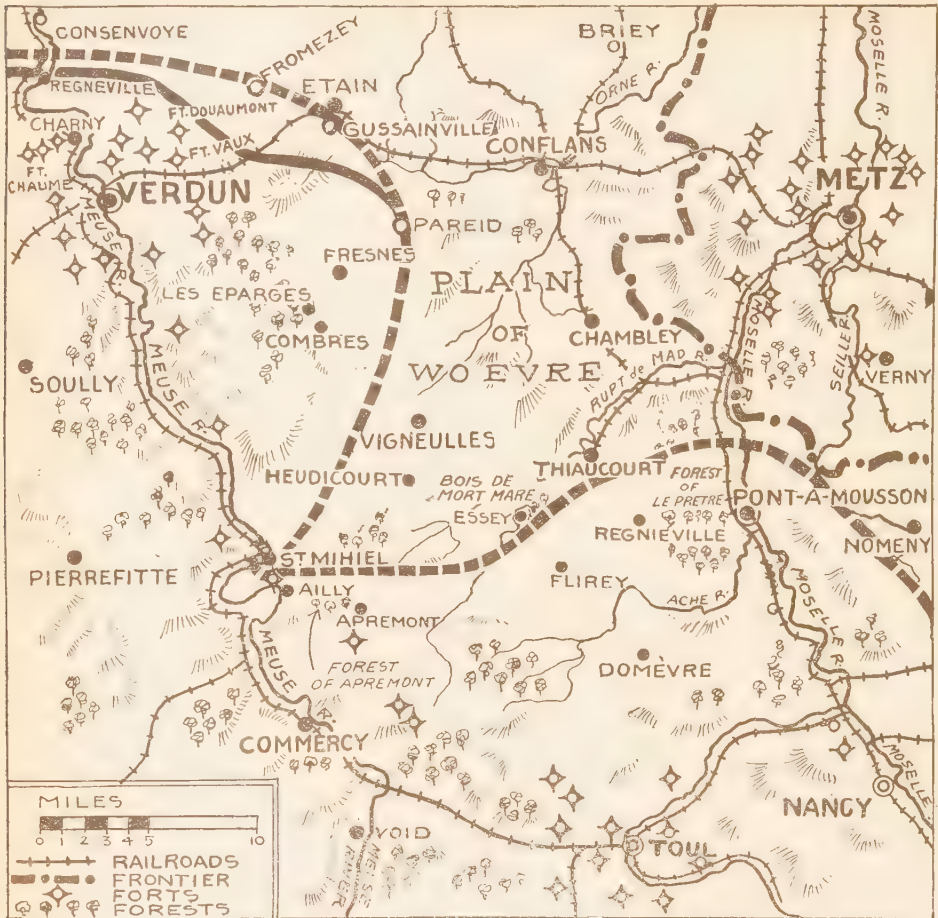
General P. A. Letchitzky, who, in the great Brusiloff offensive of 1916, had captured 115,000 Austrians from June 4 till June 12, was appointed to succeed General Klemlovsky in command of the northern armies on Aug. 15. It has not been revealed how he found the morale of officers and men on the Riga sector; but he has stated to the War Committee in Petrograd that the defenses west and south of the city—from the coast near Kemmern south up the Kurland River Aa and across the Tirul Marsh cut by the Mitau-Riga railway—were never bad, while the artillery southeast along the Dvina was outclassed in both calibre and number by the German guns recently brought up. At that time the Russians are believed to have been reduced on this

front, from Riga to Dvinsk, a matter of 160 miles, to barely 60,000. Klemlovsky's predecessor, the Russo-Bulgar General, Radko Demetriefff, had under him last Spring between 800,000 and 1,000,000 men.

Facing the depleted Russian line last month were the German Mitau detachment of eleven divisions and the First Reserve Army Corps—260,000 men, as far as Friedrichstadt, forty-five miles southeast of Riga—and thence the Eighth Army with four infantry and three cavalry divisions as far as Dvinsk. The German headquarters was at Shavli, fifty miles south of Mitau.

Story of the Retreat

The story of what happened is soon told. On Aug. 22 the Germans began to advance from Kemmern, between the gulf and the Aa, drove in the Russian



MAP SHOWING GAINS OF THE FRENCH NEAR VERDUN, IN THE DIRECTION OF THE GERMAN BASE AT METZ

cavalry outposts on the Tirul Marsh, and bombarded the Russian positions on the right bank of the Dvina north of Dvinsk. On Sept. 2 they crossed the Dvina near Uxkul, sixteen miles southeast of the city, and advanced up the Mitau-Riga causeway. The advance guard entered Riga that night.

On the same day, Sunday, Letchitzky ordered the army to withdraw to the fortified line east of Lake Stint and up the Jaegel, and then, on the 13th, to the line River Nitzcope-Zegenhoff - Paush - Zegevolt-Lupsala, further east.

According to the report of the Assistant Commissioner to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, the troops withdrew fighting and inflicting

severe losses on the enemy; the breaking of the front, the report said, was due to the overwhelming superiority of the German artillery fire, which dominated and put out of action the Russian batteries, annihilated the Russian trenches, and compelled the troops of the Guard, who were half decimated, to fall back. After the great German assault of November, 1915, which almost captured the city, practically all the factories were removed to the centre of Russia. In the last week of August nearly all the heavy guns were dismounted and sent to the rear.

Apparently Letchitzky gave up Riga because he found it impossible of prolonged defense with the means at hand. His retreat, however, has made the Ger-

mans stretch their line fifty miles. Already the Russians have begun to dent in its thin places, and up to Sept. 18 had advanced over a sector of seven miles.

French Success at Verdun

On Aug. 20, after a silence of nine months, the magic word "Verdun" again thrilled the heart of France. On that date, after a bombardment of three days, the French went forward astride of the Meuse, taking, on an eleven-mile front, at a penetration of one and a quarter miles, all the fortifications between Avocourt and Bezonvaux, including the Avocourt Wood, Le Mort Homme, the Corbeaux and Cumières Woods, and Côte de Talou, Champneuville, Mormont Farm, and Hill 240, and over 4,000 prisoners. The next day, on a three-mile front and a penetration of one mile, they took the trenches between Cumières and Hill 240, with Regnéville on the left bank and Samogneux on the right, and the famous Côte de l'Oie, and over 5,000 prisoners.

On the 23d, 24th, and 26th other smashing blows were delivered and 10,000 more prisoners brought in from Hill 304, Camard Wood, the Fosses and Beaumont Woods, and the southern outskirts of Béthincourt. On Sept. 8 a movement was begun which was completed on the 9th to reduce the German isolated units in the sector of the Fosses and Caurières Woods.

A year ago the German maximum gain at Verdun was 120 square miles and the two permanent forts, Douaumont and

Vaux; these were recovered respectively on Oct. 24 and Nov. 1, 1916; then on Dec. 15, 16, 17, and 18 Pétain, on the eve of his departure to take supreme command, developed a sudden offensive from west of Vacherauville east to the town of Vaux and north as far as Louvemont, which enveloped forty-five square miles of territory and 20,000 prisoners.

Nearly 100 square miles of the lost 120 have now been recovered. But that is not the point. The point is that the part recovered includes strategic positions which may have a bearing on another terrain which has been long silent—the front before Metz from St. Mihiel to the north of Nancy.

Between Verdun and Metz is the watershed of the Meuse-Moselle, part of which is called Plain of the Woevre. From the Plain of the Woevre Germany dominates the iron mines of the Basin de Briey, which, according to Herr Schrödter, the ironmaster of Düsseldorf, supply 80 per cent. of the steel for her armaments, and without which, still according to the same authority in a paper read to the Verein Deutscher Eisenhüttenleute, she could not carry on the war three months.

While this fact certainly illuminates the German offensive of a year ago, it may still be found useful in watching the progress of the French front on the western side of the Plain of the Woevre and its relation to the valley beyond.

300,000 Automobiles in Use in the War

There were approximately 300,000 automobiles in use on all the war fronts at the beginning of September, 1917, according to a compilation issued by the Japanese Government. This number did not include any of the motor transports about to be put in the field by the United States. The principal Entente belligerents had about 160,000 automobiles in use and the Central Powers 130,000. Those of the Entente were distributed as follows: England, 30,000, including 15,000 for the conveyance of supplies; France, 80,000, including 25,000 for carrying supplies; Russia, 40,000, including 20,000 for carrying supplies; Italy, 10,000, including 5,000 for carrying supplies; Belgium, 10,300; Rumania, 1,700, and Serbia, 125.

The numbers of automobiles used for war service by the Central Powers were: Germany, 100,000, including 25,000 for conveyance of supplies; Austria-Hungary, 30,000, including 3,000 for carrying goods; Turkey, 750, including 50 for conveying goods, and Bulgaria, 300.

The Battle of the Julian Alps

Vivid Description of the Greatest Italian Offensive Since the Beginning of the War

[Special Cable. Copyrighted]

By a Staff Correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES

[See Map on Page 32]

The enormous offensive began Aug. 18, 1917, by the Italian Army for possession of San Gabriele peak was still raging at the middle of September, with undiminished energy on the Italian side and desperate resistance on the Austrian side. Hardly any other battle of the war has been so costly on both sides. By Sept. 18 General Cadorna's forces had made a decisive conquest of the northwestern crest of San Gabriele and dominated the whole region from the Dol Hill and Gargaro basin. Wave after wave of Italian infantry swept up the slopes of San Gabriele, and the mountain was drenched in human blood; but victory remained with the Italians. The following description of an eyewitness was written on Sept. 13-15, and gives a wonderful panoramic view of the battle on the whole forty-mile front from Tolmino to Trieste:

THE Italian front in Austria is the place of all places where war remains a dramatic spectacle. Here it can be followed by the eye even through a thousand cloud banks of breaking shrapnel. The artillery can actually look upon the objective for its shells. The observer can really gaze down into the trench lines, watch troops on the move, and catch the glimmer of sunshine on the bayonets in the Austrian posts many miles distant.

Here one really sees the war. * * * It is a real battle. I doubt if it is yet realized that it is now the biggest battle that has got into full swing upon any front during the entire war.

Up to now it has always been referred to as the battle of the Isonzo, but that name has become a misnomer because the Isonzo, excepting one little portion opposite Tolmino at the northern extremity of the offensive line, is now well within Italian possession. It might better be called the battle of the Julian Alps, for one by one the peaks, valleys, and tablelands of this gigantic range are coming behind the Italian lines.

The concept of the battle is Napoleonic—even more than that. The sheer audacity of it is what contributed to its initial success a few weeks ago. The retreat of the Austrians across the Bainsizza Plateau was almost a flight, partly

because they could not believe the Italians would have the courage to try it.

Plateau is another misnomer for Bainsizza; there is nothing of a tableland in its composition. It is a vast, terribly rocky ground, with hills at least a thousand feet high and corresponding valleys. It is a plateau only in comparison to the peaks surrounding.

I will not follow in chronological order my witnessing of the battle of the Julian Alps, but rather I will show the progression of the line from the northern point of the offensive opposite Tolmino, to the Isonzo and Bainsizza, over Mount Santo and Mount St. Gabriele, across the Carso, in front of Hermada; and to the Adriatic. In seeing this battle the correspondent is free to choose his seats from the top gallery down to the reserved boxes beside the proscenium arch. Let us first go to the alley entrance and climb many flights to the second balcony, where I managed to find a seat in the middle of the front row.

From there, especially with good glasses, the view is splendid. It is the very top of Mount Zagrada—many thousands of feet above the sea, but not so high as the gigantic snow peaks beyond. On those snow peaks trenches are cut in the solid glacier. On Zagrada they are cut in the rock, but are always

provided with coverings to prevent their being filled with snow. It is not a tremendously difficult climb; in fact, we went four-fifths of the way in an automobile, so wonderful and enduring are the Italian mountain roads.

In all that land there was no water when the Italians arrived. It is there now—everywhere. It is there because the Italians are the best engineers in the world. They have run pipe lines from the valleys up to every mountain crest.

View of Conquered Mount Nero

I slipped into my seat in the middle front row and unhooked my glasses. The curtain had risen. The morning fogs had all gone and the midday sun made the air as clear as crystal. I have seen many things that are wonderful and beautiful, but I have never in my life seen such an amazing, breath-taking panorama as that spread before me. "Drink it in," my officer said, "and then I will tell you where we are." I drank it in, and then, following instructions, I fixed my glasses on a high peak far over to the left. The air was so clear that through the glasses it didn't seem more than half a mile away. It was Mount Nero. Its front, where I looked, seemed a sheer precipice of bare rock 8,000 feet from the valley to the cone-shaped summit, but out beyond toward higher snow peaks I could see a thin ridge connecting it, which proved that there was not so straight a drop on the other side. As I looked, my officer explained how Mount Nero was captured by the Alpini.

"You can't see our trenches there," he said, "because we hold the summit, and the trenches are on the other side. You see that sheer wall of rock facing us? Well, it was by going up that that our soldiers took Mount Nero. We had to have it. It is an important observatory—better than this one—for the Isonzo Valley. From there one can see almost to the Dolomites on the one side and almost to Laibach on the other.

"You see that long ridge connecting the peak with the mountains beyond? That is where we made a strong feint attack. We sent two columns along that ridge so that the Austrians thought that

was all we intended to do. But the third and principal column went up the precipice. They did it during one dark night. It was important that they should do it without a sound, as they were to take the summit from the rear by surprise. So they climbed up without rifles, which might have knocked against things and sent stones crashing down, and they went up in bare feet to avoid slipping and also to avoid sound. They carried only revolvers and hand grenades.

"They jumped on the Austrians just at dawn. But the Austrians, though surprised, were very strong. We quickly used up our revolvers and bombs and we took Mount Nero with our hands. I mean that the fight became so desperate that our Alpini literally conquered by fighting hand to hand, so that hundreds of Austrians were hurled bodily down that cliff to the valley over a mile below."

I meditated upon what I had been hearing. As I looked at that appalling cliff it seemed as though I had been reading some ghastly fiction. Then he told me to shift my glasses to the right along the ridge connecting Mount Nero with the Marnick—a lower peak, almost due north of Tolmino.

Tolmino Spared by the Guns

"Going up the sides," he said, "you can see lines. Those are our roads. And down some distance from the summit you can see our trenches—a long, zigzag line in the white rock. Just under the crest runs another line. That is the Austrian trench."

My guide told me to keep following the trench lines with my glasses down far into the valley, where they disappeared under hills in the foreground. Then I studied the Isonzo as it wound its way about Tolmino.

That Austrian town was basking in an afternoon siesta. There wasn't a shot fired to disturb its tranquillity. I could see Austrian soldiers lounging in front of the barracks. I could see horses hitched to wagons standing in the village square and pedestrians moving slowly in and out of the shops. It was all within easy striking distance of hundreds of Italian guns, but an Italian shell has

never yet been fired into Tolmino. Perhaps that will never happen. The Italians hope it will not be necessary and that Tolmino will fall in another way. They don't want to wipe it out in such a fashion as Gorizia.

I swept the glasses past the town, and further down the Isonzo on the far bank arose a sheer cliff, the top of which is the famous Bainsizza Plateau—the land of the Holy Ghost. The sun had shifted so that the entire Austrian side was bathed in brilliant light, while the Italian mountains were in the shade. This made everything still more visible, and far to the south I could see Mount Santo—the Holy Mountain—taken in this offensive. I could make out the crumbled remains of the shrine on its summit where at the beginning of the war Emperor Francis Joseph went to pray for the success of the Austrian arms. When the Italians took the mountain their regimental bands played in the ruins of that shrine, and the conductor was Toscanini.

Beyond Santo there seemed to be a volcano of smoke and fire, and above it all I could actually count the white puff balls in the sky that meant that shrapnel was exploding over Mount St. Gabriele, thirty miles away.

On Bainsizza Plateau

The entire front of the present battle, which I call the battle of the Julian Alps, stretching from Tolmino to the Adriatic, is nearly forty miles—a greater distance than any other continuous offensive of the war. In that sector there are now grouped more soldiers of actual fighting units than have ever before comprised an "army of shock."

I crossed the land of the Holy Ghost (Bainsizza Plateau) on a road now being built by the Italians under Austrian shell fire. I don't know why they call it Holy Ghost Land. The Austrians named it that, and I didn't meet those Austrians to ask the reason. I saw some dead ones and prisoners, but I was too busy listening for that dread whine announcing the arrival of Austrian shells to waste time with questions. * * *

I could actually look into the

trenches of Volnik, which is the furthest eastward point of the Italian lines in Austria, through glasses. I could see Italian soldiers in a trench shooting at Austrians in the trench beyond, which I could also see plainly. I always desire in following war operations to get to the interesting places first, wherever the going is possible; so I asked a General who was there to tell me the name of another person who, I learned, had preceded me. It was the inevitable Toscanini.

I began my ride over Holy Ghost Land by crossing the Isonzo at one of the famous fourteen bridges where the Italian attack began. The Isonzo, which is glacier water, and therefore always a most sinister green, is a torrent that runs through mountain gorges its entire length until it comes out into the plain at Gorizia. At some points this gorge rises sheer for thousands of feet, as between Santo and Sabotino, where it is so deep, dark, and narrow that one gets a deluded idea he can jump across, although the distance between crests is about half a mile.

Barrier of Isonzo Gorges

As we approached the river coming down from Mount Zagradan in the north we could see it while we were miles away and far above it. The stream writhed along at a tremendous rate, exactly like a beautiful green snake, sometimes dark and dangerous, at other times a beautiful shimmer where a sun ray penetrated between the mountain peaks and crept into the valley. Through its entire course, except in the Gorizia plain, the gorge is so steep that at no point can one ever go down to the actual level of the water.

Even where pontoons were flung across in a single night, to permit the passage of the Italian Army, the river banks are perpendicular granite cliffs quite forty feet high. Then there comes a thin ledge where infantry can find safe footing and where the straight line from the water's edge changes to an incline leading to Bainsizza, another thousand feet up.

Months ago the Italians attempted to cross the river at some of these places, but were stopped by the Austrian fire. The troops who managed to climb that

forty-foot precipice were slaughtered, and their bodies lay out on top of the ledge until they became skeletons.

The Italian trenches were just at the same level on the near side of the river. The lines of the Austrians were several hundred yards up an incline, looking almost straight down on the river—a series of perfect natural fortresses made of solid granite. They never expected the Italians to try again, or, if they did try, the Austrians believed it would be only a feint to cover operations further south in front of Hermada Mountain, which has barred the road to Trieste.

Searchlights Blind Austrians

When the Italians did try again, and this time succeeded, it was the biggest scheme ever inaugurated by the silent wizard of the Italian armies—Cadorna. Its very audacity contributed to its success. When dawn followed the night of the crossing, the Austrians could scarcely believe their eyes. An army stood in front of them. On those bridges, constructed over that terrible gorge between darkness and dawn, an army corps had passed with scarcely the loss of a man.

And it was done chiefly by putting out the Austrians' eyes. On the hills opposite the Austrian positions, and at exactly the same level, the Italians had been concentrating searchlights for days. There seemed to be miles of them. On the night when the pontoons were to be thrown across they were turned full on the Austrians for the first time, dazzling them to such an extent that they could see nothing of the work going on under their noses and only a few hundred yards under at that. It was almost as near as if bridges were being thrown over Broadway while an enemy with preventive means was on top of the Times Building and searchlights were on the Hotel Knickerbocker.

Naturally, the Austrians must have known that something was going on. There was considerable firing, and one bridge was damaged. But for the most part the crossing of the Isonzo was a complete surprise.

While the searchlights streamed constantly overhead, the Italian engineers

worked below in pitch dark. They had to drop their pontoon boats down that forty-foot wall on wooden skids, then join them across the rushing water, plank them over so that the troops could walk, and provide ladders for them to climb up the precipice on the Austrian side.

Time and again the current swept boats away before they were properly joined up. Frequently workers fell into the water and were carried instantly down. The constant cannonade helped the searchlights in fooling the enemy and kept the sound of the bridge-making from reaching the Austrians' ears.

In the morning, when the Austrians realized what had happened, they precipitated themselves backward a distance of more than seven miles to their positions beyond Volnik. What almost happened, instead of their successful retirement to Volnik, was the first surrender of an enemy army in this war.

When I arrived at the new footbridges I found the engineer corps still there making stone and concrete structures, over which artillery transports and my automobile could pass to the beginning of what is really Bainsizza. The Austrians had a fairly good road up behind their old lines to the top of a steep incline. There, where road making should be simpler than on the sides of mountains, their road trickled out into an ordinary Austrian path, and there I found what seemed to be thousands of Italian soldiers making a real military highway as quickly as possible.

We turned a curve suddenly and I saw in front an entire company of road builders lying flat on their faces squarely in our path. One of them yelled that the Austrians were sending over shrapnel. Another shouted at us to move on fast or turn back, warning us that waiting there was simply inviting a shell.

A Race Under Shell Fire

An order was given and the company crawled to the side of the road. I began to think discretion was desirable and was about to say so when, like a shot, the car went forward. The chauffeur had decided where we were to go without

waiting to hear from me. We were to go forward over a mile of open road, and we were to go at top speed.

The road from our speeding-up point was scarcely a road at all. It had been prospected as a road by Italian engineers only the night before, there had been blasting operations, and loads of crushed stone—they were blocks rather than ordinary stones—were strewn all along to make the going harder. Yet we did it somehow and always at top speed.

As I looked behind me, I counted five distinct upheavals in the road where shells had struck less than a minute after we had passed. The Austrians evidently had not expected to see an automobile, so they did not have the proper range. Later, after we left our car in a safe shelter, we saw shrapnel raining over that road for half an hour, in the vain hope that we might be going back. We had leaped through just in time and knew better than to go back—before dark—until the road was finished and properly screened, or until certain Austrian guns were silenced.

Every wounded man is carried by hand from Holy Ghost Land, and every bit of food and water is carried in by night, although water was being piped up even while we were there.

Battle for San Gabriele

From Mount Santo (the Holy Mountain) one gets the greatest war spectacle in all the world—the fight for Mount San Gabriele. It is a stage box. The actors in the drama are so close that one can see the make-up and even watch the entrances and exits through the wings.

Mount Santo is an ideal looking mountain, for it rises 2,000 feet above the Gorizia plain and is so steep that the ascent seems like climbing a perpendicular wall. It is almost a sheer cliff on each side, and its summit rises like a church spire above everything surrounding except Sabotino, which is a mountain of its own level across the Isonzo half a mile away.

San Gabriele, which squats directly in front of Santo, is an ugly fat mountain of bare rock, the top of which is only 300 feet below the Holy Mountain's peak. That peak is the stage box so near the

tragedy that one could almost attract the performers' attention with tennis racket and balls.

Santo fell into Italian hands in much the same manner as many mountains fall—by being entirely surrounded and so compelled to surrender. Thus it became an observatory not only for the battle for San Gabriele, but for a near view of the operations clear across the Gorizia plain over the Carso to the sea. From there one understands more particularly the strategy that will eventually mean the fall of Trieste.

Although the long-drawn battle for San Gabriele is limited in action, the mountain being a salient in the Austrian line, there has never been anything except at Verdun so bloody and so terrible.

The climb up Santo is long and hard, but not dangerous in the daytime. At night it is another matter on account of the precipice. However, the Italians, according to their custom, are now hacking a fine wide road in its granite side, and in a few more weeks expect to use the road for automobiles and guns. At the very top there is a great pile of broken white marble.

Where Francis Joseph Prayed

Up to a few months ago when the Italians concentrated their fire upon it, from Sabotino across the way these pieces were formed together into a sacred shrine where old Francis Joseph came to pray at the beginning of the war for the success of Austrian arms. The shrine faced west toward the old frontier. When the domineering Emperor was hauled up in a sedan chair to inaugurate thus the end of his tragic reign in a cataclysm of blood he prayed with arms spread out toward the smiling plains of Italy.

When the first shell burst through the stone portico of the shrine there stood revealed to the Italian observers a figure of the Virgin. Through the clear mountain air the observers on Sabotino could distinguish the colors of the frescoes about the Virgin's head. Another shell and both Virgin and frescoes crashed in fragments down the precipice facing Italy. To the Italian

gunners it seemed an omen that the ill-luck of the House of Hapsburg would continue to the end and that by Italy would their ramshackle empire be split into pieces, only to be remolded in a better way.

And now that rubble pile of what was an emperor's shrine is a box seat from which to watch the Italian lines go forward on Austrian soil.

When first I looked down on the battle for San Gabriele I seemed to hang indirectly over the crater of a volcano. A matter of 40,000 Italian shells on a daily average are bursting over San Gabriele's crest. In addition are the Austrian shells, for the lines on San Gabriele are now so close that the topmost positions have been taken and retaken half a dozen times.

A Rolling Sea of Smoke

At the moment of my arrival it seemed as if the artillery was outdoing itself for the final hours before dark. So for a few minutes I could see nothing but a rolling sea of smoke so near that I could almost smell it, while on an exact level with my eyes the puff balls of shrapnel sparked and exploded so rapidly that their detonations, rolling up mountain gorges, seemed to put the whole world a-tremble.

It all made me wonder whether we were still hanging on to our world. There was never fevered nightmare more appalling. No Hippodrome producer in his wildest imaginings ever pictured such a scene. Even Dante's Inferno was out-classed. It was veritably a hell on earth of which no pen can give the details.

Occasionally through the smoke waves we could see the bald, tortured surface of the crest. A shell would strike and we could see the sparks as a granite ledge was shivered and splintered in every direction. Caverns yawned up at us where the melinite bombs rebounded and spent their rage. Black lines zigzagged over the surface—crazy and grotesque. They were the trenches.

Sometimes we could see figures leaping upon the stone parapets. They were like damned souls. Another shell would blot out the sight, and when it cleared the figures would all be huddled

and still—only black patches against the dirty gray of the rock.

I shifted my glasses to the breaking spray of shrapnel directly in front of me. There were the usual kinds of shrapnel, the white puff balls, and the ugly black clods. There was also a new kind, Austrian, that was yellow. The effect of all three together was marvelously beautiful. In that clear air, with the slanting sun rays and deep blue sky, when those three clouds of shrapnel would break simultaneously in about the same spot the colors spread out like a gigantic bouquet of flowers.

Hermada and the Carso

I turned my glasses over Gorizia and the Carso to where the ugly turtle-backed Hermada Mountain has been blocking the road to Trieste. I had gone through Gorizia that morning, and had been duly and properly shelled. The Austrians fire constantly upon the town from Mount San Marco, a flat mud hill in front of the city, an ideal machine-gun nest that cannot be taken until it is flanked after the fall of San Gabriele. But Gorizia is only like every other captured city, and held no particular interest for me except just to say that I had been there.

I had also prowled over the Carso, that tableland of flint like our Bad Lands, which has caused more blindness among Italian soldiers than in any other army. The reason is that shells, hitting the Carso, so splinter the rock that quite as much damage is caused by splinters as by shells. Every trench is hewn from the solid rock. I often crouched in them to avoid pieces of rock that whistled through the air so far from the shell that I could not find the smoke of the explosion.

I glanced back to the inferno of San Gabriele. "But why spend so much time over this mountain," I asked the officer, "especially as you may say you have it?" He smiled. "You would be surprised to know how few men we have lost down there," he said, "and we are not occupied alone with San Gabriele. Meanwhile it has used up about fifteen Austrian divisions. * * * Most of those divisions are dead."

In the dying daylight I again fixed my glasses on the rocky slopes below. The artillery fire had lulled a little, so that we could see more clearly. All about the surface of the bald crest was dotted with black, grotesque shadows—shadows that did not move. There were the pieces of the fifteen Austrian divisions that were dead.

Grandiose Display of Fireworks

Day fled quickly behind the higher mountains, and the evening fireworks began. Flares began to go up on all the surrounding hills, and were answered from mountain peaks miles away—rockets breaking in showers of stars that seemed to glimmer as far from the earth as the millions of real stars in the clear heavens.

We sat and watched, silent before the magnificent spectacle. The artillery was turned again upon San Gabriele. Shells crashed and exploded, striking lines of fire from the bare cliffs. The shrapnel hissed and screamed and screamed and broke in clouds of sparks.

For miles on every side the whole world seemed gone crazy. A thousand Japanese lanterns seemed to wave in a giddy whirl on the mountain peaks, then to break each into a dozen pieces and go out.

Sometimes sheds or motor caissons, struck by shells on far distant roads, would soar up in flames that lasted several minutes. In the valleys a million fireflies seemed to bob up and down in rhythmic air dance. Through every cleft and gorge the sound of cannon echoed and re-echoed as if a thousand valkyries were galloping madly from peak to peak,

while through all the infernal din there came the ceaseless barking of machine guns and sometimes the yells of men.

On San Gabriele itself we could see more plainly than by day. The explosions would sometimes light up spaces of rock for a distance of many yards. We could often catch glimpses of trenches and the shimmer of helmets and bayonets. Sometimes for brief moments between shifts in the smoke we could see troops climbing up the slopes between the zigzag black trench line, clawing at the rocky ground. Once we saw men in the very act of falling backward in the bright light of an exploding shell.

Suddenly, quite suddenly, something happened. I scrambled to my feet and rubbed an unsteady hand over my eyes. My officer also got up quickly.

I had a strange feeling that a great power had suddenly come to watch and bid mankind to cease his struggles and be still.

For from behind a distant snow peak there had floated the splendid and majestic moon. All the flares and rockets seemed to fade away. The flashes of shrapnel and melinite died out before that effulgent glow of beautiful mellow light that softly draped and enfolded the entire gigantic scene.

Even the racket of the guns seemed to die down and the carnage to shrink.

It was the same cold, wonderful moon, but on that night it seemed like the eye of God from which there flowed too much light for armies to go on with their killing unashamed.

The Desperate Fighting of the Canadians at Lens

By Philip Gibbs

[War Correspondence From France, Aug. 23, 1917]

TO the south of Lene there is a slag heap overgrown with weeds, called the Green Crassier. It is clearly visible across the Souchez River beyond a broken bridge, and I have often seen it

from the lower slopes of Vimy. It was the scene of great fighting yesterday, for in the morning the Canadians, who are showing an indomitable spirit after ten days of most furious attacks and coun-

terattacks, launched an assault upon it and seized the position.

Later in the day the enemy came back in strength, and after violent efforts succeeded in thrusting the Canadians off the crest of this old mound of cinders, though they still cling to the western side. It is another incident in the long series of fierce and bloody encounters which since the battle of Vimy on April 9 have surrounded the City of Lens and given to its streets and suburbs a sinister but historic fame.

The Canadians have fought here with astounding resolution. They have hurled themselves against fortress positions and by sheer courage have smashed their way through streets entangled with quickset hedges of steel, through houses alive with machine-gun fire, through trenches dug between concrete forts, through tunnels under red brick ruins sometimes too strong to be touched by shell fire, and through walls loopholed for rifle fire and hiding machine-gun emplacements designed to enfilade the Canadian way of advance.

Six German divisions have attacked them in turn and have been shattered against them. These are the Seventh and Eighth, the Fourth Guards Division, the Eleventh Reserve, the Two Hundred and Twentieth, and the First Guards Reserve Division. In addition to these six divisions some portions, at any rate, of the One Hundred and Eighty-fifth Division and of the Thirty-sixth Reserve Division have been engaged.

The total German strength used at Lens must well exceed fifty battalions, and the German losses may perhaps be estimated at between 12,000 and 15,000 men. The Canadians themselves have been hard pressed at times, but have endured the exhaustion of a great struggle with amazing strength of spirit, grimly and fiercely resolved to hold their gains unless overwhelmed by numbers in their advanced positions, as it has sometimes happened to them.

City of Blood and Death

But it is no wonder that some of the men whom I met yesterday coming out of that city of blood and death looked like men who had suffered to the last limit of

mental and bodily resistance. Their faces were haggard and drawn. Their eyes were heavy. Their skin was as gray as burnt ash. Some of them walked like drunken men, drunk with sheer fatigue, and as soon as they had reached their journey's end some of them sat under the walls of a mining village, with their chalky helmets tilted back, drugged by the need of sleep, but too tired even for that.

They were men of the battalions who three days ago came face to face with the enemy in No Man's Land, a stretch of barren, cratered earth between St. Emile and the northern streets of Lens, and fought him there until many dead lay strewn on both sides and their ammunition was exhausted. An officer of one of these battalions came out of a miner's cottage to talk to me. He was a very young man, with a thin, clean-shaven face, which gave him a boyish look. He was too weary to stand straight and too weary to talk more than a few jerky words. He leaned up against the wall of the miner's cottage and passed a hand over his face and eyes, and said: "I'm darned tired. It was a hell of a fight. We fought to a finish, and when we had no more bombs of our own we picked up 'Heine's' bombs and used those."

They Call Him "Heine"

Heine—the Canadians call their enemy Heine and not Fritz—"was at least three times as strong as us, and we gave him hell. It was hand-to-hand fighting—rifles, bombs, bayonets, butt ends—any old way of killing a man—and we killed a lot. But he broke our left flank, and things were bloody in the centre. He had one of his strong points there, and swept us with machine guns.

"My fellows went straight for it, and a lot of them got wiped out. But we got on top of it, and through the wire, and held the trench beyond until Heine came down with swarms of bombers."

This young Canadian officer was stricken by the loss of many of his men—"the best crowd that any fellow could command"—and he had been through indescribable things under enormous

shell fire, and he had had no sleep for days and nights, and could not sleep now for thinking of things. But he smiled grimly once or twice when he reckoned up the enemy's losses.

The remembrance of the German dead he had seen seemed like strong wine to his soul. "We made 'em pay," was his summing up of the battle. The nightmare of it all was still heavy on him, and he spoke with a quiet fierceness about the enemy's losses and the things he had endured, in a way which would scare poor simple souls who think that war is a fine, picturesque business.

A senior officer of a battalion on the flank of his was a different type of man—like an English squire of the old style, with a fine smiling light in his eyes, in spite of all he had been through, and with a vivid way of speech that would not come fast enough to say splendid things about his men to describe the marvelous way in which they had fought in frightful conditions; to praise first one and then another for the things they had done, when things were at their worst.

He had been addressing some of the survivors of this battle when I came on him, and I saw them march away, straightening themselves up before this officer of theirs and proud because he was pleased with them. He thanked them for one thing above all, and that was for the gallant way in which, after all their fighting, they had gone out to fetch in their dead and wounded, so that not one wounded man lay out there to die or to be taken prisoner, and the dead were brought back for burial. He said a word, too, for "Heine," as they call him. The Germans had not sniped or machine-gunned the stretcher bearers, but had sent their own men out on the same mission, too. That was after the battle, and there was no surrendering while the fighting was on.

Officer's Stirring Story

The officer's story of that was as wonderful as anything I have heard in this war. And the man himself was wonderful, for he had had no sleep for six days and nights, and had suffered the fearful strain of his responsibility for many men's lives, yet now when I

met him straight from all that, he was bright-eyed, and his mind was as clear as a bell, and the emotion that surged through him was well controlled.

He described the things I have attempted to describe before the fortified streets and houses of Lens, which make it one great fortress tunneled from end to end with exits into concrete forts two yards thick in cement in the ruined cottages.

On the morning of our attack the enemy was expecting it, and within a minute and a half of our barrage put down his own barrage with terrific intensity. So there were the Canadians between two walls of high explosives, and it was within that inferno that they fought in the great death struggle. For the Canadians had already advanced toward the enemy's line, and in greater numbers—three times as great—he had advanced to ours, and the two forces met on the barren stretch of earth crossed by twisted trenches which for a time had been No Man's Land.

While the battalion on the left was heavily engaged, fighting with rifles and bombs until their ammunition gave out, and then with bayonets and butt ends, the battalion on the right was working southward and eastward to the northern outskirts of Lens. They came up at once against the fortress houses, from which machine-gun and rifle fire poured out.

The Canadians, in small parties, tried to surround these places, but many were swept down. Some of them rushed close to the walls of one house which was a bastion of the northern defense of Lens, and were so close that the machine guns through slits in the walls could not fire at them. They even established a post behind it and beyond it, quite isolated from the rest of their men, but clinging to their post all day.

The enemy dropped bombs upon them through the loopholes and sandbagged windows, fired rifle grenades at them, and tried to get machine guns at them, but there were always a few men left to hold the post, until at last, when the line withdrew elsewhere, they were recalled.

Before that night came there were

UNITED STATES TROOPS IN LONDON



American Soldiers, On Their Parade Through London, Crossing Westminster Bridge. The Imperial Parliament Buildings in the background
(Photo Central News)

BRITISH BIG GUNS AT WORK



A Remarkable Photograph From the Western Front of a Battery of Heavy Howitzers Firing on the German Trenches
(British Official Photo from Dain News Service)

great German counterattacks. Masses of men carrying nothing but stick bombs, which they had slung around them, advanced down communication trenches and flung these things at the Canadians of the left battalion, who were fighting out in the open, and in another communication trench with the right battalion.

Piled German Corpses

The enemy walked over the piled corpses of his own dead before he could drive back the Canadians, but by repeated storming parties he did at last force them to give way and retreat down the trench to gain the support of their comrades of the other battalion who had not been so hard pressed. These came to the rescue, and for a long time held the German grenadiers at bay.

The fighting was fierce and savage on both sides. A Canadian Major, with a revolver in one hand and a naked bayonet in the other, flung himself among the Prussians and killed those within reach of his fury. At one time he used the butt end of a rifle and clubbed them about the head. All through the day this officer was astounding in his reckless courage, and there were many young officers with him who fought to the death.

At last, weakened by their losses and with failing stores of ammunition, these two battalions were given the order to retire to a trench further back, and the survivors of the most desperate action in Canadian history withdrew, still fighting, and established blocks in the communication trenches down which the enemy was bombing, so that they could not pass those points to the line upon which here on the north of Lens the Canadians had fallen back.

Southward there had been no withdrawal, and other battalions had forced their way forward a good distance, shutting up that entrance to the city and getting down into the deep tunnels over which there howled the unceasing fire of the German heavies. Our own guns were hard at work, and I have already told how the Prussians were destroyed in the square of Lens by 12-inch shells and shrapnel.

Lens Becomes a Deathtrap

On Sept. 17 Mr. Gibbs recorded this later phase of the great fight for Lens:

The Canadian and English troops during the five months of fighting have captured all the outer belt of these mining cities, and their artillery and the enemy's has left nothing of all the neat little houses and mine buildings but a wild orgy of ruin through which I walked yesterday on my way to Hill 70, which the Canadians took by a great assault a few weeks ago.

Lens itself is now no better than its outer suburbs. It is a town of battered houses without roofs and with broken walls leaning against rubbish heaps of brickwork and timber. The enemy sent out a wireless message that the English gunners were destroying French property by bombarding the city, and then made a deep belt of destruction by blowing up long blocks of streets.

After that the British guns completed the ruin, for there was a German garrison in every house, and in this kind of warfare there must be no tenderness of sentiment about bricks and mortar if the enemy is between the walls. So now in Lens the only cover for the Germans and their only chance of safety is below the ground in tunnels and cellars.

These are reinforced by concrete, and were built by the forced labor of civilians two years and more ago, when the city was menaced by a French attack. Into these tunnels the German garrisons of Lens make their way by night, and in them they live and die.

Many die in them, it is certain, for a tunnel is no more than a deathtrap when it is blocked at the entrance by the fall of houses or when it collapses by the bombardment of heavy shells, which pierce deep and explode with fearful effect. That has happened, as we know, in many parts of the German line, and recently on the French front whole companies of German soldiers were buried alive in deep caves. It is happening in Lens now, if the same effect is produced by the same power of artillery.

But death comes to the German soldiers

there in another way, without any noise and quite invisible and very horrible in its quietude. Many times lately the Canadians have filled the City of Lens with gas that kills and soaks down heavily into the dugouts and tunnels and stifles the men in their sleep before they have time to stretch out their hands for gas masks, or makes them die with their masks on if they fumble a second too long.

The enemy, who was first to use poison gas, should wish to God he had never betrayed his soul by such a thing, for it has come back upon him as a frightful retribution, and in Lens, in those deep, dark cellars below the ruins,

the German soldiers must live in terror and be afraid to sleep.

Yesterday, when I went to that neighborhood, I saw four German soldiers who had come out into the open, preferring to risk death there rather than stay in their dungeon. They appeared for a minute around the corner of some brick stacks in Cité St. Auguste. It was strange to see them, as if they were visitors from another planet, for in this district of Lens no man shows his body above ground unless he is careless of quick death, and one may stare for days at empty houses and broken mine shafts and great black slag heaps without seeing any living thing.

The Scene of Carnage at Le Mort Homme

The most important victory of the French in August was the capture of the famous Le Mort Homme (Dead Man's Hill) and Hill 304, the two eminences which overlook Verdun, and around which for three years the bloodiest battles of the war have been fought. The capture of Le Mort Homme on Aug. 19, 1917, by the French is thus described by the official British military observer:

FROM the Avocourt Wood, on the distant horizon in the west, for a stretch of thirteen or fourteen miles to a point well to the northeast of Verdun the whole series of ravines and ridges, one behind another, was a smoking furnace. The shelling was most furious on the west bank of the Meuse, beyond the bend hidden in the valley, especially on the summit of Le Mort Homme and the long level height of Hill 304. But on the right bank also, on the further side of Louvemont and toward Beaumont and on the Caures Wood beyond it, a nest of German batteries, the shell explosions followed one another so rapidly that the curtain of smoke hung steadily over the length and breadth of the positions which were being prepared for the advance as though it rose from a string of bonfires, instead of falling from the sky.

With every minute of the passing night the thunder of all those thousands of guns was getting more and more appalling. When the men went over the parapet and the French barrage began everything in the way of noise that had

gone before was dwarfed and it was barely possible to hear even the whining of the shells traveling directly overhead. Every gun in every battery was working at red-hot speed with one continuous rattle and roar along the whole front. And with that hurricane of sound and fury the light began to dawn and a gray bank of mist grew out of the darkness ahead, so that we seemed to be looking down not upon land but on the sea rising up from our feet to meet the sky, as though France were actually defending her shores and hurling flame and iron at an invisible fleet.

Shortly after, when the splendid infantry had reached their first objective, that illusion had gone and the stronger light showed the crest of the ridge blurred by clouds of dust and smoke and the trench in which we were began to take shape, together with the smokebursts of the shells with which the enemy were trying to search out our batteries. One I saw fall almost on the top of a group of eight or nine men standing together in the trench. Two of them had their helmets knocked off

by the shower of earth and stones it threw up, two were lighting cigarettes which were whisked out of their mouths, one was hit on the knee by a stone, and yet none of them got a scratch.

Then, as the sun began to shine, the air seemed suddenly to be alive with scores of airplanes and two long rows of balloons stretched far away into the distance. During the attack the observer in one of these balloons, which was unsuccessfully bombed by an enemy airman, had an extraordinary escape. He was so hard pressed, though his balloon was not destroyed, that he was obliged to fling himself out, and in his hurry he jumped on the wrong side, so that the parachute caught in the ropes of the basket and he was left suspended below it with his legs dangling in midair, unable to free himself till the men below had hauled him carefully down along with the balloon.

A correspondent of The London Times, writing Aug. 23, 1917, thus describes the scenes about Le Mort Homme and the fearful ravages of the guns:

As the sun rose in an almost cloudless sky, the night mists that cling to the flat valley of the Meuse and the scores of shallow valleys which run down into it melted away, and left the four rows of long ridges that are the defense of Verdun standing out bare and straight, one behind another, like so many lines of walls—Le Mort Homme and the Côte de l'Oie, on the west bank in the outer parallel. Inside them, on the east bank, in the loop of the river, the Côte de Talou and Hill 344. Inside, again, Froideterre and Thiaumont and Douaumont, and behind them Vaux and Souville and Belleville—those are the main alignments, and they are, of several others, the city's natural bulwarks.

Until you get on where no amount of camouflage would have enabled the French, before Le Mort Homme was taken, to move along in daytime, there are continuous canvas and brushwood screens and hangings of rush matting along both sides, and every twenty yards or so narrower strips of canvas are hung across overhead as well, like the flies in a theatre. You pass along

it feeling as if you were in a gallery or in a tunnel. But now that is all changed—a practical proof and symbol of the French advance.

In one way Le Mort Homme is different from most fields of battle. The upheaval of the surface is as complete as it is anywhere on the hills nearer Verdun, on the plateaus of the Chemin des Dames, or on the Somme. It is as complete and hideous and universal as the heart of the artilleryman could wish. Not a blade of grass, nothing but earth and stones and hark are to be seen. The shell holes overlap and break into each other over every foot of the two summits of which the hill is composed. The wire in front of what had been the enemy's front the French had wiped out. Nothing was left of the entanglement but a few twisted stanchions, and there was nothing to stop the advance of the French infantry when they made their charge but the rifles and grenades and machine guns of the German soldiers.

At least, that is what ought to have been the case. As a matter of fact, there were not, except in rare instances, even these. There was, of course, a barrage fire, which started, fortunately, a few minutes late, and there was a good show of gas shells. But the men who should have been in the way with weapons in their hands had either slipped off the hill before the attack or were hiding in the Bismarck Tunnel, eighty feet long, which burrows under the lower ground between the two crests, or in the more magnificent and commodious excavation, 800 feet long by 12 feet high and wide enough to take half a dozen men abreast, which runs from end to end of the further of the two crests, and is called after the more magnificent Crown Prince.

In this 150 Germans lie dead, killed by the effects of a well-aimed sixteen-inch shell, and from it 700 or 800 more officers and men were taken and sent to the rear as prisoners. The terrific bombardment had been too much for them and for those others who had already retired down to the valley off the little Forges Brook behind the hill. They could not face the music of those terrible guns any longer; their spirit was broken. The French batteries had not only swept

away the wire from the path of the infantry; it had driven underground the men who were posted on the hill to defend it and to hold it at any cost.

It was this that made the difference between this battlefield and others I have seen. A few battered rifles and helmets and suits and grenades and tattered uniforms and other odds and ends of the ordinary battle wreckage were lying about among the shell holes, but not to anything like the extent that is bound to mark the scene of hard fighting. Hard fighting there was for the hard-bitten, keen, daring, lovable gars of

the blue uniform, who swarmed over Le Mort Homme as they have over obstacle after obstacle thrown in their way by the invader in the long, cruel fight for their wives and their children and their homes. But that was later. The actual last taking of Le Mort Homme, the soil of which, in the many bitter fights that have been waged upon it, has become the soil of the tomb and the charnel house, was for them almost a walk-over, and those who are now on guard there are more than ever sure that the Boche is, and knows he is, a beaten man.

The Imperial Japanese Mission

Addresses by Viscount Ishii

THE Imperial Japanese Mission, after a reception of extraordinary cordiality in San Francisco, (described in these pages a month ago,) arrived in Washington on Aug. 22, 1917, by special train. The members included Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; Vice Admiral Takeshita, Imperial Japanese Navy; Major Gen. Sugano, Commander Ando, and other diplomatic and military representatives of Japan.

The mission was received by President Wilson on the following day, when Viscount Ishii delivered his formal message from the Emperor of Japan, congratulating the President and people of the United States upon the chivalrous entry of this country into the European war. The speaker concluded with these words:

That America is now fighting on the side of Japan is a source of pride to his Majesty and to every Japanese. It is not the first time, I may be allowed to remind you, Mr. President, that this has happened. In 1900 I had the privilege of seeing with my own eyes the American and Japanese colors waving together when the allied troops, in the face of terrible difficulties, triumphantly relieved the besieged legations at Peking. I well remember the skill and courage with which the American civilians and soldiers co-operated in the defense. The resourceful bravery which those few Americans

showed then American legions will show now.

The auspicious co-operation of the United States of America and Japan in the tremendous task of restoring the reign of mutual confidence and good-will among the nations of the earth cannot but draw us closer together. Our common efforts are directed to seeking an enduring peace, based on respect for the independence of the smallest and weakest States, on contempt for the arrogance of materialist force, on reverence for the pledged word. In the service of these common ideals our two countries must surely realize a far nearer friendship than before.

In his reply President Wilson expressed his pleasure at Japan's tribute, and added:

The present struggle is especially characterized by the development of the spirit of co-operation throughout the greater part of the world for the maintenance of the rights of nations and the liberties of individuals. I assure your Excellency that, standing as our countries now do, associated in this great struggle for the vindication of justice, there will be developed those closer ties of fellowship which must come from the mutual sacrifice of life and property. May the efforts now being exerted by an indignant humanity lead, at the proper time, to the complete establishment of justice and to a peace which will be both permanent and serene.

President Wilson entertained the members of the mission at a state dinner in

the evening, and there followed several weeks of social and diplomatic activities for the visitors. In a statement to the press Viscount Ishii declared that the chief objects of his mission were to convey a friendly message from his Emperor and to arrange for the fuller co-operation of Japan with the United States in the prosecution of the war against Germany.

Address at Washington's Tomb

On Sunday, Aug. 26, the members visited Washington's tomb at Mount Vernon as the guests of the Secretary of the Navy and Mrs. Daniels. After an address of welcome by Secretary Daniels the following speech was delivered by Viscount Ishii, whose command of pure English was thus early in evidence:

In the name of my gracious sovereign, the Emperor of Japan, and representing all the liberty-loving people who own his sway, I stand today in this sacred presence, not to eulogize the name of Washington, for that were presumption, but to offer the simple tribute of a people's reverence and love.

Washington was an American, but America, great as she is, powerful as she is, certain as she is of her splendid destiny, can lay no exclusive claim to this immortal name. Washington is now a citizen of the world; today he belongs to all mankind. And so men come here from the ends of the earth to honor his memory and to reiterate their faith in the principles to which his great life was devoted.

Japan claims entrance to this holy circle. She yields to none in reverence and respect; nor is there any gulf between the ancient East and the new-born West too deep and wide for the hearts and the understandings of her people to cross.

It is fitting, then, that men who love liberty and justice better than they love life, that men who know what honor is, should seek this shrine and here, in the presence of these sacred ashes, rededicate themselves to the service of humanity.

It is a fitting place, at this time, when all the world is filled with turmoil and suffering, for comrades in a holy cause to gather and here renew their fealty to a righteous purpose, firm in the determination that the struggle must go on until the world is free from menace and aggression.

Japan is proud to place herself beside her noble allies in this high resolve, and here, in the presence of these deathless ashes, she reaffirms her devotion to the cause and the principles for which they wage battle, fully determined to do her whole part in securing for the world the

blessings of liberty, justice, and lasting peace.

As the representative of my people, then, I place this wreath upon the tomb of Washington with reverent hands; and in so doing it is my proud privilege to again pledge my country to those principles of right and justice which have given immortality to the name of Washington.

Received by the Senate

The visitors were received with great ceremony by the United States Senate on Aug. 30. When they were escorted down the main aisle the entire audience arose, and the audience also arose before and after Viscount Ishii's address, and as the mission left the Chamber after shaking hands with Senators and Representatives.

In the absence of Vice President Marshall the address of welcome was made, by Senator Saulsbury, who said:

Japan joins our great young nation in pledging anew a continuance of our old friendship which the troublemakers of the earth have tried so hard to interrupt. We now know how industriously insidious attempts have been made by the Prussian masters of the German people to bring about distrust and hatred in the world. The yellow peril was made in Germany, and Shantung was seized; the Slav peril was made in Germany, and Serbia was overwhelmed and Russia was invaded; but the thick-witted, smug, self-centred supermen of Germany, entering their last attempt at conquest, have roused a real peril—a real peril to themselves—and the free nations who believe in international honor, in the binding force of treaties, and in the pledged word are grimly, though so sorrowfully, engaged in creating, perfecting, and bringing to successful issue an alliance for the benefit of all earth's people, which will protect the rights of nations, small and great, and enable them to lead their lives in peace, and lead them unafraid.

Viscount Ishii said in part:

I assure you, gentlemen, that the Japanese ideal of national life is, in its final analysis, not so very far removed from yours. We conceive of our nation as a vast family held together, not by the arbitrary force of armed men, but by the force of a natural development. We shall call the common force that animates us a passion of loyalty to our Emperor and to our homes, as we shall call that of Americans a passion for liberty and of loyalty to their flag.

These two passions—passion of loyalty and passion for liberty—are they not really

one? Is not the same control working in both cases—the intense desire to be true to our innermost selves and to the highest and best that has been revealed to us? You must be free to be Americans, and we must be free to be Japanese. But our common enemy is not content with this freedom for the nation or for the individual; he must force all the world to be German, too! * * *

Mr. President and gentlemen, whatever the critic half informed or the hired slanderer may say against us, in forming your judgment of Japan we ask you only to use those splendid abilities that guide this great nation. The criminal plotter against our good neighborhood takes advantage of the fact that, at this time of the world's crisis, many things must of necessity remain untold and unrecorded in the daily newspapers; but we are satisfied that we are doing our best. In this tremendous work, as we move together, shoulder to shoulder, to a certain victory, America and Japan must have many things in which the one can help the other. We have much in common and much to do in concert. That is the reason I have been sent, and that is the reason you have received me here today.

I have an earnest and abiding faith that this association of ours, this proving of ourselves in the highest, most sacred, and most trying of human activities, the armed vindication of right and justice, must bring us to a still closer concord and a deeper confidence one in the other, sealing for all time the bonds of cordial friendship between our two nations.

A similar address was delivered by Viscount Ishii before the House of Representatives on Sept. 5.

Japanese at Perry's Tomb

Among the historic shrines visited by the Japanese Mission was the tomb of Commodore Perry at Newport, R. I., on Sept. 16. It was this American naval officer who had opened the Island Empire to Western civilization. The mission, headed by Viscount Ishii, entered the cemetery through a lane of apprentice seamen and Naval Reserves standing at present arms, while a band from the training station played the Japanese national hymn. A great crowd of soldiers, sailors, and civilians bared their heads in silence as Viscount Ishii stepped forward and placed on the tomb of the Commodore a large wreath made up in the colors of Japan, with white lilies and red gladiolas.

Retiring a few paces, the Viscount bowed profoundly before the tomb and resumed his place in the semicircle formed by other members of the mission and naval officers. One by one each member of the mission stepped forward silently and bowed low before the grave. As the last one paid his tribute, Bishop James De Wolf Perry of the Episcopal Diocese of Rhode Island offered a brief prayer.

Then the entire assembly stood at attention while the band once more played the Japanese national hymn and "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Speaking at a public reception in the Casino on the following day, Viscount Ishii paid this tribute to Japan's first American friend:

Newport is storied in the mind of every school child in Japan as the resting place of Commodore Matthew Perry. Not so long ago but that living men well remember and tell it to their grandchildren, Japan lived in isolation, well contented. One day there came a knocking at our door and, looking forth, we saw strange sights indeed. Fantastic folk in awesome ships with gruesome guns held out the hand of friendship, and thus came America and Commodore Perry to our shores.

These sixty years just passed must constitute one full chapter in the history of Japan. During all that time the Pacific Ocean, so illimitable then to us, has been growing more narrow daily. The East and the West, which stood aloof without a thing in common except their common humanity, have by that wonderful thread been drawn closer and even closer together until today we stand shoulder to shoulder as friends and allies defying the power of evil to destroy that splendid heritage which we are agreed to share as common heirs.

I am convinced that with the turning of the page and the opening of this new chapter of international history, and so through to the end of all time and all chapters, our good understanding will increase. The road between our homes will become more and more the beaten track of neighbors.

The visitors later were entertained in Boston, New York, and other cities, everywhere seeking to create closer ties between the two nations. The economic results of their conferences at Washington, though not made public, were believed to be of importance.

Sweden's Unneutral Acts

The Sending of the "Spurlos Versenkt" Dispatches to Germany Through Swedish Diplomats

THE Department of State of the United States on Sept. 8, 1917, startled the world by making public certain telegrams that had been sent in cipher to the Berlin Foreign Office—through the Stockholm Foreign Office—by the German Chargé at Buenos Aires, Argentina. Secretary Lansing's formal announcement was as follows:

The Department of State has secured certain telegrams from Count Luxburg, German Charge d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, to the Foreign Office at Berlin, which, I regret to say, were dispatched from Buenos Aires by the Swedish Legation as their own official messages, addressed to the Stockholm Foreign Office. The following are translations of the German text:

May 19, 1917. No. 32.

This Government has now released German and Austrian ships on which hitherto a guard had been placed. In consequence of the settlement of the Monte [Protegido] case there has been a great change in public feeling. Government will in future only clear Argentine ships as far as Las Palmas. I beg that the small steamers Oran and Guazo, 31st of January, [meaning which sailed 31st.] 300 tons, which are [now] nearing Bordeaux with a view to change the flag, may be spared if possible or else sunk without a trace being left, ["spurlos versenkt."]

LUXBURG.

July 3, 1917. No. 59.

I learn from a reliable source that the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is a notorious ass and Anglophile, declared in a secret session of the Senate that Argentina would demand from Berlin a promise not to sink more Argentine ships. If not agreed to, relations would be broken off. I recommend refusal and, if necessary, calling in the mediation of Spain.

LUXBURG.

July 9, 1917. No. 64.

Without showing any tendency to make concessions, postpone reply to Argentine note until receipt of further reports. A change of Ministry is probable. As regards Argentine steamers, I recommend either compelling them to turn back, sinking them without leaving any traces, or letting them through. They are all quite small.

LUXBURG.

The Case of Herr Cronholm

This announcement by the American State Department was followed on Sept. 13 by another equally astonishing, as follows:

The Department of State made public tonight the following translation of a letter, dated March 8, 1916, from the German Minister at Mexico City to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg:

Imperial Legation, Mexico, to his Excellency the Imperial Chancellor:

Herr Folke Cronholm, the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires here, since his arrival here has not disguised his sympathy for Germany, and has entered into close relations with this legation. He is the only diplomat through whom information from a hostile camp can be obtained.

Moreover, he acts as intermediary for official diplomatic intercourse between this legation and your Excellency. In the course of this, he is obliged to go personally each time to the telegraph office, not seldom quite late at night, in order to hand in the telegrams.

Herr Cronholm was formerly at Peking and at Tokio, and was responsible for the preliminary arrangements which had to be made for the representation of his country in each case. Before he came out here he had been in charge of the Consulate General at Hamburg. Herr Cronholm has not got a Swedish but only a Chinese order at present.

I venture to submit to your Excellency the advisability of laying before his Majesty the Emperor the name of Herr Cronholm, with a view to the Crown Order of the Second Class being bestowed upon him. It would perhaps be desirable, in order not to excite the enemy's suspicion, to treat with secrecy the matter of the issue of the patents until the end of the war, should the decision be favorable to my suggestion. This would mean that the matter would be communicated to no one but the recipient and his Government, and even to them only under the seal of secrecy, while the publication of the bestowal of the decoration would be postponed until the end of the war.

I should be particularly grateful to your Excellency if I could be furnished with telegraphic news of the bestowal of the decoration, which I strongly recommend

in view of the circumstances detailed above.
VON ECKHARDT.

Popular Indignation Aroused

The two publications created a profound sensation, especially in Argentina and other South American countries—also in Sweden. The telegrams from Count Luxburg containing the phrase "Spurlos versenkt" was the first official confirmation that this policy of destroying ships' crews was part of the general U-boat campaign.

When the news reached Buenos Aires there was first bewilderment, then dismay, followed by an outburst of anger at the Germans. Mobs gathered in the streets; the German centres of Buenos Aires were invaded, many shops were wrecked, the chief German clubhouse and leading German newspaper offices were burned. The mobs were quelled only after large bodies of troops had been employed. Demonstrations against Germans also occurred at Montevideo, Uruguay.

The Argentine Senate on Sept. 19 further evidenced its displeasure by passing, by a vote of 23 to 1, a declaration to break off relations with Germany. Popular feeling at Buenos Aires was strong for an immediate rupture.

The Swedish Minister at Buenos Aires, Baron Lowen, the day after the disclosure of the Luxburg dispatches made a simple disclaimer, declaring:

I have not sent, nor caused to be sent, by the legation under my charge, any telegram from the German Legation. The news is a great and disagreeable surprise. I have cabled to my Government to clear up matters. In the United States they are very excitable.

Argentina was not slow in acting. On Sept. 13 Foreign Minister Pueyrredon sent the following note to Count Luxburg:

Mr. Minister:

You having ceased to be persona grata to the Argentine Government, that Government has decided to deliver to you your passports, which I transmit herewith by order of his Excellency the President of the nation.

The introducer of embassies has instructions to assist you in your immediate departure from the territory of the republic. God keep you. H. PUEYRREDON.

To Count Karl von Luxburg, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the German Empire.

The passport issued to Count Luxburg reads:

Considering that his Excellency Count Karl Luxburg, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the German Empire, is leaving the Argentine Republic, the authorities of the republic are hereby requested to protect him in his passage to the frontier.

Given at Buenos Aires, Sept. 12, 1917.
Valid to the frontier.

PUEYRREDON.
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Count Luxburg, who is also Minister to Uruguay, asked safe conduct to Montevideo instead of returning to Berlin.

Sweden's Official Statement

The Swedish Foreign Office, whose head is Admiral Lindman, Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued the following statement on Sept. 11:

The Swedish Foreign Office has not received any account regarding the transmission of the telegrams mentioned in the statements of the Government of the United States, and the Swedish Government therefore is unable at present to determine what its position should be on the questions opened up by these statements.

It is, however, accurate to say that just after the world war broke out the Swedish Foreign Minister expressed the opinion that he ought to transmit a German telegram concerning the civil population of Kiao-Chau, (the former German fortress in the Chinese peninsula of Shantung.)

Statements to the same effect were made to the representatives of both belligerent groups without there being any question of Sweden taking over representation of any power's interests.

As regards the United States, in particular, the United States Minister here has this year in certain special cases demanded and obtained permission to transmit letters to and from Turkey, and at a time when Turkey was not in a state of war with America and when Sweden had not yet taken over the protection of American interests.

In the Summer of 1915 the wish was expressed from the British side that the transmission of telegrams between Germany and North America should cease. No formal demand was made, but notwithstanding this the Foreign Minister acceded to the wish. The Swedish Minister, who was cognizant of all the ne-

gotiations, was of the opinion that this was no bar to the continued transmission of telegrams to neutral States other than the United States and therefore to Argentina. Since then Sweden has continued to be the intermediary for communications between Germany and the Argentine.

The telegram mentioned in the American statement was written in code and in transmitting it the Swedish Minister was by that reason unable to recopy it. Whether its contents were as represented is a point which the first duty of the Swedish Government must be to confirm, and its next action must be to get an explanation from Germany if it be found that any misuse has taken place. Sweden will also, without regard to any reference made to her, take measures to prevent any repetition of the incident.

No application as to the cessation of the transmission of telegrams from Germany to the Argentine Republic has yet been made, either by the British or American Government, either now or at an earlier period.

The whole affair has only become known to the public through the press, but in spite of this the wishes, officially and semi-officially expressed by the interested parties, would immediately have been acceded to.

This statement was regarded as disingenuous, especially with reference to the transmission of letters to Turkey for the United States, for the reason that those dispatches were not in cipher, and their contents were open to the Turkish authorities to read.

The British authorities also criticised the statement. They held that it acknowledged a violation of the promise made to the British Government in 1916 to the effect that Sweden's practice of

becoming an intermediary for the transmission of dispatches to Germany would cease.

In Sweden the disclosure was received with much indignation by the public, and it had the effect of winning for the opposition many new seats in the Chamber, an election being in progress at the time.

Germany gave the exposure no official recognition until Sept. 18, when the German Minister to Sweden formally expressed to the Swedish Government at Stockholm Germany's "keen regret for the embarrassments caused Sweden through the Buenos Aires telegram affair." The Swedish newspapers, both Government and Opposition, in their comments indicated that Germany's expression was not adequate, and the resentment which swept over the country at being made Germany's catspaw deepened. Up to Sept. 20 neither Germany nor Mexico had vouchsafed any official expression regarding the Mexican note, though Minister von Eckhardt issued a perfunctory denial of the charges, with the intimation that the letter was not genuine. Deep resentment was evidenced in official circles in England and France, especially against the rôle Sweden had assumed, but no official steps were taken. The Swedish Government, on Sept. 15, announced that no further messages of any sort would be forwarded for Germany from any point, with an intimation that the Government felt that it had been imposed upon and its courtesy abused by the character of the messages it had been called upon to transmit.

The Belgian Prince U-Boat Crime

CONFIRMATION of the outrage committed by Germans at the time of the sinking of the Belgian Prince has been placed on record by G. Selenski, an able-bodied seaman who was Russian delegate to the International Conference of Seamen held at London to consider the U-boat crimes by Germany and Austria. Selenski is one of the three survivors of the Belgian Prince, which was attacked by a German submarine on July

31, 1917, when thirty-eight members of the crew were deliberately drowned after they had left their ship. His statement fully corroborates the affidavits—published in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for September (Page 406)—of the chief engineer and one of the sailors. Mr. Selenski's sworn statement is as follows:

"I signed at Liverpool on July 23, and sailed on the 24th. On July 31 the ship was torpedoed without warning, about

200 miles from the Irish coast. When the crew took to the boats the submarine hailed them to come alongside. They were then ordered to come on board the submarine. Five Germans who were in a small boat then smashed the lifeboats of the Belgian Prince with hatchets. The crew were then ordered to take off their lifebelts, and the lifebelts were taken down below in the submarine. The Captain was ordered down below also. The crew were on board the submarine for about an hour, on the foredeck, when, without any warning, the submarine submerged and left the crew to swim about, there being nothing in sight except the Belgian Prince, which had not sunk, but we could only just see her in the distance.

"I made up my mind to reach the ship, but I was endeavoring to save the third officer, and kept him afloat for half an hour, when he said, 'Oh, let me go now, and look after yourself.' I then swam to the ship and successfully reached her, after being in the water from 9 o'clock at night until 5 o'clock the next morning, Aug. 1. When I reached the ship there was the Jacob's ladder over the side, and I managed to get up this and boarded the ship. I was only aboard about half an hour when the submarine returned to the ship, and three or four Germans came on board and started to gather the clothes up out of the officers' quarters. All this time I was hiding at the after-end of the ship, but after the Germans had finished pilfering in the saloon they came toward the place where I was hiding, and there was nothing for me to do but jump over the stern again into the water.

"I then swam and held on to the rudder for half an hour, and then, as the submarine was coming away from the starboard side, I was compelled to swim to the port side to avoid them seeing me. The submarine then fired at the ship to make sure of sinking her, and eventually the ship started to settle down, and I was again compelled to swim about, and then the Germans noticed me and pointed their fingers at me, and were laughing and grinning also. I then swam to a dinghy which had floated off the ship, and, after struggling for about half an hour, I managed to get in the

boat; but prior to getting in the boat I picked up the ship's cat, which was floating about on a piece of timber, and took it in the boat with me.

"After about half an hour I was picked up by a patrol boat, and when I got on board the chief engineer and second cook were on board. I was then landed, and returned to Liverpool. I left the ship's cat with the crew of the patrol boat. I am now anxious to get away to sea again, and am waiting to know how long I shall have to wait before I can go. I was anxious to get back after I had been at home three days."

Narrative of Ship's Cook

One of the two other survivors, William Snell, a negro, who was the second cook on the Belgian Prince, and who has returned to his home in Newport News, Va., gave the following detailed narrative to a New York newspaper:

The Belgian Prince left Philadelphia for Liverpool last June 24, with a cargo of ammunition and supplies, and reached Liverpool On July 15. There she reloaded with china clay and salt, and on July 27 started on her way back to America, Newport News being her objective point.

On July 31, at 8 o'clock in the evening, while I was in my cabin writing a letter, I heard an explosion, and soon after that another one. The first one was a shell which tore into the side of the vessel; the second one a shell which put our wireless apparatus out of commission. These details I learned afterward when I got on deck. But the moment I heard the noise I knew that we were being attacked, and I put on my lifebelt and ran to the deck.

Every man of the crew had been drilled and knew just what to do, and so there was no confusion. Three lifeboats were lowered and we were then ordered to gather alongside the submarine on the starboard side of the Belgian Prince. Machine guns on the deck of the U-boat were aimed at us and her crew also were armed with revolvers which covered us.

The commander, speaking very good English, ordered us to throw up our hands. We did so, and he then asked, "Where's the Captain?"

"Here I am," answered our Captain, and the commander told him to get aboard. The commander of the U-boat was a man of perhaps 27 years or so, smooth shaven and good-looking. At first he was rather pleasant, but this soon wore off, and he became

extremely grouchy after awhile and frowned and seemed ready to kill every one of us.

"Where are your papers?" asked the commander. And after our Captain had given them to him he ordered our Captain to follow him below. A few minutes afterward the commander returned to the deck alone.

"Are there any gunners among you?" asked the commander. There were nine, but the first officer was afraid not only that the gunners would be put to death, but that all of us would have to suffer on account of them, so he said, "We had some, but they were all killed."

"Well, if there are no gunners among you," he said, "bring your boats alongside, and all hands come on deck."

Nine of the submarine's crew held revolvers at our faces while we were getting aboard. And we were then lined up forward of the conning tower. The commander also held a revolver in one hand, while with the other he searched us to see whether any of us had weapons in our clothes. When he got thorough, he asked: "Has any one among you any kind of weapon?" To which all of us replied negatively, except that most of us had jack knives.

"Well, now take off your lifebelts," was his next order, "and lay them down on the deck." He seemed to take a greater dislike to some of us than to others, for he picked up some of the lifebelts and threw them into the sea.

Just then another officer of the U-boat spoke to the commander in German. I could not understand what he said. The one who spoke German appeared to be of higher rank than the commander, because as soon as he had finished talking the commander ordered his men to get into our two larger lifeboats and throw the oars overboard; then, after removing to his own vessel all the provisions and whisky and whatever other supplies we had, he himself removed the plugs, and the lifeboats immediately began filling with water. But they did not sink. I have heard it said since that the submarine crew used axes to destroy the lifeboats. I may have been too excited at the time to notice everything that was going on, but I hardly believe that this is true. In fact, one of our boats—the Captain's boat—which had been run alongside the U-boat on the port side while the other two were on the starboard side, was not touched at all.

After the lifeboats had filled with water they were cut loose from the U-boat and they began drifting away.

The commander then pushed us forward away from the conning tower. Four Germans entered our Captain's boat and put off to the Belgian Prince, probably with bombs to blow up the vessel.

The next thing we knew the commander ducked into the conning tower, and closed the cap over it, and we of the Belgian

Prince were left alone on the submarine's deck. At almost the same moment we heard a whirring sound below, and presently the submarine started off at a lively clip. The Belgian Prince was soon left far behind. We must have gone about fourteen miles in the direction away from shore—the Irish coast was about 175 miles away—when I began feeling the water come up over my feet. Some of the others laughed and kept on chatting, and one of the men asked me for a cigarette. I told them I couldn't understand how they could take it so easy when it was plain that we were going to be drowned. Most of the men still laughed. They could not believe it possible that human beings could be fiendish enough to do such a thing.

When we were ordered to put our lifebelts on the deck I folded mine up before laying it down and then stood on it. Afterward I slipped it under my mackintosh; and now, when I saw that the submarine was getting lower and lower in the water, I slipped the lifebelt over my head and jumped into the water.

The reason I jumped was because I was afraid that when the submarine submerged the suction would drag us down to death. Scarcely had I struck out swimming and gotten a few yards away from the submarine before she went down with a peculiar sound, as if somebody had hit the surface of the water with a broad flat—something like a loud "whup."

The men began hollering, "Help! help!" It was awful. There we were, hundreds of miles from human help. The impossibility of obtaining help made the cries of the men so much more frightful. It was now about 9 o'clock and dark; still I could distinguish forms near me. They were men swimming, and among them nearest to me was a seaman I knew well but never knew his name. He, too, recognized me. "Cook," he said, "can you see her?" He meant the Belgian Prince, toward which we were swimming. I couldn't. It was too dark and beginning to become misty, and she was so far away.

"Let me rest my hands on you," the man pleaded. I feared for my own life and said, "No, I can't."

"Well, good-bye," he said, after a little while, "I can't go any further. Pray for me." And then I heard a gurgling sound and could not see him any more. We had been in the water more than half an hour. He was less than ten yards from me.

At 11 o'clock I could still see some men afloat. The water was calm on the surface, but the undercurrents were frightfully strong and gripped and pulled me around and around. The lifebelt undoubtedly saved me. I am a good swimmer and strong, but nobody without aid could last overnight in such a swirl of currents.

When daylight came I could see the Bel-

gian Prince. She was still miles away. I saw the four men coming down from the vessel and enter the little boat. They were the four who had been sent from the submarine. I hollered, but when I was carried up on the crest of a swell and saw the submarine coming toward the little boat I stopped yelling and pretended to be dead. The water all around was strewn with bodies.

I could see three of the men get aboard the submarine. The fourth stayed in the little boat. The submarine submerged. Then I

began hollering again, hoping the men would have pity and pick me up. Half an hour after this a British patrol boat came along and picked me up, and also the fellow in the boat. He proved to be George Selenski, an able seaman aboard the Belgian Prince. How he got into the boat is a puzzle to me. * * * The other man who was saved was Thomas Bowman, the chief engineer. He found a log of wood. He tried to save a young apprentice, but the poor lad died in Bowman's arms before rescue came.

Spain and the World War

By Manuel de J. Gálvan

[Mr. Gálvan is editor of *Las Novedades*, the oldest Spanish newspaper in the United States. He is connected by marriage with the leaders of the Conservative Party in Spain, and is related to one of the chief military commanders of the kingdom.]

TO convey to the readers of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* a clear idea of the workings of Spanish public opinion during the world war and the tendencies and principles of politics that have influenced and swayed the Spanish people is by no means an easy task. To explain the causes of the successive political changes that have occurred in Spain would take more space than has been allotted to me; therefore I will simply relate the happenings in chronological order.

As a result of the "Bloody Week" in Barcelona in 1911, which culminated in the execution of Ferrer, Premier Maura had to resign; the Liberal leader, Mr. Moret, had declared his unwillingness and that of his party to co-operate in any way with the Government. Mr. Moret, the old statesman who had introduced English political methods into Spanish politics, then formed a Cabinet; but his lack of energy unfitted him to lead the young democracy of Spain, and after three months of weak rule there came a new Ministerial crisis. The Moret Ministry gave way to a more liberal Cabinet, headed by Mr. Canalejas, one of the most remarkable men that Spain has ever produced.

Mr. Canalejas, on being intrusted with the office of Premier, presented to Congress the program his party was to follow, and this program was destined to

give new life to Spanish politics. One of the many great reforms advocated by the new Premier was the "Law of Associations," which was to make all religious organizations (outside of the five that enjoyed special privileges by virtue of the Concordat between the Spanish Government and the Holy See) liable to the civil laws and subject to the taxes imposed upon all other associations. This caused a battle royal in Parliament between the Liberal Party, which was supported by the Republican and Socialist elements, and the Conservative Party, supported by the Clergy and the old Carlist or Traditional Party.

The country was divided into two factions, and for the time being there were only two parties in Spain, one trying to deprive the religious orders of the special privileges permitting them to engage in industries and to own land without having to pay taxes, and the other party consisting of the monarchical, clerical, and conservative elements, trying by all means to maintain the old status, which violated the laws and permitted the clergy to hold, idle and unproductive, tracts of land that had been acquired as gifts, as well as to engage in manufacture without being subject to taxation. After many riotous outbreaks by the Conservatives against the Canalejas Government the liberal majority in Congress approved the law, and all attempts at disorder and destruction were quelled.

Democratic Forces United

There were many more changes in the political status of the country. For the first time in the history of Spain the forces of democracy seemed to be blended in an effort to work wonders for the triumph of their principles, and the dynastic Liberal Party had the hearty support of even the Republicans, some of whose principal leaders were inclined to accept a position in the Cabinet, under the belief that it was possible to accomplish by evolution what had been impossible through force or revolutionary agitation.

When the Canalejas Government was assured of a long, peaceful reign and the reorganization of the old parties was almost accomplished the blow came. Mr. Canalejas was assassinated by an anarchist. Again disorder prevailed. The Liberal Party was split into two factions, one headed by Garcia Prieto, Marquis of Aluceñas, in charge of the portfolio of Estate, and the other by Count Romanones, also a member of the Cabinet, whose followers were the more advanced and educated of the Liberal Party. The Marquis of Aluceñas was temporarily appointed Premier, but very soon the Liberal majority in Congress appointed Count Romanones as Premier and charged him with the reorganization of the Cabinet.

Six months later the split in the ranks of the Liberal Party precipitated a new crisis, and the Conservatives came into power under the Premiership of Mr. Dato, a former lieutenant of Maura's. He was charged by the King to form a new Cabinet. He did not hesitate to do so, notwithstanding the fact that Maura was recognized leader of the party. The King considered it advisable not to appoint Maura, the old leader, as the Republicans and Socialists threatened to use force if necessary, in case Maura should head a Conservative Cabinet.

Strict Neutrality Proclaimed

It was at that time that the great world war struck like a bolt from heaven. Premier Dato, after consulting all the political leaders of the country, proclaimed a policy of strict neutrality because it was the sincere wish of the

public. Some Liberals expressed themselves in favor of Spain joining with the Entente Powers, but the overwhelming majority of Parliamentary leaders as well as the masses of the people gave unmistakable signs of favoring a policy of strict neutrality, so as to keep the country out of the terrible war and to keep their sons off the fields of battle. Mr. Dato, who personally favored that policy, took advantage of the wave of public feeling and held his country back from useless destruction.

An unprecedented era of prosperity and good feeling was the result of Spain's neutrality. All the products of the soil, all its manufactures, found a ready market in the allied countries. Small establishments grew into modern plants equipped with the latest machinery. Small villages attained in six months a degree of wealth and prosperity that they had never even thought of. But the thoughtless way in which merchants did business, exporting everything that was asked for by the allied countries, soon brought a scarcity of food products in the country. Prices soared to unusual heights, and the laboring classes found themselves unable to buy even the necessities of life. There were cases when people were unable to obtain food for money. The Government tried to prevent the exportation of foodstuffs by increasing the tariff, but this experiment was useless, as the merchants were able to export grain, cattle, and everything needed at home and still realize huge profits in France.

Food Scarcity Causes Unrest

This situation created the present conditions. Premier Dato was accused of not having shown enough ability to cope with the situation, and had to resign. As Count Romanones, the Liberal leader, had made pro-ally declarations, the King hesitated to call him to form the new Cabinet until he had declared himself in favor of neutrality. This he did, and was appointed Premier.

This precipitated a new crisis. Conservative elements started a demonstration in favor of adhering to neutrality at all costs, while their leaders went around the country calling meetings in which

they tried to awaken the ill-will of the people against the Entente Allies. They brought charges against England and France, whose policies in recent times, they declared, were consistently hostile to Spanish interests in Africa. The Gibraltar question was also brought up, and, on the whole, their work tended to range the sympathy of the people with the Central Empires.

The Liberals of the country found themselves in a very difficult position, because, pledged to a policy of absolute neutrality, they could not oppose the campaign of the Conservatives, started primarily and apparently on behalf of neutrality. Notwithstanding this, the Republican Party decided to oppose the Conservative propaganda, and started a campaign to enlighten the masses. The leaders endeavored to bring before the people the advantages of a policy favorable to the cause of the Entente Allies.

An Era of Strikes

Meanwhile, although the food situation was alleviated, the laborers found that their salaries were not enough to bring any comforts and that they earned scarcely enough to live. Very soon their discontent was shown in the organization of strikes, the most important of which was that of the railroad employes, who demanded higher wages. The Government was compelled to intervene, and the railroad companies agreed to meet the demands of the workers. Instead of calming the disorder, this resulted in the organization of more strikes, and as the men's claims were just they had to be granted; but the increase in salaries agreed to by the employers was not proportionate to the new economic conditions. The Government took measures to import grain, but the restrictions imposed by the British blockade and, on the other hand, the submarine war made it impossible to overcome the scarcity of food.

The pressure brought to bear on the Government by the diplomatic representatives of the Entente Allies, as well as the ruthless campaign of the German submarines, which had sunk several Spanish vessels while they were sailing within Spanish territorial waters, con-

vinced Premier Romanones of the necessity of joining the Entente Allies in the great war against autocracy. He issued a strong note of protest to the German Government, submitted his ideas to the King, provoked a crisis, and, as a majority of the Liberal Party was in favor of peace, the result was his resignation. Mr.



EDUARDO DATO
Premier of Spain

Garcia Prieto, Marquis of Alhucemas, the other prominent leader of the Liberal Party, undertook to form a new Cabinet pledged to maintain the policy of neutrality.

The Army Threatens Revolt

During this period the Republican and Socialist Parties had been waging a campaign in favor of a more democratic government, and they took advantage of the existing state of affairs to incite the people to revolution. The army, which up to this time had maintained the most strict discipline, seeing that the country was on the verge of a revolution, tried to exert its influence in favor of some needed reforms. The artillery corps and the engineers had organized commissions to present to the Government all claims pertaining to their particular arm of the service, and the infantry in the same manner proceeded to organize its claims.

In the first place, the soldiers' pay, on account of the high cost of food, was insufficient for the obtaining of proper rations. There had been great favoritism shown in the promotion of officers, and the commissions were organized to do away with all this injustice.

The Government was made aware of this movement, initiated in Catalonia, and the Minister of War ordered General Alfau, Military Governor of the province, to arrest the officers connected with it. General Alfau carried out the order, but presented his resignation as Governor and went to Madrid to protest against the unwise and unjust order, since the infantry was doing nothing more or less than the other arms of the service had done when they organized commissions.

General Marina was sent to Barcelona to succeed General Alfau, but on arriving there he found that the temper of the army was such that to insist on punishing the officers who had been arrested on the order of the Minister of War would provoke an open revolt. All the other branches of the military unit joined in manifestations in favor of the movement of the infantry, and the whole army became so threatening that the Government hastened to comply with the demands, beginning with the dismissal of General Aguilera, the Minister of War, on the charge that he had been the cause of all the discontent of the army. The example set by the army was followed by all military units of the nation, and even the clergy organized "juntas" to attend to its own welfare.

Uprisings in Catalonia

The King called into power the Conservative Party, and Premier Dato formed a Cabinet to cope with the situation. As the Congress was in recess, some of the Catalanian Congressmen requested of Premier Dato a decree which would allow them to convene. This the Premier refused, but the Catalonians attempted to convene, and they called an extraordinary legislature in the name of the majority of the representatives. The Government officials surrounded the building in which they were to meet and prevented them from so doing.

While all this was going on in high political circles the Republicans and Socialists, emboldened by the military unrest and by the general discontent of the masses, started a revolutionary campaign which culminated in uprisings in Catalonia, Valencia, and Viscaya. In Barcelona the trouble started with a strike of the railway employees. The military authorities lent the aid of the police to the companies in order that they might run their cars with strike-breakers, and this brought about clashes between the police and the strikers. In a very short time the whole city was in arms, and it was necessary for the military authorities to send troops to disarm the rebels, who had already built barricades in different parts of the city.

For six days there was street fighting of such nature that the troops in some places were compelled to use artillery fire against the houses in which the rebels had their headquarters. According to official reports, the number of dead on the rebel side reached thirty-three, with sixty-six wounded, and the number of civilian dead is placed at 115, with 680 wounded.

In Valencia there was a similar uprising, and it has been impossible to obtain the exact number of dead and wounded, although it is said that there were more than five hundred casualties. In Bilbao, Province of Viscaya, the uprising was frankly republican. Two days of fierce fighting took place between the army and the populace.

Pro-German and Other Elements

The complexity of the situation in Spain is caused primarily by the economical conditions brought about by the war. The laboring classes know that the country is enjoying an era of unprecedented prosperity, that the middle and upper classes are becoming richer by leaps and bounds, that the Spanish peseta is at a premium above all other money, and, notwithstanding, they are not able to share in this wealth as do the other classes that are enriched at the cost of their labor.

At the same time the international situation exerts a great influence in di-

viding public opinion into two clear factions. The conservative elements are without exception pro-German, and so are the army, the clergy, and a majority of the Liberal Party, while the Republicans and the Socialists, with a minority of the Liberal Party, are pro-ally. The masses are neutral, because they have been acquainted with the havoc and destruction that would be caused should Spain enter this war. Therefore they would gladly join in any uprising directed against Spain's participation in the war.

The King up to the present time has maintained strict neutrality, although his personal sympathies are believed to be pro-ally. His tolerance of all political opinions, his marked tendency to deal leniently with political offenses and conspiracies, and his courage, generosity,

and charitable traits have made him very popular with all classes. The Republicans know and readily acknowledge that the Spanish people are not advanced enough to be able to establish an orderly republican Government, because the radical elements predominate and the anarchists take advantage of any uprising to commit revolting acts of vandalism. This is recognized by the majority of the thinking class, although the forces of democracy begin to chafe under the constitutional monarchy, no matter how liberal in form and in practice it may be. At the same time, there is uneasiness and discontent among all classes, with a gradual disintegration of the old political parties, and this might at any time produce a national crisis that would change the whole political structure of the Spanish Peninsula.

German War Losses

THE man power of Germany in September, 1917, with the war casualties, was estimated by experts at the French Army Headquarters last month as follows:

Fixed formations on the various fronts, employed on lines of communication, and stationed in the interior, 5,500,000.

Divisions undergoing formation and men in depots, 600,000.

Losses in killed, permanently disabled, and prisoners, 4,000,000; wounded under treatment in hospitals, 500,000. Total, 10,600,000.

The following figures account for all men called for service up to the present.

Trained men mobilized immediately on the outbreak of the war, 4,500,000.

Untrained ersatz (compensatory) reservists called out, August, 1914, to February, 1915, 800,000.

Class of 1914 recruits called out November, 1914, to January, 1915, 450,000.

First ban of untrained Landsturm called out at the beginning of 1915, 1,100,000.

Class 1915, called out May-July, 1915, 450,000.

Remainder of untrained Landsturm called out the same month, 150,000.

Class of 1916, called out September-November, 1915, 450,000.

Contingent of hitherto exempted men called out in October, 1915, 300,000.

Second contingent exempted men called out early in 1916, 200,000.

Second ban Landsturm early in 1916, 450,000.

Class of 1917, called out March-November, 1916, 450,000.

Third contingent exempted men late in 1916, 300,000.

Class of 1918, called out November, 1916, to March, 1917, 450,000.

Class of 1919, called out in part in 1917, 300,000.

Additional exempted men, 1917, 150,000.

Total, 11,500,000.

The discrepancy in the figures is accounted for by the omission of the mail units. The total mobilizable male resources of Germany since the beginning of hostilities, including the yearly classes of recruits up to 1920, number about 14,000,000. Those called up number 10,600,000. The remainder are accounted for as follows:

The remaining part of the class 1919 awaiting call, 150,000; class of 1920 still uncalled, 450,000; men employed as indispensable in industries and administrations, 500,000; men abroad unable to reach Germany, 200,000; men entirely exempted owing to physical disability, 2,100,000.

Recruits of the 1920 class cannot be called legally until they attain their seventeenth birthday.

Russia's Escape From Civil War

The Moscow Conference and General Korniloff's Attempt to Overthrow the Kerensky Government

RUSSIA during the month ended Sept. 15, 1917, went through the most dramatic and trying period since the revolution was launched.

This experience, in the judgment of competent observers, left the Provisional Government stronger, inspired new confidence in the permanency of the revolution, blasted the hopes of the reactionaries and monarchists, and dispelled definitely all fear that Russia would make a separate peace with the Central Powers.

The first theatric setting to the thrilling chapters which Russia is furnishing to modern history was the extraordinary conference which sat as a National Assembly at Moscow, the ancient capital. The extreme gravity of the country's position at the front and throughout the vast domain impelled Premier Kerensky to convoke, without waiting for a constituent assembly, an "Extraordinary National Council" to meet at Moscow on Aug. 26, 1917. At this conference the lines of cleavage, which later led to General Korniloff's rebellion, became clearly defined.

The conference consisted of 2,500 delegates, as follows: 188 members of the four Dumas, 100 representatives of the peasants, 229 representatives of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of all Russia, 147 delegates of the municipalities, 113 representatives of the Union of Zemstvos and towns, 150 representatives of industrial organizations and banks, 313 representatives of co-operative organizations and 176 of professional unions.

Kerensky's Speech at Moscow

Premier Kerensky opened the conference with a speech of great length, in which he reviewed the general situation, saying in part:

Those who think the moment has come to overthrow the revolutionary power with bayonets are making a mistake. Let them take care, for our authority is

supported by the boundless confidence of the people and by millions of soldiers who are defending us against the German invasion.

Citizens, the State is passing through a period of mortal danger. I do not say more, for you all understand. You see it, for each of you experiences it, in a different way. You all know the task incumbent upon you for the struggle against a powerful, implacable, and organized enemy demands great sacrifices, self-denial, deep love of our country, and the forgetting of domestic quarrels. Unfortunately, not all who are able are willing to offer all this on the altar of their country, ruined by war, and they thus render the critical situation of our country more serious every day.

In our political life this process of disorganization is worse, even causing certain nationalities living in Russia to seek their salvation, not in close union with the mother country, but in separatist aspirations. On top of all this come the shameful events at the front, when Russian troops, forgetting their duty to their country, gave way without resistance to the pressure of the enemy, thus forging for their people fresh chains of despotism. We fell so low because we could not free ourselves from the fatal inheritance of the old régime which we hated but obeyed because we feared it. Therefore now, when power rests on liberty, not on bayonets, we are transported with delight, although there is some hereditary distrust of this new power.

Those who once trembled before the government of autocrats now boldly march against the Government with arms in hand. But let them remember that our patience has its limits, and that those who go beyond them will have to settle with a Government which will make them remember the time of Czarism. We shall be implacable, because we are convinced that supreme power alone can assure the salvation of the country. That is why I shall oppose energetically all attempts to take advantage of Russia's national misfortunes, and whatever ultimatum is presented, I shall subject it to the supreme power and to myself, its head.

Not a Time for Decadence

The Premier declared that the destructive period of the revolution had passed and that the time had come to

consolidate the conquests of the revolution. He continued:

For this reason we ask you, citizens, whether you feel within your hearts the indispensable sacred fire for the attainment of this object, whether you represent, here in Moscow, the national strength which is necessary to assure the prosperity of the country or will give the world and us another picture of decadence?

A little time ago we indignantly replied to a proposal to conclude a separate peace. A few days ago we witnessed another attempt, equally base, directly against our allies. The latter rejected it with equal indignation, and in the name of the great Russian people I say to our allies that it was the only reply we expected of them.

Notwithstanding the none too friendly attitude toward the mother country of certain nationalities of the Russian State, M. Kerensky continued, the Russian democracy would give them all it promised through the Provisional Government and all that the Constituent Assembly might yet decide to grant. But when the limit of tolerance was passed, or where there was a desire to take advantage of the nation's difficulties in order to violate the free will of Russia, they would cry "Hands off!" The Premier said the Government would prevent by force reopening of the dissolved Diet in Finland and that he hoped the country would approve this decision. His statement was cheered.

"The Government will endeavor," the Premier went on, "to protect the army against the subversive influences which deprived soldiers of all sense of military duty and will struggle energetically against the Maximalists, against all attempts by them to corrupt discipline."

Difficulties of Finance

M. Avskentieff, Minister of the Interior, and M. Prokopovitch, Minister of Trade and Industry, followed M. Kerensky.

The first year of the war, said M. Prokopovitch, cost Russia 5,300,000,000 rubles, the second year 11,200,000,000 rubles, the third year already 18,000,000,000 rubles, while the total revenue for 1913 was 16,000,000,000.

Regarding the question of food, he said that the country's position was extremely difficult. There was actual scarcity in several provinces and a mini-

um in Petrograd and Moscow. He was endeavoring to nurse such industries as remained, and he considered it necessary to control the profits of manufactures in order to prevent them from becoming rich at the expense of the populace.

Vice Premier Nekrasoff told the conference how expenses had increased during the war. He said that in 1914 about 219,000,000 rubles of paper currency had been put in circulation, 223,000,000 in 1915, and 290,000,000 in 1916; that in the first two months of 1917 there had been issued 846,000,000, and from March onward the issue averaged 832,000,000 rubles monthly.

The budget, said M. Nekrasoff, was in a profoundly abnormal condition because it had placed on one side the cost of the war, and thus, in effect, there were two budgets, one giving a false impression of prosperity, and the other concealing the germs of financial catastrophe.

Expending Enormous Sums

The Vice Premier admitted that the new régime was costing the country much more than the old, and that the new administrative bodies were absorbing enormous sums, the Food Committee, for instance. He said the financial difficulties were largely due to the extraordinary increase in the pay of workers, and instanced the Putiloff factory, the workers of which alone had been paid this year 90,000,000 rubles. Another source of difficulty was the small amount of revenue from taxation, excise charges and other sources. Direct taxation could not keep pace with the State's expenses, and indirect taxation was becoming a necessity.

Continuing, M. Nekrasoff enumerated a series of measures which would strengthen the financial position of the country, including various monopolies, especially on sugar, tea, and matches. He emphatically denied reports that the Government was contemplating confiscation of private possessions of landed property. It would never, he said, embark on such a dangerous adventure, believing firmly that the citizens of the country would do their duty.

General Korniloff, the Commander in

Chief of the Army, addressed the second sitting of the conference. This address, in the light of his subsequent revolt, is especially significant.

General Korniloff said the death penalty, restoration of which he had asked, together with other measures, constituted only a small part of what was necessary in an army stricken with the terrible evils of disorganization and insubordination. In the present month soldiers had killed four regimental commanders and other officers, and ceased these outrages only when they were threatened with being shot. Quite recently one of the regiments of Siberian Rifles, which had fought so splendidly at the beginning of the revolution, abandoned its positions on the Riga front. Nothing except an order to exterminate the entire regiment availed to cause it to return to its positions. The commander continued:

Thus we are implacably fighting anarchy in the army. Undoubtedly it will finally be repressed, but the danger of fresh *débâcles* is weighing constantly on the country.

The situation on the front is bad. We have lost the whole of Galicia, the whole of Bukowina, and all the fruits of our recent victories. At several points the enemy has crossed our frontier and is threatening our fertile southern provinces. He is endeavoring to destroy the Rumanian Army and is knocking at the gates of Riga. If our army does not hold the shore of the Gulf of Riga the road to Petrograd will be opened wide.

The old régime bequeathed to Russia an army which, despite all the defects in its organization, nevertheless was animated by a fighting spirit and was ready for sacrifices. The whole series of measures taken by those who are completely foreign to the spirit and needs of the army has transformed it into a collection of individual groups which have lost all sense of duty and only tremble for their own personal safety.

If Russia wishes to be saved the army must be regenerated at any cost. We must immediately take measures such as I have referred to, which have been approved in their entirety by the acting Minister of War.

Reform Measures Adopted

General Korniloff then outlined the most important of these measures, in addition to restoration of the death penalty, which are: First, restoration of discipline in the army by the strengthening of the

authority of officers and noncommissioned officers; second, improvement of the financial position of officers, who have been in a very difficult position in the recent military operations; third, restriction of the functions of regimental committees, which, although managing economic affairs of the regiments, must not be permitted to have any part in decisions regarding military operations or the appointment of leaders. He continued:

The strength of every army depends upon conditions in the district in its rear.

The blood which will inevitably flow during the restoration period may be shed in vain if the army, having been reorganized and prepared for battle, remains without reinforcements and fresh supplies of projectiles and equipment. I therefore think it indispensable that the measures taken at the front should also be applied in the rear.

The commander went on to say that according to information at his disposal the condition of the railways was such that by November the army would not receive any more supplies. In support of his statement he quoted a telegram from the Commander in Chief of the southwestern front, saying that the shortage of bread and biscuit on this front amounted almost to famine. General Korniloff then read figures relating to the production of war materials, which he said had fallen, compared with the period from October, 1916, to January, 1917, by 60 per cent. for guns and shells and 80 per cent. for airplanes.

"If this state of affairs continues," he added, "the Russian armies will find themselves in the same state as in the 'Spring of 1915, at the time of the re-treat in Poland, Galicia, and the Carpathians.'"

He expressed his firm belief that the measures which he proposed would immediately be put into execution.

"I believe," he said, "that the genius and the reason of the Russian people will save the country. I believe in a brilliant future for our army. I believe its ancient glory will be restored."

When General Korniloff concluded his speech there were prolonged cheers from every side except the Extreme Left, where several members of the soldiers' and workmen's organization remained silent.

General Korniloff immediately left the hall and proceeded to a train, which took him to headquarters.

Firm Stand of Cossacks

General Kaledines, leader of the Don Cossacks, representing the Council of Cossacks, mounted the tribune and read a resolution passed by the Cossacks demanding above everything, for the salvation of the country, the continuation of the war until complete victory was attained, in close union with the Allies. General Kaledines proposed, with the same end in view, the following measures:

First, placing the army outside of politics; second, the suppression of regimental committees and councils and the restriction of the functions of those which may be maintained with a purely economic mission; third, revision of the declaration of soldiers' rights; fourth, reinforcing discipline by strong measures and by the application of those measures to the districts in the rear; fifth, restoration of the rights of commanders to inflict punishment.

In presenting his views General Kaledines defied the extreme radicals. "Who saved you from the Bolsheviki on the 14th of July?" he asked contemptuously. "We Cossacks have been free men. We are not made drunk by new-found liberties and are unblinded by party or program. We tell you plainly and categorically, remove yourselves from the place which you have neither the ability nor the courage to fill and let better men than yourselves step in, or take the consequences of your folly."

The reading of the resolution was punctuated by cheers from the Right and by some protests from the Left.

Vladimir Naboukoff, a prominent Social-Democrat, speaking in the name of the first Duma, declared the country aimed at the establishment of a strong and independent power, uninfluenced by political parties, a power which, based on democratic principles, would establish obedience to the law, civil liberty, and personal security. The speaker emphasized the absolute necessity of the independence of the high command of the army from every private influence.

N. C. Tcheidse, President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates,

who was received with frenzied applause by the Left and with cries of "Long live the leader of the Russian revolution!" read a statement pointing out that only the active support of the revolutionary democracy would make possible the regeneration of the army and the country and the salvation of Russia.

"The democracy," he said, "cannot be detached from the revolutionary country, and nothing but power based on support of the countless masses of the people can save the country from its critical position and give the victory over our enemies without and within."

M. Tcheidse declared the unified revolutionary democracy recognized that the vital interests of the country and the revolution demanded the application of the following measures:

First, in the domain of food supplies, the Government, pursuing a firm policy, should maintain a monopoly of cereals and a policy of fixed prices for agricultural products.

Second, in the domain of commerce and industry, the defense of the country and the supplies of munitions demanded more radical measures for the regulation of transport and the increase of the productivity of industry.

Third, the finances required the rigorous application of laws dealing with the income tax and war profits, besides other reforms, such as the introduction of succession duties and of taxes on articles of luxury corresponding to their increase in value, with other fiscal measures. As regards loans, the Government should take strong measures to make all bear their full share.

Fourth, agrarian reforms should be introduced to prevent all usurpation of land, whether by individuals or groups of individuals or societies.

Fifth, regarding the organization of the army, the respective rights and duties of the army commanders, commission and army organizations should be defined.

Regarding the question of nationality, the Government should pass an act granting to all nationalities the right of deciding their lot, upon agreement, in the Constituent Assembly.

M. Tcheidse concluded with an appeal for support for the Provisional Government, which he said should be invested with full and complete powers.

Alexieff on Army's Disintegration

During the third day's session the most important address was made by General

Alexeieff, former Commander of Chief. He drew contrasts between the army of the old régime, poorly equipped with mechanical resources but strong in war-like spirit, and the present army, well supplied with food and arms but completely poisoned and enfeebled by ill-interpreted and ill-applied doctrines which have been put forward, notably in the famous Order of the Day No. 1. These doctrines, he declared, had split the army into two opposite camps, officers and soldiers, which have become almost irreconcilable.

Speaking of the committees elected by the soldiers of the various units, General Alexeieff said they were useful to the army from an economic standpoint, but were fatal to discipline of the troops. None the less subversive was the influence of Government commissaries, whose appointment, he asserted, created an extremely dangerous quality of power.

The General maintained that after publication by the Government of the declaration of the rights of soldiers all respect toward leaders disappeared, the officers becoming veritable martyrs and having to pay very dearly for the offensive of Aug. 1 and the subsequent retreat. The General cited some remarkable illustrations of this. On one occasion, he said, when an attack was being launched the force which advanced was made up of twenty-eight officers, twenty non-commissioned officers, and two soldiers. All the others looked on coldly while these heroes perished.

The General declared it would be impossible to carry on the war to a victorious conclusion unless the strongest possible efforts were made by the Provisional Government and by the troops themselves to reanimate and regenerate the army.

Warning by Kerensky

In closing the conference Premier Kerensky spoke as though he had a premonition of an impending revolt. He said:

The Provisional Government will stand on guard over the revolution. It will suffer no counter-revolutionary attempts, whatever be their source, for the Provisional Government is the incarnated will of the whole Russian people. It does

not regret having convoked the conference at Moscow, which, although it has not yielded practical results, has allowed all Russian citizens to say frankly what they think necessary for the State.

Premier Kerensky then spoke of the services rendered to the country by the revolutionary democracy, which, he observed, took power at a terrible moment in the life of the State.

"Whoever endeavors to wrest their conquests from the people," he concluded, "will never succeed, for they have now become public property."

Message From President Wilson

At the first session of the conference the following cablegram was received from President Wilson and read amid great applause:

President of the National Council Assembly, Moscow:

I take the liberty to send to the members of the great council now meeting in Moscow the cordial greetings of their friends, the people of the United States, to express their confidence in the ultimate triumph of ideals of democracy and self-government against all enemies within and without, and to give their renewed assurance of every material and moral assistance they can extend to the Government of Russia in the promotion of the common cause in which the two nations are unselfishly united.

WOODROW WILSON.

Results of the Conference

The conference, while it took no definite action, being invested with no authority, served to bring out clearly a distinct line of cleavage between the radical or socialistic element, represented by Kerensky and the controlling factors of the Provisional Government, on the one hand, and the conservatives or bourgeoisie, represented by the Generals in the field—in the persons of Generals Korniloff, Alexeieff, Denikene—with the Constitutional Democrats and industrial and financial conservatives, on the other. In fact, it was this division that was apparent shortly after the revolution was proclaimed, and that had its first manifestation in the resignation of Professor Milukoff from the Cabinet, the resignation of General Brusiloff in the field, and the breakup of the first and second Cabinets. It was

the fundamental difference between socialism and conservatism, though both factions were resolutely opposed to a separate peace and enthusiastic and implacable enemies of the old order.

So acute had become the division between the two elements that when the Moscow conference was convened serious trouble from the extreme radicals was apprehended, as they looked askance at the conference as a conservative movement.

In view of alarmist rumors of impending riotous demonstrations the Military Governor of Moscow took precautions against disorders of all descriptions, and the council threatened to show a rigor in this respect unknown even in ante-revolutionary days. The building in which the council met was surrounded by a close chain of soldiers, with officers every few yards, the soldiers being picked men from regiments of the Signal Corps or cadets training for officers. The chambers under the building were occupied by soldiers with fixed bayonets.

The interior of the Opera House was decorated elaborately, the foot bridge connecting the auditorium with the stage being hung with festoons of revolutionary red. Interspersed among the members of the council were to be seen characteristic Russian types, including Tartars in peaked caps, white-robed Mullahs from the Volga, Georgians robed in cloth of gold cassocks, and dignitaries of the Greek Orthodox Church, who had arrived for an Ecumenical Church Congress.

There was a general strike in Moscow the day the conference met, as a protest by the radicals, but there was little or no disorder, and business resumed its normal functions the next day.

The Fall of Riga

Immediately on the heels of the Moscow conference it was clear that the Germans had determined to take advantage of Russia's political chaos and of the consequent demoralization of Russia's armies. Pressure was resumed on all fronts, and the Russians steadily retired, many regiments making no show of re-

sistance. Only slight advances were made in the Rumanian region, but great German progress was made in Livonia, on the northern part of the front, where the main pressure was brought to bear.

On Aug. 31 it was evident that the Germans were preparing an advance on Riga, the most important Russian Baltic port. The first evidence of this was a series of raids by forty German bomb carriers and battle planes on various islands in the Gulf of Riga and at the entrance to the Gulf of Finland. German troops crossed the Dvina southeast of Riga on Sept. 2, and a German offensive was opened in the region of Mitau, southwest of Riga. On Sept. 3 it was officially announced that Riga had surrendered. Its fall was announced by Berlin as follows:

After careful preparation German divisions on Sunday morning crossed the Dvina on both sides of Uxkull. The infantry crossing was preceded by a heavy bombardment by artillery and mine-throwers. A footing was gained on the northern bank of the river after a short fight. Where the Russians offered resistance they were driven back by vigorous attacks. The movements of our troops are in progress and are proceeding according to our plans.

The enemy gave up his positions west of the Dvina owing to our advance. Our divisions are moving forward there also, while fighting with the Russian rear guard. Dense columns of every kind are making their way hastily in a northeasterly direction along the roads leading out of Riga. Burning villages and farms mark the routes taken by the retreating west wing of the Twelfth Russian Army.

The following was the announcement from Petrograd:

On account of the threatening situation an order has been given for the abandonment of Riga. Some Russian detachments voluntarily left their positions and are retiring toward the north.

The German offensive on this front began Saturday by an attack on the Russian Uxkull position, following artillery preparation which lasted several hours. The Russian troops defending the Dvina River withdrew and the Germans succeeded in throwing two bridges across the Dvina and passing to the eastern bank.

The Russian infantry, in spite of the brilliant action of the artillery, which destroyed one of the enemy bridges, could not stop the German thrust, and the enemy, taking advantage of this, rapidly

developed his success and began an advance northward. Russian counterattacks against him were unsuccessful.

The fall of Riga created great enthusiasm throughout Germany. Church bells were rung, thanksgiving services were held, the cities were bedecked with flags, and everywhere it was proclaimed as a great triumph. Lieut. Gen. Baron von Ardenne asserted that the taking of Riga was "a first-class warlike deed." He stated that the main defense of the city was an army of 150,000 men, and that the line was broken after heroic fighting. The Pan-Germans seized the opportunity to proclaim again the invincibility of the German arms, and the newspapers all over the country declared that Riga was German at heart and would forever remain as part of the German Empire.

The Kaiser's Congratulations

The Kaiser extolled the capture of the city in the following address to the Eighth German Army:

Riga is free.

When the news ran through all the districts of Germany, a storm of jubilation and enthusiasm arose everywhere in the Fatherland and in the foremost trenches in the enemy country.

This town, founded by the spirit of the old German Hanseatic League, with a German history and which always has endeavored to maintain its German origin, has gone through heavy times. By the German Army, in which are incorporated all the German tribes, this town again is liberated from long oppression.

The operation, which by the command of the supreme army commander and under the direction of Prince Leopold of Bavaria was begun and undertaken with confidence in the efficiency of the troops which in over three years of war have so brilliantly stood the test, has been carried through by all arms more quickly and more energetically than was expected, and was a surprise to the enemy. A crushing blow hit him, so he lost his bridgehead.

The liberation of Riga is the deed of the Eighth Army and its well-trying commander. It again has proved that our steel-hard will to victory will defend us, no matter how long the war lasts, but such blows as the battle of Riga increase the prospects that the end will come soon. They add to the glory of our arms and give fresh laurels to the troops participating.

Therefore I express to you my thanks

for the brilliant feat of arms, the Fatherland's thanks, and the enthusiastic thanks of the people, who stand behind you watching your deeds, but who also create and labor with their hands and till the fields to give us our daily bread. The present harvest, now well brought in, will feed us.

Also in this respect the Lord of Creation has granted our prayers, and by His daily bread protected this army and your people at home against distress. Therefore, happen what may, and no matter how long it may last, on, then, upon the enemy with joyful hearts and iron will to victory over all the enemies of Germany.

The Effect in Russia

The loss of Riga intensified the political excitement in Russia and produced a profound crisis. Conspiracies and plots by monarchists were unearthed. Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, brother of the former Czar; his wife, the Countess Pohlen, and the Grand Duke Paul and his wife were taken into custody on Sept. 5, also other Grand Dukes and their families in different parts of the country. General Gurko, formerly commander of the southwestern front, was charged with treason and exiled. The wave of unrest spread throughout the country. Petrograd was apprehensive over the approach of the Germans, and large numbers of people left the city. The Provisional Government was charged with responsibility for collapse of the army on account of lack of discipline and weakness in dealing with the extreme radicals.

General Korniloff's Revolt

It was on Sept. 9 that the storm broke, and General Korniloff, the Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies, raised the flag of revolt against the Provisional Government. The story is thus related by the most authentic correspondents:

At 1 o'clock Saturday afternoon, after Premier Kerensky had inspected a detachment of Russian soldiers from the Balkans, Deputy Lvoff of the Duma called him by telephone and demanded an interview, declaring that his mission was of great importance.

M. Kerensky at first refused to receive M. Lvoff, but later in the afternoon did receive him, whereupon Lvoff declared that he had come as General Korniloff's plenipotentiary in order to

demand the surrender of all power into Korniloff's hands. M. Lvoff said that this demand did not emanate from Korniloff only, but was supported by a "group of political workers," meaning an organization of Duma members, Moscow industrial interests, and other conservatives, which had played the rôle of opposition at the national conference at Moscow.

This group, said M. Lvoff, did not object to Kerensky personally, but demanded that he transfer the portfolio of war to M. Savinkoff, Assistant Minister of War, who all along had supported Korniloff's demands. M. Lvoff added:

"If you agree, we invite you to come to headquarters and meet General Korniloff, giving you a solemn guarantee that you will not be arrested."

Premier Kerensky replied that he was amazed, and described Korniloff's ultimatum as an act of effrontery and treason so incredible that he was unable to believe his ears. Therefore he resolved first to communicate with General Korniloff direct. In an exchange of telegrams Korniloff confirmed fully to the Premier his demands.

M. Kerensky then announced to M. Lvoff that the Provisional Government would not consent to such demands and would take every possible step to crush Korniloff's criminal conspiracy. Lvoff was then placed under arrest and subjected to a severe examination, during which he gave the details of the conspiracy and the names of the prominent men involved.

Kerensky's Vigorous Action

Premier Kerensky acted with resolution and celerity. He immediately deposed the Commander in Chief as a traitor, arrested his envoy, Vladimir Lvoff, proclaimed a state of siege in Petrograd and vicinity, and appointed as chief of all the armies of Russia General Klembovsky, commander on the Riga front, after General Lokomsky had refused to take the post.

General Korniloff responded to the order of dismissal by moving an army against the capital.

Late on Sept. 10 Kerensky issued a

proclamation, addressed to the army, the fleet, and the nation, and also to the committees of the army at the front, outlining the attempted coup of General Korniloff, through Vladimir Nicolaievitch Lvoff, and the measures that had been taken as a result. Regarding General Lokomsky, the Premier said:

The Chief of Staff, General Lokomsky, also proved a traitor. He refused to carry out the Provisional Government's order to assume command of the armies in view of General Korniloff's dismissal, indicating to the Provisional Government the possibility of civil war on the front, the opening up of the front to the Germans, and the conclusion of a separate peace. The Government is in full agreement with the executive of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates for taking measures for the crushing of the counter-revolutionary plot instituted by traitors to their fatherland.

After announcing the dismissal of Korniloff and stating that he would be punished for treachery, the proclamation adds:

Against Korniloff's attempts to direct individual military detachments to Petrograd most decisive measures have been taken.

The proclamation referred to the statement of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, suggesting that the army and navy ignore commands issued by Generals Korniloff and Lokomsky, and added:

All of the army organizations should give the Government and the executive of the workmen and soldiers decisive co-operation and support in their struggle against counter-revolution. The conspiracy has no deep roots among the commanding force of the army. It is necessary to preserve full calm and firmness and to use every exertion in the struggle with the external enemy. All events and measures taken by army organizations should be indicated to the workmen's and soldiers' organization.

Soldiers' and Peasants' Proclamation

The text of the communication of the workmen's and soldiers' and peasants' organizations "To the army at the front, to the Naval Committee, and the army generally," in which all are urged to rally around them, not only the mass of soldiers, but those in command of the army, in support of the Provisional Government, says:

General Korniloff, having put himself at the head of a military counter-revolutionary conspiracy, has moved troops toward Petrograd. His purpose is the deposition of the Provisional Government and the seizure of its powers. The troops directed to Petrograd have been deceived into believing that they are sent to crush a conspiracy of the Maximalists, which is nonexistent in reality.

The communication then tells of Korniloff's dismissal and declares him a traitor, and adds:

The problem of the Army Committee is to maintain the Provisional Government, to frustrate the criminal designs of General Korniloff, and to apply all measures to prevent his conspiracy from reflecting itself disastrously on the stability of the front.

The message concluded with a request that none of the orders of Korniloff should be carried out, or "those of the traitors who have adhered themselves to him." It admonished those to whom it was addressed to carry out quickly and punctually all the demands of the central committees and the Provisional Government, to explain to all the soldiers, especially among the wavering detachments, "the true meaning of Korniloff's plot," to take all measures of precaution necessary, and to secure "a bond with us by instituting control over all transmitting apparatus," and, finally, "to explain in what measure you can demonstrate your support of the Provisional Government by armed force."

Message to America

The Premier also issued the following notice to the American people the same day:

The situation with respect to the conflict between the Provisional Government and the revolting Commander in Chief is more serious than we earlier contemplated, and it is impossible to predict what developments may ensue in the next few hours. But as regards the fundamental position there is no doubt. The fundamental position is that the Petrograd Supreme Government is absolutely unanimous in favor of all decisive measures which we have prepared and are preparing against the present attempts by a military rebel, in alliance with the reactionary elements of the country, to exploit the fatherland's internal troubles in order to effect a counter-revolution, with the design of robbing the Russian people of their hard-won liberties.

So much for the Government. Regarding the nation I declare that I have no doubt whatever that the mass of the population is behind the Government in its new fight for freedom; and, that being so, I have no doubt whatever about the triumph of our cause. In that triumph I have absolute and unqualified faith.

Proclamations by Korniloff

General Korniloff issued two proclamations, the circulation of which was prohibited. The first, dated at Mohilev, denounced Premier Kerensky's description of Vladimir Lvoff's mission as untrue and declared that Korniloff did not send Lvoff to Kerensky, but that Kerensky first sent Lvoff to him with the aim to create trouble.

Russian men, [continues the proclamation,] our great fatherland is perishing. The Government under pressure of the Bolshevik majority of the councils is acting in full accord with the plans of the German General Staff. Overwhelming consciousness of the impending ruin of the fatherland compels me in this menacing moment to summon all Russian men to save perishing Russia. All in whose breasts beat Russian hearts, all who believe in God, let them flock to the temple and pray God to perform a great miracle—a miracle of saving the fatherland.

I, General Korniloff, son of a peasant and Cossack, declare to all that I require nothing personally, nothing except the salvation of mighty Russia, and I swear to lead the nation by the road of victory over the foe to a constituent assembly, through which the nation will decide its own fate and choose the organization of its own political life. But I shall never betray Russia into the hands of its traditional foe—the German race—or make the Russian people the slaves of Germany. I prefer to die on the field of honor and battle rather than to witness the shame and infamy of Russian land.

Russian people! In your own hands rests the fate of your country.

(Signed) KORNILOFF.

Collapse of the Revolt

Events moved rapidly on the 11th and 12th. Premier Kerensky, with the approval of the Provisional Government, declared martial law in Moscow as well as in Petrograd; he assumed the functions of Commander in Chief and tendered the position of Chief of Staff to General Alexeieff. Meanwhile an Executive Committee of five, known as the Provisional Military Committee, took

complete control of affairs, and military measures were taken to defend Petrograd and resist the rebels. On the 12th, from expressions of loyalty which came to the Provisional Government from the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, from the Constitutional Democrats, from the Bolsheviks, (Extremists,) the Ukrainians, Finns, and distinguished Generals, it was clear that the Korniloff revolt had failed to receive the expected support. Nevertheless Korniloff with several battalions advanced toward Petrograd, and on Sept. 12 occupied Gatchina, thirty miles southwest of the capital, but there was no bloodshed.

Meanwhile, on the night of the 13th General Alexeieff, the most distinguished of the Generals of the former régime, who had been friendly to the revolution, was won over by the Provisional Government. Upon word from him to Korniloff demanding the latter's unconditional surrender, the revolt collapsed, and Korniloff's troops deserted him. One division, composed of Georgians and Caucasians, most of whom were Moslems, stated that in following General Korniloff toward Petrograd they were under the impres-

sion it was to quell an outbreak by the radicals. They were sent home to the Caucasus with the promise that they would not be called upon to serve against their coreligionists, the Turks.

The collapse of the Korniloff revolt was complete. The Provisional Government was reconstituted on stronger lines, with a view to the strict enforcement of rigid discipline in both army and navy.

Colonel Verskovsky, former commander of the Moscow military district, was appointed Acting Minister of War. Admiral Dmitri Nicolaievitch Verdervski, a well-known writer on naval technical questions and former commander of the Baltic Fleet, was made Minister of Marine. General Teplovest was named Commander of the military district of Petrograd, and M. Paltchinski, former Assistant Minister of Trade, Military Governor General of Petrograd. Generals Russky and Dragomiroff were appointed respectively Commanders in Chief of the northern and southwestern fronts. General Russky previously had been in charge of the Russian armies on the northern front. He was removed from the command in May of the present year, but remained a member of the Council of War.

A German Officer Explains the Marne Retreat

Lieut. Gen. Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven, who is now Deputy Chief of the German General Staff, recently published a review of the operations in the west in August, 1914, which contained this comment on the battle of the Marne:

We were too weak to force our way through on the Marne. Troops for the threatened east had already been withdrawn, and others were tied up by Antwerp and Maubeuge. Moreover, our enemies had already a superiority of about 750,000 in numbers. We had to protect our eastern frontier, while the French were being strengthened by the English and Belgians. Enormous results had been achieved before we began the retreat from the Marne, and that fact must never be forgotten. Although we did not succeed, and in the circumstances hardly could succeed, in overthrowing France, that is only additional proof that our bold enveloping advance through Belgium

alone gave us the possibility of carrying on the war for years on enemy soil, and of keeping Germany secure.

Today it almost looks as if many people had become terrified at the great deeds of our army at the beginning of the war. What else is it, when people keep on insisting anxiously and apologetically upon the fact that we intend nothing but mere defense? The state of the battle area in Northern France and Belgium shows how our frontier territories would look if we had confined ourselves to mere defense—quite apart from the fact that this defense would long ago have had to be conducted in the interior of Germany, even if it were possible at all.

The German people ought to rejoice in the memory of our first victories in the west, thinking in gratitude of its sons whose bodies rest in Belgium and France, and thinking gratefully of its Kaiser and the army

The Lessons of Three Years of Warfare in the Air

The material for this article was given to the writer by a leading American practical scientist who has intimate knowledge of the subject

AFTER three years of warfare it is now admitted that aircraft have not fulfilled the prophecies made at the beginning of the war. Great changes have been brought about by the use of airplanes, but it cannot be said that they have become a determining factor in the grand tactics of the present war. The appeal to the imagination was strong—the possibilities of war waged from the air seemed endless. Armies at once were endowed with eyes far aloft in the air, and great fleets of aircraft were to follow, able to shower destruction on their helpless prey below, making useless all armies with earth-bound equipment.

The armies with eyes in the air have become realities, but the destructive fleets of aircraft have not been evolved. The Zeppelins have not proved of any offensive military value, and no airplane has yet been devised that can carry its fuel with weight of armament or explosives sufficient for a serious bombardment.

The United States has recently made a huge appropriation for aircraft, and already it is being urged, by experts abroad and in this country, that this is the opportunity to change the types of airplanes and thus make our great numbers of aircraft an active offensive force. In this case, as in many other forms of war material, the United States is fortunate in having the lessons of the war available before building the new American aircraft, and the lessons of the war plainly show that the present types of airplanes are lacking in offensive power.

On the other sustaining element, the water, it is realized that the problem of designing a warship is controlled by the three balanced factors of speed, armor, and guns. Whatever increase is given to any one factor of these three is taken away from one or both of the

others. The same inexorable law applies to the warships of the air, but in the airplanes both the Entente and Teutonic allies have made speed of such preponderating importance that their machines have almost no powers of offensive. The airplanes destroy one another—and so far this has had no great effect on either side—but they are not able to destroy anything else to the extent of getting real military results. Even for the short flights, the raids over the Channel against England, the Germans have only attained a hurried, badly directed dropping of bombs, which has done very little military harm, and which has shown none of the elements necessary for an offensive against military works.

Everything Sacrificed for Speed

This obsession for speed at the cost of offensive power is explained by the conditions of airplane development at the outbreak of the war. For some years in Europe airplanes had been given a great vogue. In fact, flying had become a popular sport, and the public mind had been thrilled by the feats of aviators, of which the basis was speed. The military aviators were influenced by this, and naturally the military machines were developed along the same lines. This neglect of the offensive in airplanes is also explained in Germany by confidence in the Zeppelins for the offense, as these lighter-than-air dirigibles were highly thought of by German military experts before the war. Similar dirigibles were also relied upon to some extent in the other European countries, and this may also have drawn away attention from the airplane as a weapon of offense.

Consequently, the airplane of extreme speed was the natural choice of both sides at the outbreak of the war, and from the similarity of types, with all the avi-

ators of the same school, the advantages for each side were the same.

Here was a strange case of the first extensive use of a new element in war—in that it merely added a like amount to each side of the equation. Each side used the new weapon in practically the same way, and the airplane soon became a part of the fixed conditions of warfare, without either side gaining anything from its use. Other advanced developments, the howitzer artillery, intrenching tactics, barrier fire, the submarine, &c., have won tactical results; but the most revolutionary force of all has remained practically equal on each side of the battle front.

If either army had possessed airplanes when the other army had none, or if there had been for either side an overwhelming superiority against which the enemy planes could not exist, or if one side had developed a real offensive in airplanes, it would have been a different story. But, with conditions as described, the airplanes became scouts and artillery spotters for the opposing armies—and such they have remained, giving an element of practically equal military value to each side.

Raids Without Tactical Effect

The attempt to use the Zeppelins for offense failed because of their vulnerability. There have been desultory attempts at raiding with airplanes. None of these has scored an important military success. The German airplane raids across the Channel have had every condition in their favor. The distance is short and comparatively free from danger of hostile attacks, giving airplanes the least possible necessity to consume fuel. Yet, even in the latest attacks, where attempts were made to use a number of airplanes in concert, the Germans were not able to cause much damage in a military sense. Each raid was a scurry over England, and there has been no evidence of ability to devise a real bombardment. The new type of German biplane is supposed to be designed for bombardment, but the same desire for high speed has restricted its offensive power.

Such raids by the Allies have been more exposed to enemy attacks, and have

been handicapped by the necessity of carrying greater amounts of fuel; in consequence the results have been even less than in the German Channel raids. Lately there have been some attempts to use airplanes in attacks, to co-operate with infantry after artillery bombardments, but it cannot be said that they have accomplished anything of tactical value. In fact, looking at the airplane from the point of view of results in the military offensive, its tactical value may be truly called negligible after three years of warfare.

Consequently, to arrive at the present real tactical value of the airplane in the war, it is necessary to consider it as a scout and director of artillery. To measure this value we should first of all realize the great advances in the development of the anti-aircraft gun. At the beginning of the war a machine a few hundred feet in the air was comparatively safe. Now safety from these guns has become a matter of thousands of feet—in fact, less than 10,000 feet in the air is considered a dangerous range. The last raid over London was at 15,000 feet.

Unreliable as Artillery Aid

The war had not lasted many months before the unreliability of the fast airplane as a spotter for artillery was plainly shown by the great numbers of captive balloons that appeared all along the lines on the western front. The advantages of these quietly moored posts of observation were soon evident—with their definite portions of terrain to observe, and their telephonic communication with the artillery below. The gun-directing value of the airplane also decreased as the enormous increase came in the use of heavy artillery. A bombardment is no longer sending a flight of shells at a particular spot, but it is the delivery of great numbers of shells over a defined area of many hundred square yards. The barrier fire is now more a matter of carefully time-scheduled alternations of gunfire and advances than the result of signaled observations.

As the fast airplane was gradually forced higher into the air by the anti-aircraft guns, its observations necessarily became less and less reliable. Details

became blurred, especially after the development of "camouflage" concealments. The present phase of scouting from airplanes is photographing the terrain with long tele-cameras. Here again the airplane is now at a disadvantage. The clearly cut trenches were easily recorded by the camera, although it was hard to judge of the number of men in them. But this year a great part of the German front is no longer a row of trenches. Many of the enemy's lines are now holes and pits irregularly scattered about, with ferro-concrete barrel-like turrets ("pill-boxes") which can be pushed up for offense or flattened level with the ground. This arrangement has decreased the area of injury and increased the area necessary for an effective bombardment. It has also lessened the value even of photographic observation from the air, as will be readily understood when it is realized how little the forms and shapes of such defenses show against the contour of the terrain. This inherent lack of visibility has been assisted by every kind of camouflage that could be devised. In consequence photographs taken from the air have become of less value.

Failure as Air Scouts

At the beginning of the war it was too hastily assumed that aircraft as scouts meant the end of surprises on any great scale in warfare. It was natural enough to think that, with scouts in the air, manoeuvres of large bodies of troops could not be concealed from an enemy. Yet this has not proved to be the case in actual warfare. On the eastern fronts there have been overwhelming concentrations of superior forces against Generals who apparently had no idea that anything of the kind was happening; but in these campaigns it is not fair to assume that there were always aircraft available as scouts. On the western front it has been a different thing. Here the armies have been all the time intrenched against one another, making the most difficult conditions for such manoeuvres under any circumstances, and there have been swarms of airplanes of each side in the air.

Yet, with these theoretically prohibitive

conditions, there have been, among many surprises, two of the greatest of such manoeuvres by large bodies of troops in military history. In February, 1916, the Germans were able to concentrate hundreds of thousands of men and hundreds of guns against a sector north of Verdun, and to blow the French out of their trenches—with the French Generals confessedly unable to tell where the attack was to be made. In March, 1917, Hindenburg on the Arras salient of over fifty miles was able to withdraw safely to positions far in the rear all his men, material, and guns, without giving any information of this great movement to the aircraft of the Allies.

That these two great manoeuvres should not have been detected seems incredible—but such is the fact. Although at times there has been a great deal of talk of "supremacy in the air," it must not be thought that, in either instance, the allied machines had been driven from the air—no such condition existed. The failure of the allied airplanes to observe them is explained by the conditions already described and by the Germans' taking advantage of darkness and unfavorable weather for the transfers. It must also be remembered that there is a constant stream of transport service going back and forth behind each modern position, under cover of which reinforcements can be sent forward and withdrawals can be made.

Aircraft Forces Evenly Balanced

The dramatic battles in the air between the planes have filled much space in the public eye, and have made some of our people think that the war is being fought principally by fearless aviators. But, to get at the real value of this phase of the war in the air, it is only necessary to ask, What tactical results have been accomplished by these fights? The answer cannot be evaded, that, while aviators have been having an exciting time among themselves, these battles have won little military result for either side. Neither side has driven its enemy from the air nor established a superiority that would cripple the enemy air scouts. It has been a matter of give and take,

leaving the same equality in aircraft for both sides.

In Great Britain before the war there had not been any such craze for aviation as on the Continent. Consequently, at the outbreak of the war there was a strong party in the British service who favored types of less speed. This might have resulted in a more useful type of airplane; but the naval element and the influence of the Admiralty were in favor of great speed in aircraft, and this made the British build the Continental type of fast airplane, to which they have adhered, as have the other European builders.

The feeling among the British naval men was that high speed in their airplanes, as in their battle cruisers, gave them a distinct advantage, like the weather gauge—a choice of position. In warships there has been a healthy reaction against speed in favor of power. In the air the argument for choice of position in manoeuvring over the land was even more unsound, because, while at sea areas of water are of no value and can be yielded at will, on land terrain cannot be yielded in the same way, as a gain of terrain is usually the objective.

Use of Aircraft at Sea

Over the sea the present aircraft are of use somewhat as over the land. It will readily be understood that they can observe greater areas of sea surface under favorable conditions; but it must also be realized that unfavorable weather conditions are more frequent at sea. One additional great disadvantage on the sea is the inability of the present airplane to navigate. When out of sight of the land, or of its ship, it is lost. There are some hopes of overcoming this drawback, but at present in this respect the lighter-than-air dirigible has a great advantage over the airplane. In fact, the most useful task of the Zeppelin or other dirigible seems to be that of an observer at sea. Captive balloons have also been shown to be of value at sea, and they are in use in the different navies.

At first it was hoped that aircraft would be of great use in detecting submerged U-boats, but experience has proved that only in a flat calm can the submarine be seen at any distance under

the surface. The slightest ripple conceals the U-boat. But for observing large areas of water, and marking the appearance of the U-boat on the surface, the airplane and the dirigible are of real value.

The torpedoplane, which is now so often referred to in the press, is a machine built to carry and launch a torpedo. Of course, this means a real offensive weapon, but it must be kept in mind that the machine is thus restricted to one form of attack, and that conditions for such an attack must be perfect to insure success. It is difficult to see any wide use for this type of machine in the present situation on land and sea.

On the sea superior speed is a great advantage when a single warship is matched against another—but this advantage is lessened when a number of warships are supporting one another in formation. In the same way an individual airplane of superior speed has a great advantage over its enemy. The faster plane can choose its own position, and attack the "blind spots" of its slower antagonist. That is, it can take positions where the crew of the slower airplane cannot well use their gunfire—attacking the tail, for instance. But this advantage disappears against a number of slower airplanes in supporting formation, especially if, as a result of a sacrifice of excessive speed, the slower airplanes are more stable gun platforms and better armed.

Airplanes in Massed Attacks

An airplane is peculiarly adapted to hitting a two-dimension target, if it has enough ammunition, and if the attack is not a haphazard scurry at high speed as at present. The attack of a squadron of well-armed airplanes, all working together, would be a very different thing, with systematized co-operation in finding, sighting, signaling back, &c. It would no longer be a matter of chance shots, but of real damage in a military sense. Although there have been attempts at something of the kind on a small scale, there have not yet been any co-ordinated massed formations, or any concerted tactical use of squadrons of airplanes in great numbers. There were

not more than twenty-two in any of the raids on London, and six seems to be the usual number when a squadron is sent up from behind the allied lines on the west front. It is natural that a tactical use of airplanes in numbers has not been developed because of the present lack of offensive power.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the present status of the airplane in war is practically that of an equal weapon for each side used in the same way—that the reason for this equality is the fact that both sides have made speed the great factor, and speed used in the same way. Consequently, the following is the problem that the United States faces when entering the war in the air: Three years of development of this new element of warfare by the other nations have made aircraft an equal weapon—and an equal weapon is no weapon at all. After all this effort resulting in a stalemate, is there any chance that our nation will be able to make this new weapon a deciding factor in the grand tactics of the war?

The United States is again face to face with first principles and must consider the elements of speed, armor, and armament. It is obvious that the airplane is so vulnerable in its extended planes that a heavy weight of armor is useless. In fact, there does not seem to be any sense of having armor except to protect the bodies of the airmen and the tanks of fuel from gunfire below them. This reduces the problem to the question of finding the proper balance between speed and armament that will give airplanes offensive power and make them suitable for tactical use in fleets.

Possibilities of "Liberty Motor"

That the United States has already made great progress in the solution of this problem is shown by the statement given out Sept. 13, 1917, by Secretary of War Baker, regarding the invention of a new standardized motor for aircraft. The United States has not followed European types of engines, but has in a wonderfully short time developed an engine standardized in the most recent efficiency of American industries. Of course, no details have been given, but a standardized engine means in itself that ex-

treme individual speed has been abandoned. The following are extracts from Secretary Baker's statement:

One of the first problems which confronted the War Department and the Aircraft Production Board after the declaration of hostilities was to produce quickly a dependable aviation motor. Two courses were open. One was to encourage manufacturers to develop their own types; the other to bring the best of all types together and develop a standard. The necessity for speed and quantity production resulted in a choice of the latter course and a standard motor became our engineering objective.

An inspiring feature of this work was the aid rendered by consulting engineers and motor manufacturers, who gave up their trade secrets under the emergency of war needs. Realizing that the new design would be a Government design and no firm or individual would reap selfish benefit because of its making, the motor manufacturers, nevertheless, patriotically revealed their trade secrets and made available trade processes of great commercial value. These industries have also contributed the services of approximately 200 of their best draftsmen.

Parts of the first engine were turned out at twelve different factories, located all the way from Connecticut to California. When the parts were assembled the adjustment was perfect and the performance of the engine was wonderfully gratifying.

Thirty days after the assembling of the first engine preliminary tests justified the Government in formally accepting the engine as the best aircraft engine produced in any country. The final tests confirmed our faith in the new motor.

British and French machines as a rule are not adapted to American manufacturing methods. They are highly specialized machines, requiring much hand work from mechanics, who are, in fact, artisans.

The standardized United States aviation engine, produced under Government supervision, is expected to solve the problem of building high-class, powerful, and yet comparatively delicate aviation engines by American machine methods—the same standardized methods which revolutionized the automobile industry in this country.

With the completion of the final tests of the motor—tests which satisfied and gratified both expert engineers and army officers—progress already has been made toward organizing industry for the manufacture of the new machines, and deliveries will begin within a comparatively short time.

With this new engine American military aviation may be expected to enter a new epoch.

The First American Flag on the French Front

[Published by arrangement with the Revue Bleue, Paris. Written by the Rev. S. N. Watson. and translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

UNDER the burning skies of August, 1914, there was seen in the streets of Paris a procession of soldiers of the Foreign Legion. Over the heads of one of the groups floated the Stars and Stripes. The soldiers who formed this American group belonged to the Second Regiment of the Foreign Legion, and their devotion to France and to liberty had impelled them to enlist. Their flag was the first American flag on the French front. Some one had offered them this flag here in Paris, where the group was formed. They took it with them to Rouen, where they had their first camp. When Rouen was threatened by the enemy this regiment was sent to Toulouse. Returning from Toulouse to Paris for active service at the front, its members draped the starry banner over the side of the cattle car in which they were riding; and, arrived at the front, they always found a place of honor for their idolized flag. When they slept at night, or when they went "over the top" in an assault, one man or another always carried it with him.

At last came the moment when the United States took its place in the war. The little group of American volunteers was dispersed. Three were dead, one was grievously wounded, one was a prisoner in Germany. Of one of those now dead it is reported that he lay three days in his bed without saying a word and that suddenly he seized the flag and waved it, crying "I'm an American!" and expired.

One of the survivors sent the flag to the rector of the American Church in Paris, asking him to offer it to the French Government. The rector willingly accepted the task. He wrote to the Minister of War, telling of the request of his compatriots, and received this cordial reply:

I accept with pleasure, in the name of the French Army, this glorious emblem, for which General Niox, Governor of the Invalides, has reserved a beautiful place in the Hall of Honor of the Musée de l'Armée. This flag will thus remain a striking witness of the devotion to France displayed by the American volunteers who, from the beginning of the war, came to fight in the ranks of our army for right and civilization.

The day set for giving over the flag was the Fourth of July. The first detachment of American troops arrived in Paris to take part in the ceremony, which was held in the Court of Honor of the Hôtel des Invalides. The sky was overcast, the air deliciously cool; the galleries were crowded, and the walls of that old building, which have seen so many glorious spectacles, formed a remarkable background. All had been arranged in perfect taste by the Military Governor of Paris and his staff. In the centre of the court were the President of the French Republic, the Minister of War, Marshal Joffre, and other French notables, grouped about the American Ambassador and General Pershing. Before them were ranged three American groups, followed by a French band. Then came the bearers of emblems.

The music enters first, then the American troops advance, marching with a rolling gait like that of sailors. One immediately recognizes the effect of their training on the prairies. They are clean and fresh, but evidently rugged chaps. Then come these old territorials in their muddy and faded uniforms, just as they have grown dear to Parisians, whether French or foreign. How those old poilus were applauded, how proud Paris was of them when they took their place, marching with the same quick, confident, staccato step as in that fateful month of August, 1914!

The American band played "The Mar-

COMMANDERS OF THE NEW DIVISIONS



GENERAL JOHN O'RYAN

Twenty-seventh Division at Spartanburg, S. C.
(Photo © Paul Thompson)



GENERAL WILLIAM A. MANN

Forty-second Division at Mineola, N. Y.
(Photo Central News)



GENERAL JAMES PARKER

Thirty-second Division at Waco, Tex.
(Photo Press Illustrating Service)



GENERAL F. J. KERNAN

Thirty-first Division at Dalton, Ga.
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

COMMANDERS OF THE NEW DIVISIONS



GENERAL EBEN SWIFT

Eighty-second Division at Atlanta, Ga.

(Photo © Harris & Ewing)



GENERAL HENRY T. ALLEN

Ninetieth Division at San Antonio, Tex.

(Photo © Harris & Ewing)



GENERAL F. S. STRONG

Fortieth Division at San Diego, Cal.

(Photo © Harris & Ewing)



GENERAL F. H. FRENCH

Eighty-first Division at Columbia, S. C.

(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

seillaise." The French band played "The Star-Spangled Banner." Then General Pershing was presented with a guidon on behalf of the descendants of the soldiers who fought by the side of Washington and Lafayette in the American War of Independence, and also with a flag ornamented with lace made by the women of Du Puy.

Now comes the moment to honor the legionaries. The great army has taken their place; the pioneers of liberty are retiring. The rector of the American Church advances, accompanied by Charles Carroll, who carries the flag. Both are descended from old American families, and the rector first addresses General Pershing, saying:

It is my privilege, my dear General, to present this flag to France on behalf of the first of our soldiers who came here to serve her, our American legionaries, who, through love of France and of liberty, enlisted in the French Army in 1914. They have been proud to give all that they had to give, and we are proud of them. They have been the forerunners of this great American army which is arriving now with you at its head, and they hand over to you the work so bravely begun. Now your new banner replaces their battle-torn flag, but theirs is entrusted to their beloved France to keep forever in this national sanctuary in the heart of France, the Museum of the Invalides.

Then turning to the noble veteran, General Niox, who stood on the right with his artillery officers, the rector addressed these words to him:

My dear General: It is my great privilege today to act as the representative of my fellow-countrymen in bringing you this flag, their flag, which they have so greatly loved. They loved it even unto death, and they loved it for what it represents. Its sky of blue, in which float the eternal stars, represents the infinite, the absolute, the dwelling place of infrangible justice. These white stripes are the emblem of truth which never changes, and these stripes of red are the rivers of blood which the lovers of justice and truth have always shed freely to protect them and secure them to the children of tomorrow.

What a prophet this flag has been, the first American flag that has floated over

the heads of those who were fighting on the soil of France for the ideals which the banner represents, and which are the life and soul of France! It was not permitted to our gallant boys of the Foreign Legion to carry their flag openly, like the colors of a commander when he leads his soldiers to the charge, but they carried it just the same; one after the other, they carried this flag wrapped about their bodies as a belt—a life-preserver for the soul; one after the other, they were wounded—some were killed—and it was in this way that the American flag received its first baptism of blood in this conflict where now it has its recognized place.

This flag has been the prophet of what has come to pass, now that the great Republic beyond the sea is physically taking the place which it has always held in spirit. We are rendering a service to the comrades who died for France when we ask you to accept this emblem for which they gave their lives. It is also an inspiration to the living to be worthy of those pioneers who preceded them on the road that leads to eternal liberty and the redemption of justice.

Accompanying the flag is a neat bronze plaque with this inscription:

DRAPEAU

PORTE PAR LES

VOLONTAIRES AMERICAINS

DU 2^E REGIMENT DE LA LEGION ETRANGERE

*C. R. Phelizot	F. W. Zhu
Edward Morlae	P. Olinger
J. W. Ganson	R. Soubiron
D. W. King	W. Thaw
J. J. Casey	H. Chatcoff
F. Wilson	Charles Trinkard
G. Casméze	R. Scanlon
F. Capdeville	W. B. Hall
Dr. Van Vorst	**J. J. Bach
*P. A. Rockwell	**Dennis Dowd
K. Y. Rockwell	George Delpauch
Edgar Bauligny	F. Landreaux
Charles Sweeny	

*Dead. **Prisoners.

In the heart of Paris, which is the heart of France, now rests the first American flag borne on the French front in this great war. It is surrounded by walls of stone, insensible to this honor; but the memory of those who carried that flag yonder where it received its first baptism of blood will be cherished in the hearts of all of us, Americans and Frenchmen alike, and will have a place there forever.

Destruction of St. Quentin Cathedral

A CORRESPONDENT of the Havas Agency, an association similar to The American Associated Press, telegraphed the following from Paris on Aug. 17, 1917:

Yesterday evening at nightfall French lines were perceived approaching at places to within a kilometer of the suburbs of St. Quentin. The cathedral was surrounded with smoke. Soon flames burst forth, and the fire increased in intensity. Toward midnight the imposing building, dominating the plain with its lofty mass, disappeared in the flames, the sinister light of which was seen for nearly twenty miles around. It is impossible to ascertain the causes of the fire. The Germans will not be able to assert that the fire was started by French shells, for, since St. Quentin has been in proximity to our lines, not a French projectile has fallen on the town. This afternoon the cathedral is still surrounded with smoke. The whole superstructure which formed the lofty roof has disappeared. The apse has completely fallen in. It appears that the four walls, blackened by the flames, and forming as it were the sinister carcass of what was one of our finest churches, has alone survived, with the towers breached, jagged, and reddened by fire. The conflagration, having devoured everything, is now appeased, but thick smoke still ascends in front of the cathedral, appearing to rise from the town quarter.

The London Post commented on the foregoing by citing an illustration of the German idea of culture, as follows:

The unfortunate city of St. Quentin affords two instances of the character of the German's services to culture. In a recent number of the *Woche*, Lieutenant Hofmann describes a museum which has been established by the German army in the fortress town of Maubeuge in France as a place of intellectual repose for German officers far from the excitement of war, and as a witness to Germany's consideration for culture in the occupied provinces of our ally.

This museum, once a third-class shop, the "*Pauvre Diable*," on the Place du Marché, Maubeuge, consists of the most important works of art taken from St. Quentin and its neighborhood, an enter-

prise carried out by Lieutenant Baron de Hadeln, art historian, and Lieutenant Keller, a Berlin architect. The writer gives a very graphic account of the contents of this "place of distraction." From the vestibule to the first floor of the house the walls are covered with tapestry, representing the most brilliant specimens of the best periods of the art of the Beauvais and Gobelins factories. One room is transformed into an empire salon, and its red damask hangings give the fullest value to Canova's marble bust of Napoleon. There are paintings, bronzes, and furniture from the Goulincourt Castle, and the Louis Philippe salon has splendid French and Oriental carpets, soft and restful, where "the boot of the German rests with joy." The curtains are of yellow silk, chairs are gayly decorated, and the porcelain and pictures are good.

The Cathedral of St. Quentin could not be removed to Maubeuge to save it from the "French artillery," so the Germans themselves have destroyed it by fire. But they first removed from the doomed building a Gothic statue of St. Quentin, the patron of the town, and from the same basilica were taken a charming "Maddonna" and precious stained glass windows.

The most valuable works in the museum at Maubeuge are the wonderful pastels of Quentin La Tour, who was a native of his name town. These portraits of famous French men and women of the eighteenth century were the glory of St. Quentin, and are, as Lieutenant Hofmann says, "the most delicate flowers of a refined art," more than eighty in number, yet, he continues, "I did not experience the least fatigue in contemplating them." Then he goes on eloquently, "these priceless works of art have been placed here [in Maubeuge] safe from the ravages of war. The German spirit and German force ever know how to safeguard the intellectual patrimony common to all nations." But as a Frenchman remarks: "The world would better appreciate this eloquent eulogy of the services Germany renders to 'culture' if it were not recorded every day in the *communiqués*: 'La Ville de Reims a reçu 1,600 obus.'" and he could now add, "if we were not aware of the dastardly destruction of the Cathedral of St. Quentin."

President's Reply to the Pope

Text of Historic Peace Communication That Caused a Sensation in Germany

The peace proposal of Pope Benedict, which was sent to all the belligerent powers under date of Aug. 1, 1917, and which appeared in the September issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, was answered by President Wilson on Aug. 27 through Secretary of State Lansing. The American reply was universally accepted by the Entente nations as expressing their sentiments on the subject. Its outstanding feature was an indirect message to the German people to the effect that no peace was possible with their present "irresponsible" Government. The debate precipitated in Germany and elsewhere by this message is summarized below. Following is the full text of the reply to the Pope:

WASHINGTON, D C.,

Aug. 27, 1917.

To His Holiness Benedictus XV., Pope:

In acknowledgment of the communication of your Holiness to the belligerent peoples, dated Aug. 1, 1917, the President of the United States requests me to transmit the following reply:

EVERY heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of his Holiness the Pope, must feel the dignity and force of the humane and generous motives which prompted it, and must fervently wish that we might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out. But it would be folly to take it if it does not in fact lead to the goal he proposes. Our response must be based upon the stern facts and upon nothing else. It is not a mere cessation of arms he desires; it is a stable and enduring peace. The agony must not be gone through with again, and it must be a matter of very sober judgment what will insure us against it.

His Holiness in substance proposes that we return to the status quo ante bellum, and that then there be a general condonation, disarmament, and a concert of nations based upon an acceptance of the principle of arbitration; that by a similar concert freedom of the seas be established; and that the territorial claims of France and Italy, the perplexing problems of the

Balkan States, and the restitution of Poland be left to such conciliatory adjustments as may be possible in the new temper of such a peace, due regard being paid to the aspirations of the peoples whose political fortunes and affiliations will be involved.

It is manifest that no part of this program can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the status quo ante furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible Government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world. This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of

its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by his Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments; and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtle interference, and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world. Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisals upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of Governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people of course included if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved or merely upon the word of an ambitious

and intriguing Government, on the one hand, and of a group of free peoples on the other? This is the test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied.

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world, to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong. Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure, unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German Government, no man, no nation could now depend on. We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Powers. God grant it may be given soon and in a way to restore the confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State of the United States
of America.

Comment of the Nations on the President's Reply

THE reply of the President to the Pope's peace note received enthusiastic approval throughout the United States and was unreservedly indorsed by all the influential newspapers and authorized spokesmen of the allied nations; it produced a profound impression in Germany and Austria, and was sympathetically received by all the elements of the neutral nations except those with pronounced pro-German leanings. Semi-official news from the Vatican indicated that the Pope was disappointed.

German-Americans Approve

The German-American view was expressed by the New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung in a rather favorable comment by the editor in chief in these words:

The President's note to the Pope has met with the hearty approval of all Americans. It appeals to German-Americans particularly because it dispels the mist which has heretofore hung over our participation in the war. It tells the American people plainly what they are contending for, and what they are not contending for—a reply long delayed to a question which we have been waiting to have answered.

And it appeals to those of us who have not forgotten the history hickoryed into us before the "sacred right of lying" was enthroned in the world.

The German-language press in this country was frankly opposed to our entrance into the war—so long as we could honorably keep out of it. Once in the war, however, a determination to support the Government occupied its editorial policies. While others have been snapping at the heels of the Administration—yelping their little seditious words of advice—destroying that unity of mind which is necessary to team work—we have presented a solid front of support. We have spoken for—and to—that potential element of the American Nation which springs from Germany—always in the past a friend of America, and now unfortunately compelled to be in arms against her.

We, German-Americans, appreciate the President's note perhaps more fully than others can. We read in it a message from ourselves to our friends across the waters—a message which could not have been better indited by a German himself, whose escape from "local atmosphere" had made him a citizen of the world. We find

in the President's words an appreciation of the true worth of that great people from which we are descended—a willingness to extend to them the hand of friendship utterly lacking in the tone of our associated statesmen.

The President has at last given the American people a program about which there can be no dissension, no question, and no disagreement.

The German people would be grievously misled if they were made to believe that Americans of German descent would support any but their own Government, carrying out its constitutional duties. They would be grievously misled if by designing intrigants at home or abroad they were to be convinced that Germans abroad are not solicitous that they, too, should participate in the advantages of democracy—a democracy in fact as well as in name, which the latter have come to esteem.

The President has not only left the way open to the German people to peace. He has gone much further. He has leveled away its chief obstacles. He has repudiated the language of Old World spokesmen. He has spoken as the New World would speak.

The appearance of Woodrow Wilson as spokesman of her enemies cannot pass in Germany as a matter of no concern.

What the President said in his reply to his Holiness the Pope as to peace is what the American people would say with one voice, were a nation capable of individual articulation. The President expressed therein what all Americans feel—and especially German-Americans—a hope and a longing that through his words the German Nation may progress to that early and enduring peace which the world so sadly needs.

The English Press

The following were characteristic comments by the leading London newspapers:

The Daily News:

If the President's reply is a merciless indictment of the infamies of Prussian militarism, it is equally a passionate appeal to the German people to repudiate the evil system that has enslaved them and uses them to enslave the world. The distinction which Mr. Wilson has insisted on throughout between the people and the system is now stated with matchless force.

The London Post:

At the end of three years of unspeakable strain and anxiety, it is an inesti-

mable service to the Allies to find such leadership as this—strong, clear-sighted, inflexible, inspiring new courage and faith, shaming the faint-hearted, and silencing the perverse and the disaffected.

With a directness and a cogency which cannot be too much admired, President Wilson gives to the Pope's peace proposals the only answer which those who are not ready to capitulate to Germany could give.

Certain extremely quoted persons in this country have recently been plaintively demanding to know what we were fighting for. Others have been contending that it is necessary for British delegates to confer with the enemy at Stockholm in order that our aims might be understood. Both claims are sufficiently disposed of in President Wilson's latest note. What we are fighting for is to defeat Germany—the one condition precedent to any tolerable peace.

The London Times:

The theoretical distinction [between the German people and their rulers] is sound enough, but we cannot help thinking that up to the present it has proved to be quite negligible in practice. Wilson is right in a sense when he says that the German people "did not choose the war." They did not choose it, because, under the Bismarckian Constitution, they have no choice at all in such high matters, but they accepted it with enthusiasm. They have given it throughout their active support. Their representatives have voted with unanimity supplies for its continuance.

French Comment

The Paris Temps:

The sentiment which inspires the entire note, just as it inspires the entire French policy, is the conviction that we cannot treat with the German Government at present.

The President of the United States in his patient negotiations regarding submarine warfare had the same experience as France in ten years of discussion of Moroccan questions, and has drawn the same conclusion. Nothing would be gained by signing tomorrow a new "scrap of paper." It would not conduce to world peace. It would merely give the Prussian General Staff time to prepare for new aggression.

That surely was not the end which the Pope proposed. He said the fundamental point must be the substitution of the moral force of right for the material force of arms, but Mr. Wilson has seen clearly and explained clearly that negotiation as suggested by the Holy Father would end in an entirely different result. In Germany it would give to the Imperial

Government a renewal of strength. Outside of Germany it would compel persons who desire to remain free to create a permanent league against the German danger. It would result, in fact, in consolidating Prussian militarism and in perpetuating a régime of armed peace.

It is not to achieve this that the United States entered the war. It is not for this that we are fighting. President Wilson wants a real peace, one which will do away with the causes of war. His doctrine is logical from one end to the other. It is because he wants a pacific Germany that he rejects the idea of inclosing it within a wall. It is because he counts upon the opening of the eyes of the German people that he refuses to treat with the Hohenzollern autocracy. He has confidence in the future. He believes his idea can be imposed even on the enemy.

We join the President in this pious hope, but this hope will not be realized unless the United States perseveres indefatigably in the battle for victory of the right. The calmness with which Mr. Wilson contemplates future peace corresponds with the energy with which he will continue to conduct the war. That is the comforting impression left by reading his note. More than ever we have faith in his untiring firmness.

L'Humanité, Paris:

President Wilson's language is that of lofty reason, which ignores cupidity and hatred. It may make itself heard by the German people, whom it asks to repair the evil they have done and then to take their place among the other nations without their rights or existence being menaced.

It is to the German people that President Wilson has made reply in answering the Pope. If the Pope has been only the mouthpiece of the Central Powers, President Wilson's reply was the most direct and the wisest it was possible to make. If the German people want peace they know just on what conditions it can be obtained.

Italian Comment

The Tribuna, Rome:

President Wilson has put forward the great struggle between might and right in such a decisive way that it is impossible to wave it away by sleight of hand. * * * That struggle must end in the absolute triumph of right without limitations and reserve, and that triumph cannot be obtained by ambiguous conciliations or subtle compromises with those who habitually violate the rights of others, and who, with their haughtiness not yet tamed by the condemnation of the world and inevitable defeat, continue such violations.

The Corriere della Sera, Milan:

President Wilson's answer sets forth the fundamental reasons why the allied powers cannot consider the Pope's proposals. The era of treaties made for breaking is past. Europe must emerge from this red inundation as another Europe. The Pope is in a neutral position which will not and can not be changed. He has a right and a duty to seek peace. This position is understood and respected by the Allies.

The Giornale d'Italia:

President Wilson once more has interpreted the voice of millions who are ready to suffer in order to assure peace to future generations. His marvelous patience and charity in dealing with past tergiversations of the German Government made it his natural right to be the first to voice on this occasion, with grave, measured speech, the sentiments of all humanity oppressed by the Teuton threat, proving that the same principles that induced the head of Catholic Christianity to invoke peace are those which induced and obliged America to enter the war.

Its Effect in Germany

German official and newspaper comment on the reply was passionate and bitter, the only important newspaper exception being the Socialist organ *Vorwärts*. In discussing the President's demand that peace must be negotiated by the German people, this newspaper said:

The German people are fighting this severest of all fights, not for the rights of certain families or for a distinct form of government, but for their own existence. For that reason the Socialists supported national defense, and for no other reason. The thought were unbearable that those out there are fighting, not for the maintenance of the empire, but for the preservation of conditions not worthy to be upheld. It would be unbearable to think that a single mother's son fell, not for the rights of the people, but for the privileges of certain persons.

Take the world map and look at one country after another. Everywhere the decision in political questions lies in the hands of persons chosen by the people. It is so everywhere else; why can it not be so with us?

After more than three years of war a great power says to us that it must be so with us, if we wish to reach peace. Perhaps that is not more than a pretext, but if so, it is so cleverly chosen that we cannot meet it with words but with deeds.

The Government of a country at war with us has a perfect right to demand that for the conditions under which peace is to

be concluded the people themselves shall be the guarantee. We cannot be persuaded that the German people, the most active and educated in the world, are not fit for that form of government under which other people have grown great.

The opinions of *Vorwärts* provoked violent criticism by the Pan-German and annexationist press. The general tone of the press throughout Germany and Austria was bitter, resentful, and extremely abusive of the President.

This comment of the *Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger* was characteristic:

President Wilson declines the Pope's mediation with the same mass of swollen phrases with which he has already satiated the German peoples. We are told that the war is not being waged against the German Nation, but against their "masters."

The absolute mendacity of Mr. Wilson's phraseology becomes apparent when his dictum as to the rights of nations which are capable of shaping their own destinies is opposed to the wish of the German people to be governed by these very "masters." Mr. Wilson, therefore, does not intend to give us our liberty, but to deprive us of liberty to arrive at our own decisions.

For that matter, this whole mass of words has as its sole purpose the expression of the intention to prolong the war at any price. In this resolve Mr. Wilson, who is fighting for the freedom of mankind, orders peace meetings dispersed and pacifists arrested.

This war has exposed in its nakedness much that is low and contemptible; its remaining task was to exhibit a hero like this coldly calculating mathematician, whom a singular fate in a momentous hour has given the power over one hundred millions of people.

The *Cologne Gazette*, regarded as semi-official, said:

Every word of President Wilson's note is grotesque nonsense. The climax of all the nonsense is that the German people are groaning under a cruel Government. Has not the entire German people, rich and poor, Socialist and Conservative, continually repeated that it stands firm for the Emperor and the empire? The solution of the puzzle is that Mr. Wilson wants to persevere with the war. America's business world needs the war at this conjuncture. America's future needs the big army that is just in the making.

Mr. Wilson hopes for disunity in Germany, and therefore offers the German people peace at the cost of the German Government's fall. This trick is too transparent. The German people may be

relied upon to range themselves more firmly around the Emperor against this hypocrite.

The Austrian View

The Vienna Reichspost received the following communication, which was accepted as the official view regarding the Pope's peace note:

The Pope's note, which aimed at a just and durable peace, is in absolute harmony with the aims of the monarchy. As to concrete proposals, Austria is willing to evacuate occupied territories and renounce all claims to indemnities once the exhortations of the Pope regarding grad-

ual disarmament, the establishment of international arbitration and the full freedom of the seas, composing the guarantees necessary for the world's peace, are carried into effect, but under this last condition must be understood all the consequences deducible from the Pope's proposals—namely, that the naval bases of Great Britain at Gibraltar and Malta and near the Suez Canal shall disappear, as also the occupation of Avlona by Italy.

As to the questions regarding Austro-Italian territories, Italy has not the least right to territory which Austria has possessed for a century, and the autonomous population of Southern Tyrol and the populations of Istria, Dalmatia, and the littoral are opposed to union with Italy.

How the German Chancellor Presented the Peace Note

DR. MICHAELIS, the German Chancellor, presented the peace note of the Pope to the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Aug. 21, 1917. He first read a long and absolutely confident telegram from Field Marshal Hindenburg, and referred to the war aims of Germany's enemies as being groundless as ever, and as again disclosing the existence of secret arrangements. He then said:

"It is easily to be understood that in view of the attitude of our enemies the German Press maintains that it is impossible for us to make fresh peace proposals."

Here the Chancellor quoted the Vorwärts of Aug. 19, as follows:

At no moment of the war has it been as clear as it is now that the responsibility for the prolongation of the war rests alone with our enemies. Their answer to our outstretched hand was a smashing blow with the fist. At this moment there is for us only one possibility, that is, to defend ourselves and our skin.

"I think," continued Dr. Michaelis, "that this is the general feeling of our people. It is in such a situation as this that I now submit to you the peace demonstration contained in the Pope's note. The contents I believe are known to all of you. The fundamental ideas advanced therein correspond with the position which the Pope takes up in accord with his whole personality and

his charge as the head of the Catholic Christendom.

Pope's Attitude Welcomed

"The Pope places in the foreground his conviction that the moral force of right should replace the material force of arms. On this foundation he develops his proposals for arbitration and disarmament. I cannot take up any definite position with regard to the material tenor of the proposals, or go into any detail regarding them until an agreement has been reached with our allies. It is only possible for me to explain my views in quite general terms, and I might do this in two directions.

"I repudiate the suggestion that the Pope's proposal was inspired by the Central Powers. I affirm that the Pope's proposal, as made known through the press, was due to his spontaneous decision as head of the Roman Catholic Church. If I must make any reservation in regard to details, I can say at once that it corresponds to the attitude we have often made known and to our policy since Dec. 12 last, that we are sympathetically inclined toward every attempt to inspire thoughts of peace among the nations amid the misery of the war, and that we especially welcome the action of the Pope, which, in my opinion, is based on a sincere desire for impartiality and justice. The note was not

the result of our initiative, but was put forward on the spontaneous initiative of the Pope.

"We greet with sympathy the Pope's efforts by a lasting peace to put an end to the war of nations. In regard to the answer to the note we are communicating with our allies, and the negotiations have not yet been brought to an end. For the present I am unable to enter upon a closer discussion of material points in the Pope's note, but I am ready to discuss the matter further with the committee until our answer is ready. I express the hope that our common labor may bring us near to the desire which we all have at heart, namely, an honorable peace for the Fatherland."

The Debate

In the debate that ensued Socialist speakers welcomed the action of the Pope, as, they declared, they would welcome any steps which might bring about peace, and more especially because good results were expected of it.

The Liberal Party declared its agreement with the Chancellor in his sympathetic interpretation of the Pope's action, and associated itself with the Chancellor's remarks upon it. Centre speakers likewise associated themselves with the Chancellor's remarks. They said they regarded the action of the Pope, whose impartiality was known throughout the world, as extraordinarily valuable progress toward the peace which was so ardently desired by all nations. The party expressed the hope that this historic act, supported by the most lofty ideals, would meet with full success.

National Liberal speakers declared that they were not yet able to examine closely the material contents of the Pope's note, but could associate themselves with the words of the Chancellor. The Conservative Party also associated itself with the remarks of Dr. Michaelis, but reserved its attitude as to details.

The German group especially welcomed the firm declaration of the Chancellor that the note had emanated spontaneously from the Pope, without any instigation by the Central Empires. The party re-

garded the Pope's action as more sympathetic than the previous attempt at mediation by President Wilson.

Independent Socialists regretted that previous speakers had expressed only general sympathy with the note without entering into discussion. The Reichstag must not renounce its influence on the matter of drafting the reply.

Pan-German Resolutions

A campaign was launched early in September by Pan-Germans to have the leading cities of the empire, through their commercial and industrial bodies, answer the President's note by a fresh appeal for loyalty to the Kaiser. This was done by such leading cities as Hamburg, Bremen, Leipsic, Stettin, and others.

The Hamburg Chamber of Commerce passed the following resolution on Sept. 4:

With indignation we protest against the hypocritical criticism by President Wilson, who at present governs the United States with autocratic power. We shall not tolerate any interference by hostile Governments with the interior affairs of Germany.

We strongly reject the repeated attempts to hold Germany responsible for the war, which is in gross contradiction to incontrovertible facts, and we shall most decidedly oppose efforts by the enemy to create dissension between the German people and the German Government.

The whole German people are firmly determined to fight to a victorious end for the preservation of the German Empire, embodied in Kaiserdom, and for the removal of the arbitrary despotism exerted by England over the free seas. These rights can only be enforced against the onslaught of our enemies by the united power of our army and navy, which have sworn allegiance to the German Kaiser, and will remain loyal to their oath against a whole world of greedy enemies.

Similar resolutions were passed by the Chamber of Commerce at Bremen, which sent the following telegram to the Kaiser:

Bremen merchants raise an indignant protest against President Wilson's hypocritical reply to the Pope, in which he professes to combat the German Government in order to drive the American people, with whom Germany never had a quarrel, into a war which they reject. It is an impudent and brazen attempt

to sow dissensions between the German Government and the people, while by British arbitrariness our noncombatants, children and women, are cut off from all outside supplies in order to exhaust the nation by hunger.

This attempt can only fill with indignation and contempt German merchants who have had the opportunity in foreign lands to compare German with foreign conditions. In this hour Bremen merchants pledge themselves to unalterable allegiance to your Majesty, wearer of the imperial crown, as the empire's guardian,

rewon after centuries of long struggles by the united German people in 1871. They again declare their unalterable confidence and belief in a victorious outcome of this righteous war of defense.

In the course of his speech the President of the Chamber, Herr Fabrius, said no other enemy utterance had evoked such wrath in every German heart as President Wilson's note, in which the most sacred rights of the German Nation were assailed.

Democratic Agitation in Germany

ALL reports from Germany during the first two weeks of September indicated deep political unrest and violent agitation among the various political factions. The Main Committee of the Reichstag was in session late in August and adjourned Aug. 29, until the assembling of the Reichstag late in September. Upon adjournment it was announced that a motion by the Social Democrats and Independent Socialists recommending abolition of martial law failed of acceptance.

Resolutions presented by the majority parties calling for abrogation of the political censorship and containing recommendations for modification of other censorial restrictions were adopted, as was a recommendation of the coalition parties for nullification of an order of the Federal Council, dated Aug. 3, subjecting motion pictures to rigid censorship.

All reports regarding the sessions of this committee indicated that there was extreme tension and bitter disagreements and debates, but no official reports of the proceedings were given out.

One speech of Chancellor Michaelis at a session of the committee was given out Aug. 23. He was quoted as follows:

As regards our enemies, their number has increased since the adjournment of the Reichstag by three, namely, Siam, Liberia, and China. These countries have no convincing reason for enmity against us. They acted solely under pressure of the Entente and the United States, the latter having great influence over Liberia and China. We have made it clear to these countries that we shall bring them

to account for the damage done under international law to German interests.

After referring to the solidarity of Germany and her allies, the Chancellor read a telegram from Field Marshal von Hindenburg saying that the military situation was more favorable for Germany than ever. The Chancellor added:

Our success on land corresponds with our success on the sea. In the month of July, according to the latest reports received, 811,000 tons of shipping were sunk. When we take into consideration our results on the one hand and the failures of our enemies on the other, it appears to be incomprehensible that our enemies show no disposition to prepare the way for consideration of terms of peace, not to mention peace which includes renunciation.

I was able to show recently by information regarding a Franco-Russian secret treaty what far-reaching war aims France had and how England supported French desires for German land. Only recently a member of the British Cabinet declared that there would be no peace until the German armies had been thrown across the Rhine. I am now able to show that further arrangements were made by the enemy regarding their war aims, some of the details of which were already made known to the committee on an earlier occasion. I proceed in chronological order:

On Sept. 7, 1914, the enemy coalition decided only to conclude a joint peace. On March 4, 1915, Russia made the following peace demands, of which England approved by note on March 12 and France by note of the same date, namely: Russia to receive Constantinople, with the European shore of the strait; the southern part of Thrace as far as the Enos-midia line, the islands in the Sea of Marmora, the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, and, on the Asia Minor side, the

peninsula between the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Gulf of Ismailia as far as the River Sakarieh in the east.

This basis was laid down, and the negotiations continued their course in 1915-16. In the course of them Russia obtained the promise of the Armenian vilayets of Trebizond and Kurdistan, and Messina and the Hinterland, extending northward as far as Sivas and Kharput. England's share was to be Mesopotamia, and the rest of Turkey in Asia was to be divided into English and French spheres of interest.

Palestine was to be internationalized, and the other districts inhabited by the Turks and Arabs, including Arabia proper

and the holy places of Islam, were to be formed into a special federation of States under British suzerainty.

When Italy entered the war she demanded her share of the booty. Fresh negotiations were opened, which in no wise pointed at renunciations. I think we shall have further details about them, which will be published later.

With such far-reaching enemy war aims it may be understood why Mr. Balfour lately stated that he did not consider it advisable to make a detailed statement on the war policy of the Government. Those are the bottom facts as they appear to us at the present moment, when we visage the possibility of concluding peace.

The British Official View

THE first British official expression on the subject of the Pope's peace note was uttered by Lord Robert Cecil of the War Cabinet, Minister of Blockade. In a statement issued Aug. 31, 1917, and regarded as expressing the British official view, he said:

The President's note is a magnificent occurrence. It thrilled us all over here, and the opinions which I heard expressed by representatives of allied countries were equally warm and appreciative. I am certain that none of the allies would be able to improve upon it, and I am not certain that none of the allies would be necessary.

There does not appear to me to be anything inconsistent as between the President's note and the economic policy of the Allies declared at the Paris conference. The resolutions of the Allies were purely defensive measures, and in no way aggressive.

They had in view the necessity for restoring the economic life of the Allies and protecting ourselves against any aggressive and militarist commercial policy which might be pursued by our enemies after the war. German schemes for driving their allies into a Central European commercial bloc show that such a policy is a real danger. We do, indeed, hold that in this struggle economic considerations are as vital as purely military and naval measures. We have to maintain and foster the economic strength of those who are fighting the Central Powers quite as much as we have to organize our armies and navies.

We Allies also believe that we are right in attacking the economic strength of our enemies with every legitimate weapon at our command. That is why we rejoice

at the vigorous policy which the United States is pursuing in regard to exports and other matters. Depend upon it, there is no more potent weapon with which to bring home to Germany the folly and wickedness of her militarist leaders than to show her that war does not pay even in the strictest commercial sense.

Germans are fond of boasting of their war maps and pointing to the territories which they have overrun. They forget that in the pursuit of their militarist policy and their contempt for all international law and the rights of noncombatants and neutrals, they have arrayed against themselves forces whose commercial and financial resources are immeasurably greater than their own.

Hardly a week passes without some indication that even those nations which still remain neutral are getting to the end of their patience. It is scarcely extravagant to say that if the war goes on many months longer the Central Powers will find literally the whole of the rest of the world arrayed in arms against them.

That is a state of things which gives rise to two observations. In the first place, it shows that in the modern world military force is not everything; that even if the German armies were really as successful and invincible as the Kaiser and his Generals boast, the future of Germany would still be increasingly dark. The second observation is more full of hope. It indicates, perhaps, the real solution of the greater world problem of the day, namely, how we can take precautions to prevent future wars. The great difficulty of all schemes for leagues of nations and the like has been to find an effective sanction against nations determined to break the peace.

I will not now discuss at length the difficulties of joint armed action, but every

one who has studied the question knows they are very great. It may be, however, that a league of nations, properly furnished with machinery to enforce the financial, commercial, and economic isolation of any nation determined to force its

will upon the world by mere violence, would be a real safeguard for the peace of the world. In any case that is a subject that may well be studied by those sincerely anxious to put an end to the present system of international anarchy.

American Labor on War and Peace

THE American Alliance for Labor and Democracy met at Minneapolis Sept. 6. It represented the leading labor associations of the United States, and was presided over by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. Resolutions were unanimously adopted condemning the efforts of pacifists who were claiming to represent labor organizations. The war aims of the United States were presented in the following resolutions, unanimously adopted:

Since the United States entered the war the President has upon three notable occasions clearly and explicitly set forth the American aim, the objects which must be attained by any peace to which the United States can agree. We refer especially to the war message of April 2, 1917, the note to Russia on May 26, and the reply to his Holiness the Pope, dated Aug. 27, 1917. The war objects stated by the President in these historic documents were as follows:

1. Recognition of the rights and liberties of small nations.
2. Recognition of the principle that government derives its just power from the consent of the governed.
3. Reparation for wrongs done and the erection of adequate safeguards to prevent their being committed again.
4. No indemnities except as payment for manifest wrongs.
5. No people to be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live.
6. No territory to change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty.
7. No readjustments of power except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its people.
8. A genuine and practical co-operation of the free peoples of the world in some common covenant that will combine their forces to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another.

The resolution then points how, in his Russian note and again in his address

at Washington on June 14, President Wilson gave a solemn warning against the sort of peace desired by the German military power, and how, in his note to the Government of Russia on May 26, he stated that America was "fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force." The resolution concludes:

We, the men and women of the trade union and Socialist movements of America, organized into the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, in submitting this record to our fellow-citizens, assert that in all history no Government has ever stated its aims on entering a war, or while such war was being fought, with anything approaching the definiteness, clarity, and candor revealed by these utterances. We assert, moreover, that in all essential particulars the aims thus set forth are entirely consistent with the great ideals of democracy and internationalism, for which the American labor movement has always stood and which are fundamental to its being.

We rejoice at the fact that we are thus solemnly committed to the principle of the complete autonomy and independence of nations. Only upon the basis of this generous nationalism can anything like a great and worthy internationalism be established. We rejoice, too, that this nation is thus solemnly pledged not only to refrain from attempting to extend its own dominion over any other nation or people, but to use its great influence to the end that no nation shall "attempt to extend its policy over any other nation or people."

We approve unreservedly the distinction drawn by the President between the German people and their Government, and we believe that by insisting that peace cannot be made with the Hohenzollern dynasty, but only with a democratized Germany, the President of the United States has, as befits his great station, rendered noble service to the cause of international democracy.

Who Was Responsible for the War?

Statement by Dr. Michaelis

DR. GEORG MICHAELIS, the German Chancellor, issued a statement Sept. 5 in regard to alleged disclosures at the trial in Petrograd for high treason of General Soukhomlinoff, former Minister of War. The Chancellor sought to prove, from certain testimony in that trial, that Russia was responsible for beginning the war. He said:

The statements of the former Russian War Minister and the former Chief of the General Staff (General Januschkevitch) are of the greatest importance. They are calculated completely to destroy the legend of Germany's guilt in starting the war, and they will force European opinion, if the reports are allowed to be published abroad, to revise its judgment on Germany.

The moment at which these disclosures were made is the more favorable, as we have just had knowledge of the American reply to the Pope's note urging peace. In Secretary Lansing's answer the German Government is described as an irresponsible Government which secretly planned to dominate the world, which chose its own time for the war, and cruelly and suddenly executed its plan; which did not heed legal barriers or truthfulness, which flooded a great continent with the blood, not only of soldiers but of innocent women and children, the helpless and the poor.

When adopting these accusations from the Entente factory of calumnies, the American Government obviously had no knowledge of the course of the proceedings against General Soukhomlinoff. Otherwise its judgment would certainly have been quite different.

Blames the Czar's Advisers

It certainly is now established irrefutably that it was not Germany which chose the time for the war, but the military party surrounding the Czar, who was under the influence of France and England. It is well known that the German Emperor, who, before the war, clearly, and on every occasion, expressed his own desire and that of the German people for peace, especially regarding Russia, was surprised by the events which occurred during his pleasure trip to Scandinavian waters. Up to the last moment, in the exchange of telegrams with the Emperor of Russia and the King of England, he made the most earnest and fervent attempts in the interest of peace.

The importance of the new disclosures

is that the Czar, who had to decide as to war or peace, in fact came to the conviction, from the German Emperor's efforts, that Germany did not desire war. The consequence of this conviction was his positive order to cancel the Russian mobilization, but a couple of criminals, who belied the Czar, disregarded the order and thwarted its execution.

A consequence of the Emperor's efforts also was the Czar's order to General Januschkevitch to give the German Ambassador, Count von Pourtales, assurances of Russia's desire for peace. The execution of this order was frustrated by M. Sazonoff, (then Russian Foreign Minister,) who obviously feared that the German Ambassador, who hitherto had done good service in the interest of peace, could perhaps take further effective steps for prevention of the threatening war.

Says Allies Incited Russia

Who was behind all these men? They certainly did not of their own accord plan to drive the great power of Russia, then Europe, and finally the whole world into a war of unparalleled terribleness.

I need not remind you of the relations between General Soukhomlinoff and the French group of Chauvinists, M. Poincaré and his associates. It is well known that the election of M. Poincaré to the Presidency was a sign of an aggressive Franco-Russian alliance against Germany, and that General Soukhomlinoff was ordered to Paris to play the Presidency of the French Republic into M. Poincaré's hands. At that time in Paris General Soukhomlinoff made a statement about the Russian Army and the alterations of Russian plans for mobilization, while shortly before the war he provokingly repeated well-known articles in the Bourse Gazette (of Petrograd) about Russia's preparedness. A long time previous aggressive plans against Germany were prepared by an influential political group in France, England, and Russia.

Regarding English influence at Petrograd during the critical days July 29 and 30, (1914,) I only need to refer to a telegram of the Reuter correspondent at Petrograd and to the well-known report of the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires, de l'Escaille, which clearly show that the certainty of English support strengthened the determination for war of the leading men of Russia.

Alleges Attempt to Dupe Germany

While Russia thus prepared an aggressive war, and secretly mobilized not

only against Austria-Hungary but against Germany, attempts were made to mislead and betray Germany in order to gain time for Russia to move her troops to the frontiers. The word of honor of General Januschkevitch will live in history, as Major von Eggeling, who at that time was the German Military Attaché at Petrograd, telegraphed the word of honor of the Chief of the Russian General Staff and expressly referred to his statement that until July 29 in the afternoon no order of any kind for mobilization had been given.

General Januschkevitch declared to the German Military Attaché that the reassuring statements of General Soukhomlinoff of July 27 regarding the eventual Russian intentions as to mobilization were still good. Despite this, General Januschkevitch had in his pocket the prepared mobilization order. Germany was to be duped with a proposal of arbitration at The Hague Court while Russia busily continued to bring her army to a war footing for the attack which had been planned.

In this connection the importance of the Czar's telegram to Emperor William, which was dispatched July 30 at 1:20 o'clock in the afternoon, and which announced the general mobilization of the Russian Army, is evident. This mobilization, according to the Czar's well-known ukase of 1912, meant war against Germany, and was intended to maintain the deception that the military measures which were in force were solely ordered for reasons of defense against Austrian preparations.

The Czar's telegram also announced the visit of General Tatischtscheff with a letter to Emperor William. Where was Tatischtscheff? Can it be possible that General Soukhomlinoff and General Januschkevitch and their accomplices prevented his departure, or was the announcement of his mission only intended deceitfully to lull Germany into security?

Hegemony of Europe

Germany was obliged to enter a most serious fight for the defense of her existence because she was threatened by her neighbors, France and Russia, which were eager for booty and power, which wanted to destroy her, and which were urged on by the island empire beyond the Channel because England was of the opinion that it was a fight for the hegemony of Europe, as Viscount Grey, formerly British Foreign Secretary, once said.

England did not like to see contested this hegemony, which she believed was menaced. For this reason she supported Germany's hostile neighbors in their policy which aimed at war. Neither the German Government nor the German people, which are unshakably devoted to their imperial leader, were at that time or

at any other time filled with the lust of power or conquest, as has been falsely ascribed.

If the contrary had been true, then Germany would certainly not have allowed (to pass?) the opportunity which more than once was offered, in the years which elapsed between the last war with France and the outbreak of today's world war, to begin the war under less difficult conditions. In that period of European history were moments when England and others were paralyzed by warlike complications, outside of European. Despite these facts, our hands did not seize the sword which, as Mr. Lloyd George once admitted, we were forced to keep sharp, owing to Germany's menaced position in the heart of Europe.

Nothing else but the mischievous will of the criminal enemy war agitators forced us into the sanguinary defensive war for life and freedom. No American note can alter this historical truth, which now again is confirmed by General Soukhomlinoff and General Januschkevitch, nor can the American note shake our firm determination to fight in loyal harmony between the crown and the people for our war aims, namely, maintenance of our rights to Germany's integrity, freedom, and a future of assured peaceful development, for which our heroes have now been fighting and bleeding for more than three years.

Charged With Suppression

On Sept. 7 the Russian newspapers reached Copenhagen with details of the testimony to which the Chancellor had referred, and it appeared that he had suppressed or overlooked important parts of it in arriving at his conclusions as expressed above.

Accounts of the trial published in the *Novoe Vremya* of Petrograd showed that in the attempt to prove that Russia was responsible for beginning the war the Germans either deliberately suppressed or omitted important parts of the testimony given by General Januschkevitch, ex-Chief of the Russian General Staff.

In its report of the trial the semi-official German news agency omitted in its entirety a passage regarding an interview between General Januschkevitch and the German Military Attaché in Petrograd. It appears from the *Novoe Vremya* that General Januschkevitch testified precise reports had been received that German mobilization already was secretly in progress. The Russian Staff

knew that this could be done, under the German law, without formal proclamation, whereas in Russia a public manifesto from the Emperor was necessary.

On the following day, according to the testimony given, a dispatch was received

from the Russian Ambassador at Berlin confirming the previous information that the German mobilization was in progress. The Emperor then expressed his thanks to General Januschkevitch for not having revoked the mobilization order.

The Guns in Sussex

By SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE

Light green of grass and richer green of bush
Slope upwards to the darkest green of fir;
How still! How deathly still! And yet the hush
Shivers and trembles with some subtle stir,
Some far-off throbbing, like a muffled drum
Beaten in broken rhythm oversea,
To play the last funereal march of some
Who die today that Europe may be free.

The deep-blue heaven, curving from the green,
Spans with its shimmering arch the flowery zone;
In all God's earth there is no gentler scene,
And yet I hear that awesome monotone.
Above the circling midge's piping, shrill,
And the long droning of the questing bee,
Above all sultry Summer sounds, it still
Mutters its ceaseless menaces to me.

And as I listen all the garden fair
Darkens to plains of misery and death,
And looking past the roses I see there
Those sordid furrows, with the rising breath
Of all things foul and black. My heart is hot
Within me as I view it, and I cry,
"Better the misery of these men's lot
Than all the peace that comes to such as I!"

And strange that in the pauses of the sound
I hear the children's laughter as they roam,
And then their mother calls, and all around
Rise up the gentle murmurs of a home.
But still I gaze afar, and at the sight
My whole soul softens to its heartfelt prayer,
"Spirit of Justice, Thou for whom they fight,
Ah, turn, in mercy, to our lads out there!"

"The froward peoples have deserved Thy wrath,
And on them is the Judgment as of old.
But if they wandered from the hallowed path,
Yet is their retribution manifold.
Behold all Europe, writhing on the rack,
The sins of fathers grinding down the sons,
How long, O Lord!" He sends no answer back,
But still I hear the mutter of the guns.



The Socialists and the War

Labor Conference in London

THE British Labor Party conference on Aug. 21, 1917, decided by the narrow margin of 3,000 votes, in a total of 1,234,000 ayes to 1,231,000 noes, to send delegates to the Stockholm conference. Its previous vote to send delegates had been 1,846,000 ayes to 550,000 noes. It was this earlier action that had caused the break in the English Cabinet and forced the retirement of Arthur Henderson. The close vote on Aug. 21, notwithstanding the ardent appeals for affirmative action by Mr. Henderson, was regarded as a victory for the opposition, and the Stockholm conference was regarded from that moment as doomed. Such, indeed, proved to be the fact, for a few days later the conference was called off to an indefinite date and Mr. Henderson himself withdrew his support; the English labor vote in its favor was subsequently recast and was found to be overwhelmingly against representation.

An effort was made late in August to revive the International in England by an inter-allied Socialist conference of the Entente nations.

The United States was not represented at the conference, and one South African delegate was the only representative of the British overseas dominions. Delegates from pacifist bodies were in the majority. Seventy delegates, representing Great Britain, Belgium, Russia, France, Portugal, Greece, South Africa, and Italy, were present. More than half of them were British, representing various sections of the Socialist and Labor Parties. The Trade Union Congress, representing the bulk of British labor, had only eight delegates in attendance, and the Labor Party twelve.

The conference considered the reports of two commissions, one appointed to deal with the general question of the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm and the other to consider and report on the drafts of peace terms submitted by the various Socialist par-

ties. The commission on the Stockholm conference decided by a majority to recommend that all sections of the Socialist and labor organizations should be represented at that gathering, and voiced a protest against the decision of the British Government to refuse passports to delegates.

The Belgians made a united protest against attendance at the Stockholm conference. They, with their supporters from other countries, decided that Emile Vandervelde, Belgian Minister of Munitions, should move, and that Camille Huysmans, Secretary to the International Socialist Congress, should second an amendment to the committee report, to the effect that the Socialists of Entente countries should not be represented at Stockholm. This amendment was defeated.

It having been decided that the conference must be unanimous before any action could be taken, this protest of the Belgians and others left the matter where it was before the London conference met.

Declaration By the Delegates

A declaration signed by the Belgian, British, French, Greek, and Italian representatives at the conference in London, where, it is declared, the Socialists of the allied countries reaffirmed their faith in the principles proclaimed at their first reunion, was published Sept. 2 by Humanité, the Socialist organ.

The European conflict, says the declaration, began through the antagonism of the capitalistic group, through imperialistic policies and the deliberate aggression of Germany toward its neighbors. This aggression, it is asserted, still menaces the existence of nationalities and faith in international treaties. More than ever, continues the declaration, the Socialists, after three years of war, believe that the victory of German imperialism would spell defeat and the elimination of democracy and liberty from the

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world. The Russian revolution is al-
luded to as not having succeeded in co-
ordinating the popular energies against
the militarism of the Central Powers,
while the great American democracy has
had to enter the conflict to impose the
recognition of right upon the brutal
domination of the Central Empires.

It is to combat definitely this evil in-
fluence of imperialism, the document
proceeds, that the allied nations must
pursue vigorously their military efforts
and show clearly what are their war
aims and their peace conditions, for a
stable peace must be founded upon right.
The Socialists find the best guarantee
of this kind of peace in the principles
affirmed by the Russian revolutionists,
with certain exceptions, namely, that
peace without contributions must not
exclude just reparation for damages and
peace without annexation must not ex-
clude dis-annexation of territories con-
quered by force.

Belgium Must Be Indemnified

The right of peoples to govern them-
selves can only be brought about by a
society of nations founded upon interna-
tional law and strong enough to resist
all Governments which might attempt to
violate that law, the argument runs.
The Socialists, accordingly, desire Bel-
gium to be restored and indemnified for
the violation of her neutrality; they
want Serbia and Rumania re-established
in independence and economic life and
the Polish question settled in conform-
ity with a Polish plebiscite and with the
complete restoration of Poland in its
original independence in view. They de-
sire the same principles applied to all
Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the
Balkans, including Trieste and the Tren-
tino, so that each shall be nationally
reunited with the country to which its
inhabitants desire to belong.

The Socialists say they feel it an es-

sential duty to oppose every offer to
transform a war of right and defense
into one of conquest, which might bring
about new conflicts. The peace they
desire, a just and durable peace, is not
possible, according to their profound
conviction, until all the peoples enjoy
democratic institutions which shall guar-
antee them against dynastic ambitions
and the political and economic designs
of hegemonies, castes, and ruling classes.

The Socialists express themselves as
convinced that the peoples of Germany
and Austria cannot achieve their de-
sired peace until they have discarded
their present irresponsible Governments
for democratic régimes, which shall in-
clude the downfall of militarism.

The declaration concludes with the
statement that this must be the last of
all wars, but adds the reminder that this
can be achieved only if the Socialists of
all parties work for the creation of a
pacific Federation of the United States
of Europe and the World, which shall
assure the liberty of the peoples and
the unity, independence, and autonomy
of the nations.

An incomplete conference of interna-
tional Socialists opened at Stockholm
Sept. 5, 1917. The German delegates
present were Georg Ledebour, Social
Democratic leader; Hugo Haase, leader
of the Socialist minority in the Reichstag,
and Arthur Stadthagen, Social Demo-
cratic member of the Reichstag. There
were also present Russian, Rumanian,
Finnish, and Scandinavian delegates. It
was announced on Sept. 7 that the con-
ference originally proposed would be
postponed for two months, but it was
generally recognized that the movement
had ended in a fiasco. This was con-
firmed on Sept. 13, when it was an-
nounced that on account of the complica-
tions in Sweden over the exposure at
Buenos Aires the conference, if called
again, would not meet in Sweden.



A German Socialist on the Reichstag Resolutions

EDUARD BERNSTEIN, minority Socialist leader and member of the Reichstag for Breslau, contributed an article to *Die Neue Zeit*, a German Socialist weekly, Aug. 3, 1917, in which he assailed the Reichstag peace resolutions. In the course of his article he quoted from the July 19 speech of Hugo Haase, leader of the Independent Social Democrats:

“‘The statement regarding the beginning of the war is historically untenable,’ Herr Haase said, * * * ‘and the same verdict must be passed upon the new Chancellor’s version of those events. We do not forget Austria’s ultimatum to Serbia, Austria’s mobilization against Russia, nor the councils held here in Berlin July 5, 1914, nor the activities of Tirpitz and von Falkenhayn in those critical days.’ And after revealing the confused and equivocal nature of the Reichstag peace program, our colleague said: ‘The resolution ends in a bellicose blare of trumpets (in schmetternde Kriegsfanfaren) and lashes the people into war-fury once more.’ In truth, could any man read the closing words of the resolution as an invitation to peace? * * *

“The words ‘Right to Development’ contain the whole controversy between Socialism and Chauvinism, and can be used by the Jingo parties—not only Herr Michaelis, but Count Westarp and Herr Dietrich Schäfer and all the Ueberanexionisten—to cover their war aims. There is but one word that can draw a clear line between peace and imperialism * * * it is the right of self-determination for all peoples. That word is missing in the Reichstag’s pronouncement. Not only is it missing, but its place is taken by phrases which leave the door open to all kinds of veiled annexations, economic and other; and instead of clinching the matter by a demand for international free trade, the Reichstag demands the ‘freedom of the seas.’ Listen to Haase on that:

“‘What do you mean by “the freedom of the seas”? Before the war our fleet, in its brilliant expansion, sailed proudly

and unhindered on every sea, and in peace its “freedom” was secure. * * * How do you propose to achieve this result in war? A Socialist world would be a world without war, where this problem could not arise. But as long as there are wars the freedom of the seas in war will belong to the strongest power. Where is your guarantee against that? There is but one way: the way of general disarmament and the abolition of capture at sea.’

Reaction at the Helm

“The demand made in the threefold declaration of the pacifists closed with the sentence: ‘Unless the Reichstag insists on disarmament as part of a general peace program, its ostensible intentions will assuredly—and justifiably—be misinterpreted abroad.’ The reception of the report of July 19 abroad proves the justice of these words. * * * At first a profound impression was made, and all over Europe men breathed more freely. * * * In Germany and in every country a change was wrought under our very eyes * * * even the fiercest anti-German writers changed their tone a little * * * and everywhere men began to see light through the darkness of war. * * * But these hopes were utterly destroyed by the issue of the Ministerial crisis. Bethmann Hollweg fell, not before the new Block, (Centre, People’s Party, and majority Socialists,) but before the sweeping attack of the Right, reinforced by all the elements of reaction in German society. He went, followed by the tears of the Left. * * * Bethmann fell before the onset of reaction. Tied hand and foot by his entourage—those serried ranks of reactionaries whose voice always has the last word in our affairs—he was powerless to make progress. And Michaelis * * *? He steps into office with the benediction of these gentlemen, hailed as the trusted agent of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, and his speech bears the hallmark of the approval of the High Command. * * * The army has won; and, politically, we know what ‘the army’ means. The manner in which the crisis

has been solved is a manoeuvre * * * and even if half a dozen parliamentarians were made Ministers, the essence of the system remains absolutely unchanged. * * * We are not one inch nearer a parliamentary régime.

"Dr. Michaelis is not a parliamentary Chancellor * * * he is the hope of the stern, unbending Tories * * * and his declaration that German war aims could be realized within the limits of the majority resolution was but an empty favor (ein Blumensträusschen) thrown to the new bloc, which only made the resolution itself ring the more hollow. It is depressing to realize this, and we cannot be surprised that the promised jubilation fell flat. Let us acknowledge that the bourgeois parties have progressed in adopting the policy of the resolution * * * but we must also confess, with pain, that for Social Democrats it is a miserable compromise. Coalitions always lead to compromise, and, as is well known, I am not an uncompromising opponent of political coalitions. But this coalition means, not compromise, but the betrayal of our Socialist faith and the desertion of well-tried Socialist comrades. It throws doubt on the good faith of the German people. * * *

The Real Enemy of Peace

"In the Chancellor's speech, security and guarantees figure largely. * * * Security is, in this war, the greatest of all questions; it appears in every speech of friend and foe alike * * * but it can only be found in a radical change of the State systems and in the uprooting of militarism. One accident or another may bring hostilities to an end * * * but there can be no enduring peace between the nations as long as militarism holds sway. And one of the causes which has given this question such prominence has been the capitulation of German Socialists to militarism. * * *

"The formation of the bloc with the Centre and the People's Party does not

alter this, but rather emphasizes it * * * for the framers of the resolution have shown their anxiety not to arraign German militarism. * * * Here, if nowhere else, we had to say No! And in saying it we run no risk of being misunderstood, for our attitude is clearly defined in the memorial which Haase gave to the Dutch-Scandinavian Peace Committee on our behalf, and in the resolution which the Independent Socialists tabled in the Reichstag in the following form:

The Reichstag seeks a peace without annexations of any kind or indemnities, based on the right of self-determination of all peoples.

It demands the restoration of Belgium and compensation for all the wrongs done to her.

The Reichstag demands the immediate initiation of peace negotiations on the basis of this program: an international agreement for general disarmament, freedom of international trade as well as unrestricted international intercourse; an international agreement for the protection of workmen from exploitation; recognition of the equal rights for all the inhabitants of any State, irrespective of sex, race, speech or religion; protection of national minorities; an international tribunal for compulsory arbitration.

For the execution of this peace program and for the attainment of peace, the immediate raising of the state of siege is the most urgent prerequisite. Equally indispensable is the complete democratization of the whole constitution and government of the Empire and its constituent States, which can only find a final and sure issue in the creation of the social republic.

"Let any one compare the true mind of socialism, thus clearly and succinctly set forth, with the Reichstag resolution and then bethink himself how differently German Social Democracy would stand before the world today, how much nearer it would have come to an understanding with the Socialist-Labor Parties of other countries, and thus to the end of the war, if the resolution I have just quoted had been backed by the united force of all its representatives, one hundred strong, in the German Reichstag."

Creating Belgium's New Army

By General Leclercq

Military Attaché of the Belgian Legation

THE problem of recruiting for the Belgian Army is a very complex and difficult one, inasmuch as the enemy holds more than 95 per cent. of our territory and keeps in close confinement about 80 per cent. of the Belgian population.

When, for instance, a young man, residing in Charleroi, attempts to join the Belgian Army, he meets with almost insuperable difficulties. Every man of military age residing in the occupied part of Belgium must register at the kommandantur every three or four days, and his failure to do so instantly reveals his absence. Once he is gone he can only travel during the night, in a northerly direction, and he is obliged to avoid all cities and towns, as he could not explain his presence there; he must live on what he can obtain en route or on whatever food he has been able to take with him.

After ten days he reaches the vicinity of the Belgo-Dutch frontier; this boundary is barred by a triple net of barbed wire, through which runs at regular intervals a high-tension electric current; moreover, the border is closely guarded by German sentries and frequent patrols.

The ingenious ways and means resorted to by some Belgian youths to attempt to overcome all these obstacles cannot be revealed here; but a great number of young men have unfortunately either been shot by the enemy, electrocuted on the wires, or made prisoners, and, as is known, the fate of a prisoner in Germany is far from happy.

If the young Belgian has succeeded in escaping into Holland he has still to cross the North Sea to England; here new dangers confront him—the German submarines are particularly numerous in these waters and sometimes succeed in stopping and searching ships.

Such are the reasons why the main contingents of recruits cannot be ob-

tained from the occupied territory. They are composed of Belgians who were residing abroad before the war or who took refuge in foreign countries at the beginning of the campaign and enlisted in the army as soon as they reached the age of 18.

When they fulfill certain prescribed conditions of age and ability they may choose their service, but the majority are assigned to the infantry. There are about fifteen instruction camps for recruits; the training period covers from four to six months and is, of course, very strenuous. As soon as the new recruit is considered sufficiently trained he is sent to the depot of the army division to which he is assigned and whence he will join his regiment at the front.

The twofold difficulty of recruiting and organizing the instruction camps outside of the country, however, did not prevent the numerical strength of the army from continuing to increase in spite of the enormous loss of one-third of its force in the heavy battles at Liège, Namur, Antwerp, and along the Yser.

At present the fighting forces of the Belgian Army may be estimated at from 200,000 to 220,000 men.

How Officers Are Trained

The immediate need of subordinate officers has necessitated the opening of instruction camps for auxiliary sub-Lieutenants, (Centres d'Instruction de sous-Lieutenants auxiliaires, or C. I. S. L. A.). The different arms have their separate instruction camps, so there are special courses for infantry, artillery, cavalry, and engineering corps. They are spread all over the northwest of France. Young men who possess a complete high school education, who have had six months' active service at the front, and are recommended by their superiors in rank, can be admitted to the course. This training, which is very arduous, covers a period of four months.

The following details, for instance, explain the working of the instruction camps for the cavalry: This school was started in April, 1915, and is located in an agricultural domain, comprising a castle, a farm, and various auxiliary buildings suitable to house some hundred men and a like number of horses. There is also some low-lying ground that is used as a field for exercising. The country, being well wooded, rough, and hilly, offers all the requisites to train future officers to all the daring risks of horsemanship necessary to cavalry reconnoitring. The horses are mostly of American origin, of light build and thoroughbred.

The military students rise at 5 A. M.; a daily drill of about one hour in vaulting makes them so supple that the majority forthwith succeed in jumping four horses standing abreast. Drill is mostly done in the open air. The candidate has to ride horseback from six to eight hours daily, going through riding exercises connected with the school of cavalymen, and must specialize in the study of reconnoitring as required of a cavalry officer. The students must jump all obstacles in the way of streams, ditches, steep banks, &c.

Four hours a day the candidate devotes himself to theory, and as the cavalryman does nearly as much trench service as the infantryman the students are instructed in the principles of soldier training and are initiated in the technics required for tirailleurs, sentries, and trench diggers.

At the end of the drill the entire company travels 150 miles, in four stages, to reach the special instruction camps for gunners and grenadiers, (grenade throwers.) They also visit a training depot of the French Army specially designed for the study of suffocating gases and the means of fighting such gases.

When they leave the school these young men are appointed Adjutants, then Auxiliary Sub-Lieutenants, and are classified according to their record of service, their abilities, and their merits.

The training camps for infantry are conducted on the same principles. Each drill is first an experiment, leading to

the regulation which the instructor wants to demonstrate, and the subsequent exercises explain these regulations. Each candidate has to keep a notebook and enter therein the kind of work done each day and the instructions received while engaged in such work.

Schools for Specialists

Besides these general instruction camps, there are also schools for all special services which had to be created to comply with the needs of actual warfare. The handling of the machine gun is studied at Criel. This school possesses machine guns of all types used not only with the Belgian Army but also in the enemy countries. This makes it possible for the gunners to use every captured gun against those from whom it was taken.

The period of instruction extends over four weeks, and is continued in the units. It includes the study of the gun, its mechanism and its use in various fields and under all possible circumstances. How to assign a location, how to reach it under cover, how to conceal the location of guns and gunners from the enemy—all this forms part of the instructions. Nearly all noncommissioned and aspirant officers have gone through the Criel School.

There are also two schools for "grenadiers." Out of every company a non-commissioned officer is chosen and sent to this school; when he returns he becomes instructor in this particular line in his company; he trains special squads for this work, but each man is taught all principles and knows how to operate the gun. Such exercises take place one afternoon each week.

School of Camouflage

There is also a school of masquerading, ("camouflage,") where the ways and means are taught to conceal what actually exists and to stimulate what does not exist. At present it is possible to approach in broad daylight on ordinary ground within sixty feet of an observing enemy. Batteries are concealed, false batteries are placed in position, observation posts are erected within a few yards from the enemy trenches.

Belgium's Starving Women and Children

Statement by Baron Moncheur

Baron Moncheur, head of the Belgian Mission to the United States, gave to a representative of THE NEW YORK TIMES at the beginning of September, 1917, the following sketch of the increasing wretchedness of his people:

BELGIUM only yesterday was one of the principal centres of human activity. Today the silence of death reigns over its mines and its factories. Belgium has become for its inhabitants merely a cage whose bars are formed of German bayonets. The enemy has robbed us of everything—money, provisions, raw material, and machinery. All commerce was destroyed and our factories put out of business. Consequently our workmen were thrown out of employment. I mention the causes of stagnation so that the resulting misery of our poor, famished people might be better comprehended.

Here in America just now one hears a great deal about the hardships the men must undergo on the fighting line—in the trenches. It is all very true that modern warfare is more terrible than any conception of wars formed in the human mind before. But the soldier has a far better time of it in this war than do the wretched householders who remain at home. A man on the firing line has the force of mental excitement as a kind of diversion, and he is removed from the scene of responsibility. He knows that his country is raising money to keep him at least moderately well fed. He doesn't feel the nag of hunger beneath his shirt, and after he becomes accustomed to it he finds it is rather healthful to sleep in the open air. Of course, it is a terrible thought that haunts him day and night, that he doesn't know which moment may be his last. His lot is not easy.

But, come away from the trenches; go into the homes of the common people, and even the homes of the hitherto moderately rich, if you would find the real sorrow of Europe today. And all the sorrow of the war seems to be focused with dreadful stress upon poor little

Belgium. Just imagine a nation on half rations of food. If one person gets enough to eat, some other person is bound to starve. You well-fed Americans can with difficulty draw the mental picture of a nation on one-half ration. I mean that a person is only getting to eat one-half the amount of food theoretically necessary to keep an idle man alive.

Those of our men who can find work to do often give out on account of insufficient nourishment. Physical resistance to sickness has been greatly diminished by reason of this state of semi-starvation, and the mortality rate has become enormously increased. I have seen statistics indicating that the mortality rate for the first three months of 1917 among workmen was three and a half times greater than the average rate for the same period in previous years. Every day the bread line becomes longer and longer. One of the agents of the Commission for Relief reports that in a certain district of Belgium applicants for the daily soup ration increased from 60,000 to 400,000 in two months.

A short time ago a member of the Commission for Relief visited a town of 1,000 population and singled out a number of homes of the working people at random. This investigation showed:

1. That the people were living almost exclusively on the rations of the Commission for Relief, with little or no nourishment in the way of native food-stuffs.

2. That the ration from the Relief Commission was often eaten in advance by many families, so that the semi-weekly bread ration would not last until the next one came around. In this way thousands would go for more than one day a week without food in the house.

3. That as a general rule two scant meals a day were eaten, and the families went to bed without supper early in the evening to shun the pangs of hunger.

4. That the women and older children (not admitted to the soupe scolaire)

suffered especially because they were obliged to give a part of their daily bread ration to the father, who required this to give him strength for his daily work.

5. That the workmen were in an emaciated and greatly weakened condition because their work was using up their bodies faster than their scant food supply could replace this spent energy.

This same agent of the Relief Commission reported conditions as being so bad in this particular locality that even the German soldiers were often so moved with pity as to divide their own limited rations with the hungry little children about them.

It was found that workmen were going to their posts of duty with almost empty dinner pails, a part and sometimes the whole of their midday meal consisting of sliced rababaga, the Belgian cattle beet. These workmen had fallen off in weight amazingly during the first three months of the present year, anywhere from ten to forty pounds. A general strike was declared last April, the workmen simply saying to their employers that they had not the physical strength to work any longer. There were no differences between the workmen and their employers, no disputes to be settled, but just a condition of incapacity to do the work required because of being half starved.

About twenty of the wives of these workmen appeared before the representatives of the Relief Commission to plead the cause of the families of all the laborers of the province. They were led by a woman whose face indicated that she was intelligent and accustomed to better times in the past. This woman broke down in trying to voice the sufferings of 300,000 persons in the province, and it was found that she was on the verge of starvation. To all such persons and such delegations the agents of the Relief Commission could only say that they were doing their best and would try to do better in the future. The daily ration allowed consisted of bread, 300 grams; rice, peas, or beans, 16 grams; bacon and lard, 13 grams; herrings, coffee, and so on, very small quantities; soupe populaire, 1 liter;

sugar, (native,) 20 grams; butter, (native,) 3 grams. This ration furnishes a total of 1,130 calories a day in point of food value, which is scarcely half enough to keep an idle man alive.

It is needless to talk of the prices of foodstuffs in Belgium. To know that they are prohibitive is sufficient. I was informed just before I was leaving that practically no meat was available. In London, Paris, and Rome they have what they call meatless days. In Belgium every day is a meatless day. I was told that the cheapest grade of half-spoiled veal, which was about all the meat that ever found its way into Belgium, was selling for 7 francs per kilo, which means about 70 cents a pound. Cold-storage eggs were selling at 50 centimes each, or about \$1.20 a dozen. Milk was hard to get at 70 centimes per liter. In fact, in the rural districts the cows had nearly all been killed for food. Many a baby has died in Belgian cities for lack of milk, which used to come from the country near by. Butter was beyond the reach of all except the wealthy, going at about \$1.75 a pound. Potatoes were selling at around 15 cents a pound. Carrots were 13 cents a pound. But what is the use of talking about the prices of food commodities where the consumer has no money with which to purchase food?

It has been carefully figured out by the Commission for Relief that as long as the imported ration is as small as it has been the last few months the demand for native food will be such that it cannot, at the outside, satisfy more than 5,000,000, and these authorities, who have the situation so well in hand, plainly show that the remaining 2,000,000 people must depend solely upon the ration of the Relief Commission—or just one-half enough to support life.

In spite of all efforts on the part of the Germans to turn these suffering Belgians against England and her allies, and to cause them to lose faith in American charity, I rejoice to say that my people have not been fooled. They know where their friends are, and they feel the deepest gratitude to the people of the United States for their unfailing friendship and kindness.

The Story of Kerensky's Life

Told by One of His Russian Friends

V. V. Kiryakoff, a Russian journalist, recently contributed this glowing sketch of Kerensky to the Niva of Petrograd, from which it has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

"* * * Him as her first love,
The heart of Russia cannot forget."

WHO is not familiar with the name of Alexander Federovich Kerensky, first citizen of free Russia, first national tribune Socialist, first national Minister of Justice, Minister of Truth and Honesty? From day to day now they are writing about A. F. Kerensky in the newspapers and journals of all the world; congratulatory telegrams are flying to him from all parts of Russia and Europe; delegations from Russia and foreign parts greet in his person the revolutionary Russian Nation, which was created by the mild, honest, kindly revolution. Thousands of people attribute to him the joy of their present free organization and their escape from the dark past of oppression.

In a word, there is now no more popular man, no name more famous than that of Alexander Federovich Kerensky. It has become with us and abroad, so to say, a title of honor, a symbol of the great, beneficent Russian revolution.

Why are all hearts drawn to Kerensky? Why is all attention centred upon his words and actions? Why has the passionate heart of the great Russian revolution made precisely him its first, unforgettable love? It is about this that I wish now to tell.

Kerensky's Early Youth

Not long ago I heard on a street car such a conversation as this:

"How do you explain Russia's warm love for A. F. Kerensky?"

"It is by mutuality: Russia loves the one who already for a long time has passionately loved Russia, loved her honorably, as sons do, with real love."

And that is the truth. He has loved Russia passionately, with a son's love, first of all on account of her sufferings, which for long centuries were inflicted by her hereditary tormentors, the auto-

cratic Czars and their doglike guardsmen. He loved warmly with a brother's love the whole working nation because of that groan which for centuries was rising not only "over the great Russian river," but over all the great Russian land.

That "song like a groan," Alexander Federovich first heard in his cradle by the great Russian river. He was born on the Volga, in Simbirsk, in the memorable year 1881. His father, Fedor Michaelovich, was director of the Simbirsk Gymnasium. The first breath of A. F. Kerensky (he was born on April 22) nearly coincides with the last breath of the great fighters for Russia's freedom—the national martyrs, Sophia Perovsky, Timothy Michaelov, Andrei Zheleboff, Kibalchich, and Riskoff—who were hanged by order of Alexander III. in Semenovskiy Square.

The first childish recollections of Kerensky, then a boy of 6, according to his own words, were a perplexed remembrance of the silent terror which seized Simbirsk when the city learned of the punishment of the son of a local director of the public school, a student, Alexander Illitch Ulyanoff, for participating in the attempt of the last national martyrs to kill Czar Alexander III., (March 1, 1887,) then already entirely crushed under the elephant's burden of his autocracy over unhappy Russia.

The first school recollection of Kerensky is about his comrades, mates in childish plays, children of the working people, left by the Czar Alexander outside the gymnasium's threshold. "Peasants! and they are creeping into the gymnasium to learn!" exclaimed the Czar in 1887, when told that one of the political prisoners was an assistant of a peasant's son who was teaching in the gymnasium. And the Czar's serf, at

that time Minister of Education, more truly a minister of darkness, Count Delyanov, prohibited the taking into the gymnasium of peasants and citizens' children, "kitchen children." Such were the first days of schooling which the "father Czar" gave to his little subject, A. F. Kerensky.

Entirely different was the schooling which the mother Volga gave him. The Volga carried to the child not only the "song like a groan," but free songs about the beloved national hero, Stenka Razin, whose famous rock is found in the vicinity of Simbirsk. Who knows whether there was not burned into the childish soul of the future first citizen of free Russia the words of the national song:

If there is in Russia even one person,
Who with people's falsehood is not acquainted,
Who has not oppressed the muzhick,
Who loves freedom as his dear mother,
And in her name is struggling,
Let that one boldly go to enter that rock,
Let him to it lay down a keen ear,
And the great cliff, all that Stephan thought,
All that, will repeat to him.

—From "The Rock of Stenka Razin."

Kerensky's Gymnasium Years

In the year 1889 Kerensky's father was transferred from Simbirsk to Tashkent. With him went also "Sasha Kerensky," as his companions in Tashkent Gymnasium called him. The kindly epithet from the pupils tells better than all the long descriptions how they loved him. In youthful mischievousness and pranks and in "warlike actions" against disliked or ridiculous teachers, as in the joint reading and development circles, he was everywhere and always, to persons of his own age, Sasha Kerensky.

Tashkent is the gate to Siberia. The groaning of the political strugglers for free Russia, who were languishing at that time in the galleys or in exile, were near now, and more audible. Sasha Kerensky's ear, attentive to the people's sufferings, with pain took in all the stories about the unendurable situation of the nation's friends martyred by the Czar's prison officials in Siberia's "places of destruction." Punishment and whisperings go upon much freer tongues there than in Central Russia.

What George Kennan has since related to us in his famous book about Siberia, still earlier was written in "heart's blood and in the fluid of the nerves" on the impressible soul of A. F. Kerensky and printed in his youthful marrow.

From all that we have read, heard, and seen of the living outline of Sasha Kerensky the Creator fashioned in him the outline of the whole everlasting picture of the sub-voluntary life of the entire Russian Nation—the laborious, patient, innocent, all-enduring, all-forgiving, much-suffering Russian Nation. And he loved it, that Russian Nation, with all his first passion, an early youth's love, penetrated with deep respect for the first strugglers for the freedom and happiness of the nation.

Student Years at Petrograd

In 1899 Kerensky finished at Tashkent Gymnasium and entered the Petrograd University under the Law Faculty. The years 1899 and 1900 in our fatherland's life were broken up. The second famine seized the eastern part of Russia and revolutionized the people's thought, placing before them the questions of evolution and revolution.

The last ten years of the nineteenth century ran by under the sign of cultural-educational work on behalf of the nation. National books, national newspapers, national reading rooms, national theatres, even national operas, behold the line, sanctioned by law, along which at that time went the activities of the Russian intellect and especially of Russian youth.

Political non-legalized activity traveled along the same paths. It was the day of "The Group of Free Labor," G. V. Plechanov, Axelred and Viera Zasulich; the organization, under N. Lenin, of the Russian Social Democratic Party; the organization of the Social Revolutionary Party, with the zealous participation of Gershuny and of the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," E. K. Breshko-Breshkovsky. Both of these non-legalized political currents maintained themselves on the icy surface of legalized social life. Under the form of legalized literary Marxism, there were Peter

Struve, Bogucharsky-Jakovloff, and others, ("Novoe Slovo" and "Nachalo,") and under legalized nationalism there were N. K. Michaelovsky, V. G. Korolenko, V. V., (Vorontzoff,) and others, ("Russkoe Bogatstvo.")

The legally permitted literary struggle of the two fundamental political and social currents awakened the youth and likewise divided them into two political camps.

The workingmen's circles, at first "economists" and later "politicals"; peasant circles, at first "social educationals" and later the "political revolutionaries"; circles of "national rights" among the revolutionary formations of the intellectuals—these were the first watercourses of the non-legalized revolutionary work in Russia at the end of the last century.

Among these currents of social and national thought Kerensky formed his political convictions. Love of the nation and of the unfortunate people was always growing and broadening in his honest breast. That love pushed him into the party which is nearest to the nation, the party of the peasantry and the workingmen, the party which has written on its flag, "Land and liberty for the whole working nation! By struggle you will obtain your rights!"—the party of the "social revolutionists."

About 1904, the year of Kerensky's finishing with the Law Faculty of Petrograd University, the social revolutionists had already definitely come together in a compact body and sent forth the heroic political martyrs, Karpovich, Balmashoff, Egor Sazonoff, and others. These men took upon their own shoulders the heavy task of freeing their fatherland from the Czar's life-guardsmen, the tyrants of the nation, the Ministers Bogolyepoff, Sipyagin, and Pleve.

The Revolution of 1905-06

All his time which was free from studious occupations and social activities A. F. Kerensky spent with the family of L. Baranovsky, a brother of the Tashkent General, Baranovsky. He married Olga Llvovna, the daughter of L. Baranovsky, in the year 1904.

After finishing with the university Kerensky turned entirely to social and political activity. The social revolutionists already had a solid organization in Petrograd. To one of its party groups Kerensky united himself, presently paying for this by arrest and imprisonment.

Events in the meanwhile were developing. After the "punishing" of V. K. Pleve by the social revolutionists on July 25, 1904, and of the Grand Duke Sergei Alexanderovich, Feb. 5, 1905, the Government went backward. There appeared a manifesto on Feb. 18, 1905, about attracting into the Government people clothed with the nation's confidence. About the 6th there was an announcement about the establishment of local councilors, as they were called, the "Bulginsky" Duma, but it did not satisfy a single class of the population. Then this period ended, Oct. 17, 1905, in the granting of a Constitution, with freedom and a legislative Duma.

The First Duma met on April 27, 1906. That Duma was the "nation's wrath." The nation had finally met the Government, and expressed to it directly and frankly its thoughts about land and freedom. In answer to this the Czar and his Government dissolved the First Duma.

The calling of the Second Governmental Duma was set for February, 1907. All the parties, already fully organized, hastily began to prepare. A. F. Kerensky took an active part in the elections. At that time the party of social revolutionists gave up the idea of "boycotting" the Duma and announced an "entrance" into it.

In Petrograd was formed a circle of "Land and Liberty," occupied in preparing for the election of "S. Rs." (social revolutionists) to the Second Governmental Duma. In this organization Kerensky was a zealous member. I recall his young, thin figure—lively, active, always burning with internal fire. About him at that time they were saying: "Always in the vanguard with bared breast." His strong speeches burned with the fire of feeling. His characteristically fluent words always astonished with their directness, precision, and

quickness; his tactical suggestions carried with them the stamp of Governmental wisdom.

The Period of Reaction

The Second Duma was scorched in the fire of reaction and espionage. Many of the social democrats and social revolutionists went into prison, into exile, to the galleys, and to the scaffold.

On June 3, 1907, a new election law was published, creating a Third Governmental Duma of the nobles. Reaction was violent. Officialism took vengeance on the nation and the nation's friends for the late defeat, and it struck hard. The courts were flooded with political prosecutions; the prisons were filled with arrested men and women. To Siberia and to the galleys long processions were dragged. The executioners could not get through with their hangings.

A. F. Kerensky took up the defense of his friends in the party. Having connected himself with one of the most famous members of the bar, and occupying himself solely with judicial work, which he carried on so successfully as to promise him a very high rank in the law, Kerensky turned aside from all this to throw himself into the defense of "politicals" without distinction of party, but most frequently of all on behalf of "S. Rs."

Out of all the numerous political trials of the period of reaction the one in which Kerensky shone most brilliantly was that of the Dashnaktzutiuns, a socialistic Armenian party closely allied to the social revolutionists. In this trial the Czar's investigators and judges manufactured false documents. When in 1913 began the famous Beiliss trial, Kerensky offered his advocacy to set forth that matter; and for the bringing out of a resolution of protest he was sentenced by the Government to one month in prison. However, the Government at that time did not succeed in locking him up, for he was already a member of the Fourth Duma.

The shooting down of the workingmen in the Lena gold mines of the Lena Association caused such suffering in the soul of Kerensky that he decided to go himself to Lena and investigate the en-

tire matter. As a result he not only laid the case before the Duma but gave out a separate pamphlet, "Truth About Lena"—which was immediately confiscated by the Government.

Kerensky as a Deputy

At the time of the elections for the Fourth Duma, in the 300th year of the House of Romanoff, the socialist political parties almost entirely disappeared from the stage. Their members were scattered like dust; some languished in the galleys, in the prisons, and in exile; some ran across the frontiers; some resorted to living in huts and went into common day labor.

The Socialist Revolutionary Party, inasmuch as it was most dangerous to the Government, was visited with the heaviest penalties. The Government sought to thrust a knife into its very heart. What the Czar's executioners could not do was accomplished by his spies—Azeef and his followers.

To go to the Fourth Duma under the flag of social revolution was impossible. The situation required conspiracy, the painting of the outside with "protective coloring." Thus arose the "Workingmen," the "labor group." The labor group played the rôle of protective color also in the First Duma for all social revolutionists who did not want to be subjected to party discipline in the matter of "boycotting" the First Duma.

A boycott of the First Duma was announced by the social revolutionists because that party considered it necessary to call, not a Duma, but a Constitutional Assembly. Now the labor group had to play the rôle of protective coloring not only for those already emancipated from party discipline, but for those actual members of the party who had decided to serve as a speaking trumpet of the national will in the Fourth Duma.

However, that unavoidable ruse of political warfare was seen through by the Czar's Government, and besides Kerensky not a single "S. R." went into the Governmental Duma. Kerensky got into the Fourth Duma from a small town, Volsk, of the Province of Saratov, from the Second District of the city electors.

The Government's spies did not succeed in getting evidence against Kerensky, so that the formal fact of his election was declared in accordance with strict law.

Shadowed Everywhere by Spies

The Czar's Government decided upon a contest with the nation's friends, who were consequently the Government's sworn enemies, and the means used were the usual ones—its spies. Every step of Kerensky was known to the Police Department: when and where he went, or had gone, how much time he spent, with whom he went out, what he spoke about, what he had done, &c. Because of his liveliness of character and quickness of movement he received from the Police Department the characterizing nickname of "Quick One." The Police Department penetrated by its spies almost into Kerensky's very family. Kerensky took into his family a well-recommended young man, a certain Mitya Alimoff. According to Kerensky's own statement, Alimoff became a "great pet," that is, he was caressed and encouraged and helped in every thing he could do or be, and was sent to study at the Petrograd Psycho-Nerve Institute. Here that Mitya Alimoff was by the Secret Service Department taken as its dirty weapon. It is unknown when or how the unfortunate youth fell into the clutches of the Secret Service; it is only known that he sold Kerensky for 20 rubles a month.

When Kerensky learned of this, his grief was boundless. "If you only knew how I pity Mitya," said Kerensky to me. "Indeed, it is not his fault. He is young and inexperienced. It is the fault of these who ruined him. It is the fault of that accursed old rotten organization."

When Mitya Alimoff was arrested by the Saratoff Central Committee as a provocator, not long afterward, there was sent to the address of A. F. Kerensky, already Minister of Justice, a telegram: "Shoot, he has confessed." Kerensky immediately answered the Saratoff Committee with an official telegram to this effect: "If it is possible, liberate Alimoff. He will find his judge in his own conscience."

The labor group organization of the

Fourth Duma moved Kerensky up to the rôle of a leader of that faction. I shall not dwell upon his five years' activity in that capacity. I will say only that there was not one question concerning the rights of the people to "land and liberty" which remained unilluminated by Kerensky in the Duma Tribune. Passionate, convincing speeches of the nation's friend, to my regret, reached the nation only in the form of extracts or simply continuous wide empty spaces. They sometimes compelled even the open enemies of the nation, such as Makaroff II. and Zamislowski, to think.

Read or merely turn over the pages of the little book, "Activity of the Faction of the Labor Group in the Fourth Governmental Duma," prohibited and excluded from circulation by the Czar's Government, and you will see how firmly and passionately Kerensky was fighting for the rights of the entire laboring people, especially for the peasantry.

In July, 1915, on Kerensky's initiative, there was called at Petrograd, in his rooms, a conference of the representatives of the national currents—labor, national socialists, old and young social revolutionists—for the purpose of working out a general tactical platform for an active political struggle with the old administration. At that conference Kerensky stepped forth with brilliant speeches about the pressing necessity of the unity of all national currents and of the regeneration of the party of social revolutionists, and about the working up of a program of the party in connection with Russia's political and economic situation.

As a Lecturer and Writer

Closely connected with Petrograd, Kerensky, however, did not limit his activity merely to the capital. All vacations of the Duma he usually spent in traveling the provinces, Moscow, Saratoff, Samar, Kazan, Charkov, Volsk, Tashkent, Lena, Samarkand, &c. Where, indeed, was not the "Quick One" making work for the department of police spies?

In every place where he was, if the smoldering coals of partisan political work did not at once break into flame, yet all this began to burn in the hearts

and minds of "sedimentary" workingmen, awakening in them a common party consciousness, drawing them to a new nearness to the nation, to work for its happiness.

I remember in October, 1915, at Samar they received from Kerensky a telegram: "I shall come the 29th, arrange a lecture. Theme: 'Military Session of the Duma.'"

The information was spread. Whispers started. They arranged with those "responsible." They got permission. An old comrade, Joseph Abramovich Tzadikoff, arranged the financial part of the lecture.

The "Quick One" arrived. He flew everywhere. With jokes and stories of Petrograd he awakened and sprinkled every one with living water. On the second day came the lecture. The Olympic Theatre was packed with people—workingmen, peasants, intellectuals. A warm, passionate speech was poured forth like a stream during the course of two hours. The situation of the country became clear, clear to painfulness and sorrow. "Oh, how well I have spent this day!" cried Tzadikoff, returning from the lecture and lying down on his bed. Inside of an hour he died of ruptured heart. Kerensky had given him the last joy of his life, joy before dying, originating in the ideal heights of the soul.

I remember another October at the same Samar, the October of 1916. Again a telegram from Kerensky and again the same contents. * * * The second part of the lecture was presented by Kerensky with such an uplift that the auditorium fairly shook with thunders of applause. Especially good were the concluding, almost prophetic, words of the lecturer. I recollect them very well.

"But on the change of all that old order," said Kerensky, "or rather disorder, will soon follow a new order. It will bring to us democracy, unified economic life, and democracy is already coming. * * * I already clearly hear the steps of the nation. Prepare to meet it. Prepare to go with it, foot with foot and hand in hand."

Coming out of the Olympic those who had attended the lecture did not go away, but stayed waiting Kerensky's exit. The youths consulted together to arrange an

ovation for him; but he withdrew unnoticed from the building. The huge crowd, dammed up in two streets, did not depart for half an hour. The alarmed police sent out a strong detachment of mounted guards, but they were unnecessary. On finding that Kerensky had already gone, the crowd peacefully departed.

If it is added that the whole gross proceeds of the lecture were given by Kerensky to the publication of the national journal of Samar, the *News*, closed down by the administration afterward at the fifth number, and to the help of political exiles, it is hardly necessary to say that Kerensky's lectures were one of the abounding means for freeing the nation from age-long political and social oppression.

Such a burning activity did not permit him to occupy himself diligently with literature; yet he wrote some brilliant articles on political themes. So, for example, in 1905-6 he worked for the journal *Burovyestnik*. I especially recollect one of his articles, in which he brought out the thought that an election to the Constituent Assembly ought to be held among the soldiers still to be found in Siberia after the war with Japan. Kerensky's book, "Truth About Lena," appeared as an intense cry of a heart sickened by the workingmen's situation. In recent years Kerensky's articles on political questions appeared in the national journals, *Zavyety* and *Severneya Zapisky*.

On the Eve of Revolution

It is a psychic peculiarity of Kerensky that he has a "feeling in the nerves" for political events, which often amounts to prophetic foresight—what is called intuition, sometimes called the "sixth sense." This faculty of presentiment was shown in Kerensky's speeches in the Duma delivered several months before the revolution. Thus, in the session of Oct. 16, 1916, Kerensky said:

Gentlemen, now you yourselves see that all which it is possible to say about a Government, and which it is possible to allege against a Government, all is said. We have heard not from the mouths of those on the left, not from Russian liberals, but from mouths of Octobrists and Conservatives, a declaration that the Gov-

ernment is "ruining the country," that it "appears to be treasonable"; that Russia's "future existence is threatened by a collapse of the Government." But what kind of deduction is to be made from these words? * * * If, say, the representative of the left wing of the Octobrists, S. I. Shidlovsky, were to say to us: "I am not a revolutionist, I denounce revolutionary methods," then truly Shidlovsky might be compared to Molière's hero, who in perplexity and astonishment one beautiful day found out that he had "said something in prose." Indeed, the proceeding in which S. I. Shidlovsky participated is revolutionary. * * * You, gentlemen, to the present time under the word "revolution" understand some kind of anti-Governmental activity, destroying the Government, when all the histories unite in saying that revolution is a method and sole means for saving Government—that it is the most strenuous moment of a struggle with a Government which is ruining a country. A revolutionary process is an objective process, and I will remind you that in the year 1789, in France, there was a Count Mirabeau who did not suspect for a very long time that he was one of the greatest factors of a revolution, and an anti-dynastic one. [Speech interrupted by the President of the Duma.] * * * I want to say, gentlemen, that there will come a question, not about words, but about activities and methods of struggle. And once for all, gentlemen, understand that you, heroes of Molière, are participating in such a turn of Russia's history as is called "a revolutionary proceeding." * * *

Feeling the approach of the revolution, Kerensky energetically brought to light the revolutionary consciousness of the Duma and pushed it forward into revolutionary procedure. At another time he said:

Indeed, the Government is sitting on the very tip of the soldiers' bayonets. When at such moments they say, "We are fighting by lawful means," we are fighting by the "articles of the law," then I ask, with entire sincerity and without polemics, do you not yourselves feel that you have no weapon in your hands, because those lawful means, those laws, are on the other side? Acting along "the lawful path," you are like Don Quixote when he was fighting windmills. They leave to you that "lawful method"; it hinders no one. * * * If those in power use the lawful apparatus of government only for the purpose of doing violence to the country, only in order to bring it to ruin, it is the citizen's duty not to submit to that law.

However, the Duma did not recognize the revolutionary process; it still re-

sisted itself. The President interrupted Kerensky. In the hall arose an unimaginable noise. The protest against Kerensky threatened to remove him from his chair by force. The proceedings broke up. Soon the Duma was prorogued to Feb. 14, 1917.

On the next day after the opening of that session—on Feb. 15, 1917—Kerensky stepped forward with his first historical, already clearly revolutionary, speech, beginning:

I agree with the thesis of the last speaker, the member of the Duma, Milukoff, that we are entering upon a critical period of the three years' fight; but permit me to be not too much of an optimist, and to show you that effort and that duty which ought to lie upon the entire nation—and upon you also—a great deal more seriously. The crisis, gentlemen, upon which we are entering, perhaps have already entered, is continuing not merely in Russia. No, all Europe is choking itself in blood, which is poured forth generously in huge rivers now for the third year. * * * Can you, gentlemen, holding in your hands your country's destiny, and answering for that blood, can you say that you have done all, that you have exerted all your efforts, not with enthusiasm and pathos of words from that chair, but that you have manifested likewise all efforts of political activity and political will? Were you able, recognizing your responsibility, to take on yourselves a personal risk in struggles with that old system which is ruining the country? [Milukoff, from his place: "We have done more than you."]

I speak, gentlemen, not for the purpose of entering into a partisan discussion. I recognize also frankly—because this moment is absolutely to be accounted for, and we ought to speak only the truth—I recognize, gentlemen, that we representatives of democracy could not always fulfill our duty to the finish; but we were always at the height of understanding our historical problems as they stood before us. I do not wish to enter into quarrels or a party fight. I wish, gentlemen, that this, our session, and these days, may pass in the full consciousness of the greatest sufferings and the greatest responsibility which soon will fall upon us and upon everybody, without differences over our political convictions. I would like in these last moments, before the great event of the years, that we should look to the end and to the immediate future, and in these last times ask ourselves, can we really do something, not in order to reach Constantinople, not in order to divide Europe by the map, but in order to save the national inheritance, an heirloom from

the past which has fallen into our hands? * * *

If you will forget that you are sitting within the walls of the Tavricks Palace, where the authentic voice of life comes to you muffled, where the pain and suffering of the nation loom large in a repelling and broken light; if you will recall real life; if you will look on that which surrounded you two weeks ago, when you were preparing to come here, you will understand, gentlemen, that the country already is in chaos, that we are living through a disturbance such as has never in historical times happened in the life of our fatherland, one compared with which the year 1613 seems like children's tales. Before you, gentlemen, is the very same picture through which France survived in the time of the great Revolution. Gentlemen, that chaos stares you in the face, and I ask you, have you a consciousness and feeling of political responsibility in this historical moment, so as to subject your individual and class social interests to the interest of the Government? I say to you that you have not yet that consciousness.

But look, gentlemen, look in that chaos at what the Government did. They tell us "the administration is at fault," the administration officials who like shadows come and go in these places, (pointing to the Government benches.) But did you frankly ask yourselves the question in all its breadth and depth, Who are those who bring here these "shadows"? Will these marionettes answer, those who came here for the purpose of going away? Where, then, is that real Government, where are those people who, as the facts show, are leading us into ruin? You found them; you said from here openly and directly: "Not you, you dwarfs, who, even in such a historical moment, place your personal interest in advance of the Government's interest; not you, but your masters." The master must be found. Where is he—the one who sends these officials here? * * *

And if you recall the history of the Government for these three years you will remember, gentlemen, how much has been said here about "dark forces," and how those speeches about dark forces created a league of the young naïve visionaries with the political adventurers—and Rasputin did not stand forth as that "dark force." Did we then enter upon a new era of Russian life? No, it remained entirely as it was. They send new Rasputins here, and they will have them in numbers without end. Rasputin was changed for Protopopoff, and Protopopoff for Rittich.

But you, then, when you spoke about "dark forces," did not lead into error; you did not lead the nation into side paths, you did not remove the responsibility of those who sought to be responsible for these weak ciphers of officials, obedient playthings, who were ruined, paying with their blood for other's sins. * * * I, gentlemen, can speak freely on this point because you know that I, in my political convictions, share the opinion of the party which placed frankly on its flag the possibility of terror, the possibility of armed struggle with special representatives of the Government. I belong to the party which openly recognized the necessity of killing tyrants. We were the remnants—

At this point Kerensky's speech was interrupted by the President of the Duma, who said:

Duma Member Kerensky, I beg you, in laying down the program of your party, not to give foundation for affirming that the Governmental Duma can grant any invitation to anything similar to that about which you are speaking.

Kerensky replied to this:

I speak about what was done in classic times by the citizen Brutus, and along with this I reject here these means of obscuring human consciousness, and of turning the people's indignation toward that which is worthless and away from the few who are guilty as regards the people.

Final words permitted to be spoken by Kerensky, were:

How is it possible to cover up one's inactivity in discharging one's duty by a pretext of the requirement of law? Your enemies are not observing the law; they openly laugh at the entire country, and are jeering at you. They destroy the law every day! With lawbreakers there is only one path, the path of physical removal. Think, gentlemen, think, and then will you not come with me to the one conclusion—that sometimes a gangrenous disease, which may destroy its victim inside of two weeks, must, as in my own case not long ago, be healed by an immediate surgical operation, so that the patient may be regenerated to newness of strength and life!

These significant words were shouted angrily by Kerensky at the entire Duma three weeks before the outbreak of the revolution.

General Korniloff's Untiring Energy

GENERAL KORNILOFF, whose clash with Kerensky has thrown both men into a new flash of limelight, is described as equally admirable in force and character. An Englishwoman who met him in the early days of the war, and who has known many officers of nearly every nation, recently wrote:

"I have never encountered a Russian or an officer with such a personality as General Laurence Korniloff. When first I knew him he was unknown to the world—a simple General of a Siberian infantry division. Yet even then I was conscious of a certain awe—not of the man himself, but of the latent power in him. An iron will and an iron frame; an incarnation of the best war spirit plus a tender heart. Such is the man upon whom all Russia leans today, and whose shoulders are broad enough and strong enough even for so great a burden."

M. Breshko-Breshkovsky, the Russian journalist, has told in the *Paris Matin* some little known facts about General Korniloff, obtained from personal contact. He says:

"Discussing the situation at Petrograd and recalling the days when he commanded the garrison in the capital, Korniloff spoke of the historic scene when he had to read the decree of the Provisional Government to the Czarina Alexandra. The General had hesitated slightly at the time, and this had rather puzzled those around him.

"He explained it to me in a curious way. 'When I saw the angry, sullen face of the ex-Czarina I was suddenly reminded of the first visit I had paid her in the same palace after my escape from Austria. I painted the horrible fate of our prisoners and implored her to intervene for their protection. But while I talked her face grew dark, stern, suspicious, and she finally dismissed me abruptly and very coldly. And now here I was again face to face with her and reading the Government decree to her!

"'For a moment she seemed so forlorn and beaten that I was ready to stop, but then again I thought of the cold, in-

accessible Empress, the German woman who would hear nothing about the sufferings of our prisoners, and I forced her to listen to every syllable.'

"General Korniloff's career is one long list of incredibly brave deeds and untiring energy. Of all the officers in the Russian Army, he had the fewest friends to 'push' him. The son of a poor Siberian Cossack, Korniloff at 13 years of age was keeping goats on the steppes and had not learned to read. Yet at 16, after solitary and unaided study, he passed brilliantly into the cadet school. Thence he passed out first on the list into the staff college. His knowledge is remarkable. He speaks fifteen languages and has made a special study of Oriental tongues.

"Everything about the man abounds with energy. He has the build of an athlete, and neither his severe wounds nor the fearful privations of prison camps have left any mark upon him. Every one knows how he escaped from Austria, but people forget the amazing thoroughness with which he carried it out. Finding it impossible to get away from the building where he was confined, he had the will power to abstain from food for fifteen days, and when, almost a skeleton, he was removed to the hospital as a dying man, he allowed himself only three days to rest before making his escape.

"With all this Korniloff is steady, cool and clear-sighted. A fortnight ago I happened to be with him at Kolomea when the Austrian lines were broken by the Eighth Army, and Halicz and Kalush captured, and he was receiving enthusiastic congratulations. Korniloff alone remained skeptical, for he alone knew the real condition of his troops. He said to me, 'With another army it would be possible to march in triumph to Lvoff (Lemberg,) but with this one, when the shock battalions have all been in action and depleted, I am at the mercy of any counterattack the enemy may make.'

"Korniloff said practically the same

thing again later. "An army in which each company calls a meeting to settle whether it shall or shall not take the offensive is no longer an army."

"But I knew by the way he spoke that he had accepted his difficult task with the intention of reforming these enormous masses of men into a true army."

A New Phase of the Balkan Question

By Milivoy S. Stanoyevich, M. L.

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A NEW phase of the Balkan question appears in the Declaration of Yugoslav Independence heralded at Corfu on July 20, 1917, when, at a meeting of the Serbian Government and the South Slav Committee of London, a new State was practically formed. [This proclamation was published in September CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, pp. 431-432.] Being the result of long dreamed of aspirations, this step is noteworthy in two respects. It has none of the puerility of the previous attempts of the Serbo-Croatian coalition to unite Dalmatia with Croatia, (1905,) when by the adoption of the resolution at Fiume, on Oct. 2, the Croats formulated a program for securing freedom and unity through union with the Hungarian "Coalition Party," and on Oct. 16 the Serbs at Zara agreed with them in creating an identical platform. Furthermore, the Declaration of Yugoslav Independence just proclaimed at Corfu seems to have the approval of the powers; at least one is inclined to believe so in view of the contemporary amity of the Balkan conference in Paris and London, (May 28 and July 25, 1917.)

The birth of democracy in Russia, sounding the keynote of future Balkan aspirations, was an indication of a bond of strength between North and South Slavs. Unity of South Slavs has long been the program of the future for the Balkans; this has been recognized with ever-increasing clearness by the Balkan people since the beginning of the great war. Recalling figuratively the "Illyria" of Napoleon's idea in the opening days of the nineteenth century, this program seems reasonable. It is the unification of a certain part of the Balkan people on

the basis of homogeneity of language and ethnographical characteristics. Narrowly speaking, it is unification of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, but broadly speaking the lands include Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia and the Dalmatian Archipelago, Croatia and Slavonia, including Reika (Fiume) and the Medjumurje, (the country between the Rivers Mur and Drave,) Baranja, Bachka and Banat, Istria, the Quarnero Isles and Trieste, the Slovene lands, i. e., Carniola, Southern Carinthia, Southern Styria, and the adjoining districts in Southwestern Hungary.

Practical steps toward Southern Slav amalgamation have been looked for as the outcome of the plans undertaken by the Yugoslav Committee, formed in London in 1915, with branches in North and South America. While propaganda was carried forward by this body, Serbia played the part of the South Slav Piedmont on the battlefield in efforts to weld together a new composite State—Yugoslavia.

And now in the third Summer of war comes the declaration of the formation of the new State. This proposed State is to be a kingdom ruled by the reigning house of Serbia, the Karageorgeviches, dominated by a Parliament elected from the three component peoples; it is maintained that this kingdom shall be composed of those lands where now live the Serbians, Croats, and Slovenes in large and compact masses, and that the Orthodox, Catholic, and Mohammedan religions are to be professed accordingly as the citizens prefer. Matters of unification concern the creation of a flag and a coat of arms, the adjustment of the Julian and Gregorian calendars, and the reso-

lution to hold to the equal and respective uses of the two scripts, Cyrillic and Latin.

The Magna Charta of this State, unlike the Berlin Treaty of 1878, proclaims unity instead of disruption in the Balkans.

It remains to be seen what will result from this new political organization, which must have international affiliations. Naturally the voice of Austria-Hungary, should she survive to acclaim her views, will oppose the loss of Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the trade of the Adriatic. As for the subject powers, the other smaller Slavic States, Poland, Bohemia, &c., it is hoped that they will lay aside jealousy and view with hopeful eyes this emergency of a sister power. And Greece, guarding the portal of the south in the peninsula, will

also be called upon to grasp friendly instead of inimical hands, as she so disastrously did with Serbia in the beginning of the war, for, backed by the Entente Allies, Greece cannot but comply with their policy. And that the proclamation of Yugoslavia accords with the sanction of England, France, and Russia is seen in the docile attitude with which Italy seems to be putting up with claims which must in some measure shut her out from complete domination of the Adriatic Sea. Together with the official visits of Italy's Premier with England's and Serbia's Premiers, and the renewed Italian offensive at Trieste, it seems likely that into the clauses of the new Yugoslav Declaration of Independence (especially Clause Ninth) can be read some adjustment of a problem which still holds the seeds for a new Balkan imbroglio.

The Name of France

By HENRY VAN DYKE

[Read by the author at the Lafayette Day celebration in the City Hall, New York, Sept. 6, 1917]

Give us a name to fill the mind
With the shining thoughts that lead mankind;
The glory of learning, the joy of art—
A name that tells of the splendid part
In the long, long toil and the strenuous fight
Of the human race to win its way
From the ancient darkness into the day
Of Freedom, Brotherhood, Equal Right—
A name like a star, a name of light—
I give you FRANCE!

Give us a name to stir the blood
With a warmer glow and a swifter flood—
A name like the sound of a trumpet, clear,
And silver-sweet, and iron strong,
That calls three million men to their feet,
Ready to march, and steady to meet
The foes who threaten that name with wrong—
A name that rings like a battle-song—
I give you FRANCE!

Give us a name to move the heart
With the strength that noble griefs impart—
A name that speaks of the blood outpoured
To save mankind from the sway of the sword—
A name that calls on the world to share
In the burden of sacrificial strife
When the cause at stake is the world's free life
And the rule of the people everywhere—
A name like a vow, a name like a prayer—
I give you FRANCE!

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

VIII.—The Great German Attack on Verdun

AS the Autumn of 1915 faded into the chill of Winter the great armies on the western front repaired the losses incurred in the hard campaigns in Champagne and at Loos, Halluch, and Vimy. Terrific blows had been struck and the enemy had suffered severe losses in casualties and prisoners, but while the fortified lines had been forced back slightly the Germans had successfully withstood all allied efforts to break through. The German reserves had proved sufficient, and there certainly was need on all sides for reinforcements of men and replenishment of supplies. The supplies of both men and shells were promptly furnished, however, and there were several hard battles in Champagne and Artois in November. Early in the month a German counteroffensive in Champagne met with considerable success, and further north a continuous battle raged among the intricate subterranean fortifications of the "Labyrinth" in Artois. A number of German divisions had been brought to the west from Russia, and the Teuton forces were ample for all defensive requirements, and even sufficient to warrant occasional attacks on a fairly important scale.

Lord Derby's recruiting campaign had produced a large number of recruits in England, and there was an important change in command at the front, where on Dec. 15 Sir Douglas Haig became Commander in Chief following the resignation of Sir John French. Both British and Canadians were active in raids upon enemy trenches near Neuve Chapelle and before Armentières, while a German attack on the British lines was repulsed after a smart engagement. Despite the difficulty of midwinter mountain warfare there was a prolonged struggle on the Hartmanns-Weilerkopf,

where the fortunes of war favored first the Germans and then the French. No other part of the whole battle front has remained so nearly stationary throughout the whole war to date as the lines in the Vosges. The battles at the end of 1915 left the situation much as it had been and as it still remains.

German Attack on Verdun

When 1916 dawned, the Germans were claiming that the war was won and the Allies were answering that the real fighting had not yet begun. It was evident that the Allies were stronger in both men and munitions, and that consequently another great allied offensive was to be anticipated in the Spring of the new year. The characteristic German method of meeting such a situation was to launch a great attack at a point distant from the sector in which the Allies were mobilizing men and guns for their new effort. It was quite certain that both French and British would prefer to strike again above the Aisne, and therefore the Germans chose an important place considerably to the south for attack.

Verdun was selected for the effort. If captured it might unlock a road via St. Menchould to Paris, and if seriously menaced it was sufficiently important to compel France to hurry reinforcements from the north even though the transfer of troops might disrupt all plans for a great offensive in the Spring. Germany had certainly not forgotten the defeats which crushed the efforts to reach Paris in the Summer of 1914, but doubtless every artillerist was impatient to see the great forts about Verdun crumble under the fire of the siege howitzers as had the steel and concrete defenses in Belgium and Northern France. The walls which had withstood the rush in August,

1914, were walls of Belgian, French, and British flesh and blood. The Germans hoped that the French at Verdun would rely more upon the elaborate system of forts while the bulk of their infantry and field artillery were gathered toward the north.

The zone of operations lying between



GERMAN CROWN PRINCE

the salient at St. Mihiel and the wooded Argonne was under the general command of the Crown Prince, and a success there would be to his credit. Certainly his military reputation needed some stimulation, for his only successes had been negative. He had held his sector, but had failed always to win any worthwhile advance.

Verdun lies directly upon the main highway into France from Metz, and therefore was most convenient for an assault based upon that great German military depot. The city on the banks of the Meuse is surrounded by the Côtes de Meuse, which, rising on an average some 250 to 300 feet above the floor of the valley, provide an ideal terrain for the military engineer. The eastern face of the hills overlooking the Woëvre was studded with elaborate old-style forts at Douaumont, Vaux, Tavannes, Moulainville, with several other forts protecting the southern approaches along the more

southern road to Metz through Manheules.

The west side of the river was amply protected by an almost equally elaborate system of forts on a front of more than eight miles along the hills west of a line from Charny to Duguy. Altogether the circle of forts measured about thirty miles, and before the war included the best type of Brialmont permanent steel and concrete defenses with heavy guns mounted in disappearing turrets. When the French engineers learned how little reliance might be placed upon these devices, General Sarrail, who held Verdun against the Crown Prince in the first months of the war, began the construction of a far-flung line of intrenchments and obstacles beyond the line of forts. It was Sarrail who defeated the attempt of the Crown Prince to reach south from the Argonne and by joining forces with von Strautz at St. Mihiel inclose Verdun.

The early failure of those efforts may have influenced the decision to make the new effort directly against the east face of the position, a plan which had the advantage of the most direct and abundant lines of communication with the base at Metz. However, I believed in 1915 and still hold that this was a decided error of judgment. The men and munitions expended on the east side of the Meuse would have been more wisely spent in a drive south through Varunes and the Forest of Hesse to the Verdun-St. Menchould railway line. The French defenses on this front were strongly held, but attacks such as were hurled against Douaumont in the first week of the great attack might have won advantages on the west side of the river sufficient to interrupt the flow of reinforcements to the besieged city on the east bank. It was in the end the failure to stop the constant reinforcement of the garrison that made the whole German effort a failure. A quickly successful attack on the east side might have succeeded in rolling the French forces on that side of the Meuse back against a river whose bridges could in such an event have been smashed by artillery fire. The Meuse, swollen by Winter rains, achieves a width of a thousand yards at

Verdun. Such a success would have been a great victory, but nothing experienced in the campaigns of 1915 warranted a belief that the French infantry could be rushed in any such fashion.

The French had, in the Winter of 1914, under Sarraill, prepared a plan which provided means for a defense of Verdun by a force of 250,000 men. Motor and railway transport arrangements were devised on a scale adequate in prospect and ample when actually called upon. France possessed in Sarraill a fine soldier and a great organizer, and was fortunate to have had him stationed just where his courage and genius were most needed; but apparently not all of his defensive measures were in good order when the storm broke.

Beginning of the Great Attack

About the middle of February, 1916, when General Herr was in command of the Verdun garrison, the Germans began a bombardment on a wide front, but, although enough heavy shells fell in the town of Verdun to induce the civil officials to send away the last of the populace, there was nothing to indicate a serious attack. It was on the morning of Feb. 21 that the real bombardment began. Soon after 7 o'clock the most furious storm of shellfire that had ever been known was poured upon the French first-line positions, which were, in a few minutes, torn to pieces by a hurricane of four and seven inch projectiles, with a number of big thirteen-inch Austrian shells added. At midday the German infantry advanced, and with almost no opposition took what had been the French first line in the Bois d'Haumont and the Bois des Cures, wooded heights on the right bank of the river, about six miles above Verdun. The French infantry, holding this outer line, had been a small force and fell back to the prepared second line, which, however, was not as well developed as it should have been.

At this stage the German assault moved with mathematical precision, and the artillery attack, after wiping out the first positions, was lifted to a barrage fire, which blocked any reinforcements from coming up to the help of

the detachments under attack. When the German infantry moved forward the columns were preceded by strong reconnoitring patrols, followed by bomb throwers and engineer detachments to prepare the new positions for the occupation of the strong forces about to take them over. Late in the afternoon two



GENERAL SARRAIL

battalions of Chasseurs under Lieut. Col. Driant, the Deputy from Nancy, made a counterattack, which won back some of the positions on the wooded heights.

At daybreak on Tuesday, the German guns poured shrapnel, high explosives, and tear shells upon the French lines, and in the woods close to Brabant liquid fire was used. By night the village of Haumont was taken as well as Beaumont, where in stubborn rear-guard fighting the brave Driant and many of his chasseurs met a glorious death. That night the French retired to Samogneux and a line to the east through Herbebois and Ornes, but the German artillery and infantry were still too powerful to be checked, and on the 23d and 24th, the French lines had to fall back from Ornes to Bezonvaux and from Samogneux to Hill 344 and Mormont Farm. The Germans were attacking with an infantry force estimated at not less than 225,000

bayonets, and the corps included the famous Third Corps of Brandenburg. The Crown Prince had for this great operation the active assistance of Marshal von Haeseler as well as von Strautz. The strategy was credited to von Falkenhayn.

By the morning of Friday, the 25th, the Germans were pressing forward to attack the thoroughly prepared positions on a line through Vacherauville, the Côte du Poivre, Louvemont, Les Chambrettes Farm, the Woods of La Vauche, and Hardaumont to Vaux. Several brigades of fresh infantry had arrived on this new French front, but by this time the Germans had concentrated on this small sector of less than five miles eighteen divisions. In the middle of that snowy afternoon the Germans took Louvemont, and about the same time they delivered a terrific attack on Douaumont, the highest point among the hills east of the Meuse. The German infantry suffered enormous losses in the repeated attacks upon Douaumont, where the Third Regiment of French Zouaves made a splendid defense.

Germans Take Fort Douaumont

By this time the gravity of the situation was apparent, and General de Castelnau, who had taken over the French command, was reinforced by the brilliant young hero of the Champagne campaign, General Pétain. In four days the Germans had forced the French lines back four miles, and on the evening when Pétain arrived the Twenty-fourth Regiment of Brandenburgers fought their way into the ruins of old Fort Douaumont. The next morning, Saturday, the 26th, Pétain hurled the Twentieth Corps of Nancy, under General Balfourier, upon the enemy and succeeded in driving him back with the exception of a small group of Brandenburgers who persisted in holding on among the ruins of Fort Douaumont.

Meanwhile the German attacks on Pepper Hill had failed and the French held on at the village of Douaumont, some six hundred yards northwest of the fort. On Sunday, the 27th, and Monday, the 28th, there were heavy snow and hard fighting, during which two divisions of

Brandenburgers renewed the assault on Douaumont. The battle extended somewhat toward the south, and other German corps began to attack from the Woevre in an effort to turn the flank of the positions on the heights which the French infantry were defending so stubbornly. On this front a Bavarian corps took part of the village of Manheulles, north of Les Eparges, but could make no further progress.

In the first week of March the Germans opened a new attack on the west side of the Meuse. Here a high ridge was the key to the whole outer scheme of defenses, just as on the opposite side of the Meuse the Poivre Heights and Douaumont were all important key positions. On the west side it was a hill called *Le Mort Homme*, and a somewhat higher hill designated as Hill 304, both positions mutually supporting and situated on either side of the Béthincourt-Esnes road. The Forges brook cuts a way across the ridge from south to north and so separates these hilltops.

The Germans, while preparing for the attacks west of the Meuse, renewed their efforts on the east and succeeded in entering the village of Douaumont. On March 6 two German divisions began the attacks on the west of the river and captured Forges and Regneville, as well as a valuable hillcrest (265) just west of Regneville. The following day Fresnes fell, and the enemy won a redoubt in Hardaumont Wood. At midnight of March 8-9 a force of Brandenburg and Posen regiments entered Vaux only to be bayoneted out by a vigorous French counterattack. The assault was repeated in a tremendous battle which lasted all of March 9, but although the Brandenburgers fought until annihilated, they failed to win.

On March 10 and 11, having been heavily reinforced by new troops, the Germans continued the effort and finally forced their way into the ruins of what had been the eastern end of the town of Vaux. The heroic defense of Vaux was as vital to the salvation of Verdun as that across the river on Poivre Heights.

The battle continued to swing back

and forth across the Meuse as the Germans delivered fresh assaults first on one series of heights and then on the other, with occasionally an extension of their efforts along the Woevre front. On March 14 a great attack was begun against Le Mort Homme by a force of about 25,000 infantry, in five great suc-

cessive waves. It won a spur on Le Mort Homme, but not the main hill itself, although that was announced at the time. Another great attack on March 16 was defeated by the French, who clung to these vital hill defenses with unparalleled determination. Renewed German efforts to enlarge their grip on Vaux suffered defeat, and the total German losses by this time were appalling. It seems to be well established that the Third Brandenburg Corps, which entered the battle in February over 20,000 strong, lost by March 10, in about ten days' fighting, more than its total original strength. Although the huge casualties of the first battles were quickly replaced by reserves, this fine corps was practically wiped out by the struggles against the French intrenched positions, and their losses are said to have totaled 22,000 men killed, wounded, and missing.

Of course, the French, too, lost heavily, but Pétain adhered to the plan of holding

the front lines with the smallest possible number of men, and his losses were not great except in the desperate counterattacks necessary to recapture important lost positions such as Douaumont and Le Mort Homme.

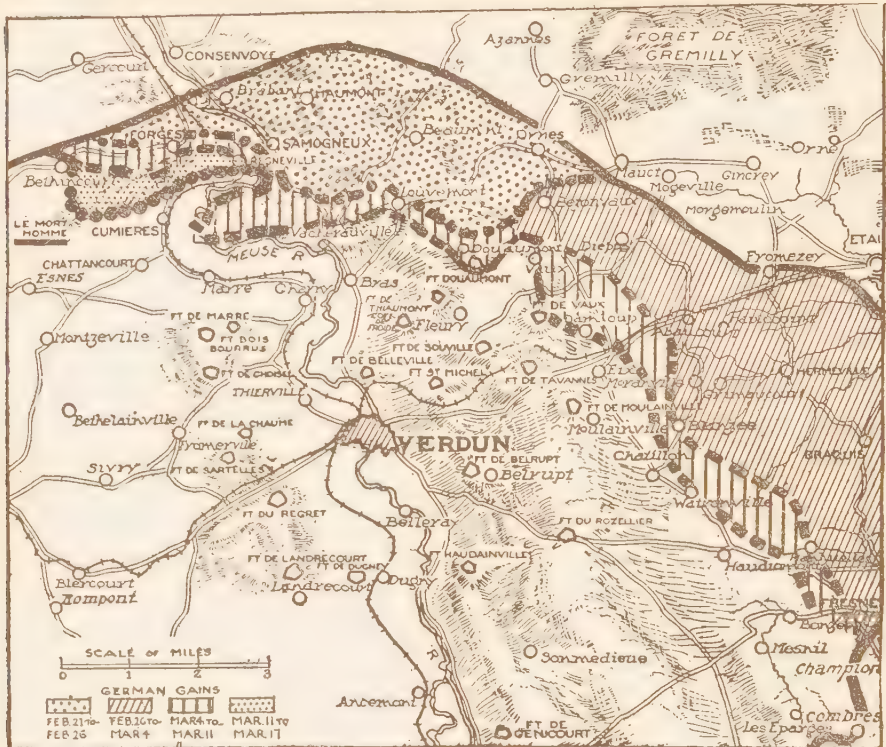
Crown Prince's Efforts Fail

By the middle of March it is quite certain the Germans had used on this battle front of not over thirty miles' extent fully half a million men, and although both men and munitions had been spent with prodigal freedom, no success had crowned their almost superhuman efforts. The French had been pushed back closer to the inner line defenses, and it was by this time evident that the German staff would persist to the last in this major offensive unless the Allies could create a diversion by launching some great counteroffensive further to the north.

While huge reinforcements had come to the Verdun front from the German armies in Russia and the Balkans, the lines from Flanders to the Argonne had been maintained in full strength in constant anticipation that the British would strike hard somewhere on the north. The counteroffensive was for some reason long delayed and France continued to bleed at Verdun until dangerously close to collapse before the diversion was actually made. By March 20 the German artillery, which had been firing heavily for some days, concentrated a terrific fire on the Avocourt-Malancourt sector lying to the west of Hill 304. Bavarians and Württembergers won a footing in Avocourt Wood, where they dug in elaborately. The battle on this front raged on for days with the Germans gradually winning ground on the lower spurs to the west of Hill 304, but on March 29 General Pétain delivered a powerful counterattack which somewhat relieved the dangerous pressure at Avocourt, where the Germans were driven out of a redoubt in the woods. Further north the Germans continued to attack Malancourt, and after numerous repulses won part of the village on the last day of March. Pétain withdrew the remnant of the garrison from Malancourt and Haucourt to Hill 304, having



GENERAL HENRI PETAIN



MAP SHOWING THE GERMAN GAINS IN THE BATTLE OF VERDUN—ALL LOST IN A FEW DAYS A YEAR LATER

sold the little towns at a very high price, since they were only outlying posts for the hill positions a mile to the south.

Meanwhile, the Germans east of the Meuse, after a week of bitter fighting, fought their way into the outskirts of Vaux, and in the first days of April drove powerful columns in Caillette Wood and Hardaumont Wood, west and north of Vaux. These successes seriously threatened the French communications behind Fort Douaumont. On April 3 General Mangin's division made a magnificent counterattack and recaptured most of the lost ground in Caillette Wood and around the pond on the west of Vaux. The ravines between the town and the wood were choked with German and French dead, as the result of one of the bloodiest conflicts in the whole long siege.

A Triumph for France

On the west sector the Germans continued to attack in great force, and

gradually won their way along the Haucourt-Béthincourt-Cumières line. By April 8 the French had yielded ground on the west front of about six miles to a depth of about one mile in the series of heavy battles since the middle of March.

On Sunday, April 9, the Germans delivered another tremendous assault on a wide front, intending to crush in the French lines on Le Mort Homme and Hill 304. They attacked Avocourt Wood and Crow Wood in heavy formations without success, but on the flank at the riverside won a footing in Cumières. On Le Mort Homme, the Germans got into some of the first-line trenches, but were held by the heroic defense of the 151st Regiment of the Line with the 8th and 16th Battalions of Chasseurs. This great assault persisted for several days and a little headway was made by German storming columns in a ravine on the southeast face of Poivre Heights,

but by April 10 the effort wore out and the great siege subsided temporarily, although heavy bombardments continued to alternate with infantry charges. By the middle of April French counter-attacks grew much more frequent.

If the casualties at Verdun in the two months' fighting are reckoned at 300,000, it will probably be fair to assume that of this total not more than one-third were French. Never in all the history of French military glory has there been a brighter chapter than that written at Verdun. Every poilu in the ranks chanted "You Shall Not Pass," and died gladly to confirm the interdiction. Superficial military critics had long credited the French soldier with brilliant adaptability for attack, but had denied him credit for ability to "stand the gaff" on a long, hard defense. The armies under Maud'huy in Arras, de Castelnau before Nancy, and Pétain at Verdun have forever disproved that slander.

Verdun was a veritable hell in February, March, and April, 1916, but the French held it against artillery and infantry attacks of unparalleled intensity and persistence. An astonishing revelation was the preservation of the élan for attack which suffered no loss of enthusiasm by the long periods of dogged defense. From the gallant eloquence of Driant to his Chasseurs facing death in Caures Wood to the gasping phrase "Passeront-pas" of the humble private giving his life on Le Mort Homme, there seemed never to have been a moment when cheerful sacrifice of life itself could not be relied upon.

The great German armies went down to defeat before a greater foe at Verdun, but, heroic and competent as the French were, there came a time in the Spring when the Germans succeeded in pushing dangerously close to the beleaguered city on the northeast front. They were slowly but steadily crushing in the defenses on this front, and had in May and June taken Fort Vaux, the strongly fortified positions at Thiaumont Farm, Douaumont, and were within three short miles of Verdun. Across the river they had Cumières and Le Mort Homme and were eating their way into Hill 304. Then

the great storm to the north broke as French and British together hurled themselves against the German lines above the Somme. The Germans were compelled to shift all available reserves to that hard-pressed sector through the Summer months, and so the great effort to take Verdun rested. There have been many hard battles on both sides of the river since then, but the French have gradually pushed the invader back from his hard-won positions in the Vaux sector. The most serious of the later German attacks have been in the region of Hill 304, which remains a massive barrier to their progress on the west front.

Serbia Overwhelmed

Serbia had been the superficial cause of the worldwide war and for two years was remarkably successful in avoiding any serious castigation. The early Austrian efforts to invade the little Balkan State had been defeated and the menace of mighty Russia on the east had prevented any renewal of Austrian efforts to avenge the murders at Serajevo in June, 1914.

Early in the Autumn of 1915 Bulgaria joined the middle Europe alliance, and thus a dangerous new foe close at hand loomed up on the Serbian horizon. Field Marshal von Mackensen appeared across the Danube opposite Belgrade in command of a new German-Austrian army. A fortnight later French and British divisions were landing at Saloniki. The stage seemed set for a great allied campaign in co-operation with the Serbs to turn back the new invasion from the north and at the same time punish the Bulgars for joining the Teuton cause. The French under Sarrail were the first to land at the Greek port, and they pushed out northward at once to prevent the Bulgars from seizing the Iron Gate, the narrow gorge on the Vardar, 90 miles above the base, the only pass through which rail communication with Northern Serbia could be maintained. By the end of October Sarrail's men were 75 miles up the Vardar above Krivolak and General Mahon's Tenth British Division had come up to Lake Doiran, where they guarded the French right flank from any possible Bulgar attack.

About the middle of September Austrian batteries began to bombard Belgrade, but it was not until Oct. 3 that the heavy bombardment with great guns began. A few days later the Teuton armies crossed both the Save and Danube rivers, and on the 8th the Germans were in part of Belgrade; by the morning of the 9th the army of von Kovess had captured all of the capital. Other columns pressed forward across the rivers, and by Oct. 11 the Germans had deployed on a front of 100 miles from Shabatz to Graditza.

As soon as the Germans were safely over the river frontiers, the Bulgars formally declared war—on Oct. 12—and a few days later von Kovess drove the Serbs from the positions south of Belgrade to which they had retreated after the town fell. Raiding Bulgar cavalry cut the railway at Vrania, (Vranja,) and the Serbian town of Egri Palanka was taken by a Bulgarian army. Veles fell on Oct. 20 and Uskub was lost on the 22d. At the latter point the meeting of the river valleys along which the railways run produces a traffic centre which practically controls all the travel routes of Central and Southern Serbia.

The principal Serbian armies in the north were now cut off, a disaster which might have been averted if the Allies from Saloniki had been a little earlier on their job of keeping the Bulgars away from the Vardar Valley.

Serbia's Fate Sealed

On Oct. 26 a column from the army of von Gallwitz crossed the Danube at Orsova and on the same day both Negotin and Prahovo were captured by Bulgarians, who seized large quantities of supplies sent up the river for the Serbs. By the end of the month the Austrians and Bulgars had joined hands and the fate of that part of Serbia which lay

below the Rumanian frontier was sealed. On Oct. 30 the Germans reached Kragujevatz, the Serbian arsenal, and the North Serbian army had been driven back toward Nish. Another force held the hills north of Monastir. Nish fell on Nov. 6, and after a heroic resistance at Katchanik the last of the northern army began a terrible retreat toward Montenegro.

At Babuna Pass, above Prilep, a Serb force of about 5,000 men fought bravely to stem the tide of invasion, but, finding that no help could be expected from the Allies, this heroic remnant finally retreated toward the Albanian frontier.

While the Serbs were struggling to hold the Babuna Pass a strong French column, trying to join hands, got to within ten miles of the pass, but, meeting powerful Bulgar forces, was compelled to abandon the effort and retreat to an intrenched camp at Kavadar. So ended the hope that the Allies would succor the Serbs. The remnants of the armies which had fought to save the fatherland were soon struggling over the wild mountain roads toward the west. By the end of November, 1915, practically all of Serbia was in the hands of the enemy, and early in December the French began to retreat from Serbia into Northern Greece. In the first week of December the Austro-Germans took Monastir and the Bulgarians began to attack the British positions near Lake Doiran. After a not very stubborn defense both French and British armies fell back before the Bulgarians and retreated behind the field fortifications, which had been prepared on an extensive scale outside Saloniki. The Greeks, making some virtue of necessity, handed the seaport over to the Allies, who soon found themselves in a state of siege behind the fortifications along the hills outside the city.



Anti-Submarine Tactics

By Lieut. Commander Charles C. Gill

United States Navy

Lieut. Commander Gill has been in active service in the United States Navy fourteen years, part of which time he was a member of the Faculty at the United States Naval Academy. He is the author of numerous articles on naval topics. The article here presented was written after a voyage through the war zone in the expedition commanded by Admiral Gleaves, and it is published with the special sanction of the Secretary of the Navy and the Admiral of the Fleet.

IF we can believe the spokesmen of the Prussian Government, Germany is depending upon her submarine navy so to cripple the ocean trade supplying men, food, and munitions to allied armies as to compel the acceptance of peace terms pleasing to the present leader of the German Nation.

Hindenburg has announced that it is only necessary for the German armies to hold their own on land while the U-boats at sea decide the war in Germany's favor.

It is strange that Germany's first soldiers should point out that the submarine, the only naval weapon able to evade the allied blockade, promises a respite and a hope that the German armies cannot give, even though the latter have been successful on all fronts and have conquered entire countries. Thus does Germany acknowledge the principle so well taught by the distinguished American naval officer, Admiral Mahan, that in all great wars between commercial nations land power is ancillary to sea power.

The answer of the United States to this Hindenburg announcement is characteristic and may be phrased somewhat as follows: The American Army will help hammer the Prussian lines while the American Navy defeats the U-boat.

As the war now enters upon its last stage there can be no doubt as to the final result. The end is in sight, and, as in past wars, so in this one, the force of sea power is slowly but surely shaping the issues. As the arteries of sea-borne commerce to the Teutonic Powers are more and more effectually blocked, and as the U-boat terror subsides while new strength and vigor from America, Africa, and Asia are transported more and more

easily to France, England, and Italy—the realization will slowly but surely be forced home that Pan-Germanism has been defeated and that Germany must give up the evil policies she has fought so desperately to defend and propagate.

It was Germany's unscrupulous methods of using her U-boats against commerce that precipitated war with the United States, and now it is the obvious mission of the American Navy to overcome this submarine menace in the Atlantic. As soon as this mission is accomplished and the U-boat campaign is demonstrated a failure, it may be assumed that Germany will stand ready to yield pretensions as a victor.

Secrecy is important in the development of certain kinds of anti-submarine tactics. Mention cannot be made of new devices, because to forewarn the enemy is to forearm him. But no harm will result from an outline discussion of the older though still effective methods of submarine defense which are now well known to the enemy. On the other hand, a clearer understanding of the question will stimulate interest in the wider development and practice of common-sense methods against the submarine. These may contribute quite as much to the ultimate defeat of the U-boat as highly scientific inventions.

In order to understand anti-submarine tactics it is necessary to know something of the tactical characteristics of the craft against which these counter-measures are directed. Of course, any very recent developments are not known, but there is no evidence at hand that radical advance has lately been made in U-boat construction.

The cruising radius of the larger sub-

marines is about 6,000 miles when steaming on the surface at a slow speed of six to ten knots. The newer boats are reported to have a maximum speed of eighteen knots, but economy of fuel is so important, and the consumption is so much greater for high speeds, that submarines use the economical slower speeds except perhaps for short spurts. It is obvious that submarines operating from distant bases cannot well afford to chase merchantmen unless they happen to be slow ones. Their usual procedure is to lie in wait along the trade routes and attack the ships which run up to them.

Limitations of Submarines

Submarines, after cruising a certain distance while submerged, are compelled to come to the surface to recharge their batteries. Here again the maximum submerged speed of about fourteen knots for the newer boats and about ten knots for the older types is extremely uneconomical. For example, approximately speaking, the average submarine when submerged can go four to five hours at ten knots, a total distance of about forty miles; or ten hours at about seven knots, a total distance of seventy miles; or thirty-six hours at about four knots, a total distance of 144 miles; or seventy-two hours at steerage way, (about two and one-half knots,) a total distance of 180 miles. It also has been rumored that the most recent U-boats can go as far as 250 miles at a stretch without coming to the surface. But when the limit is reached, whatever it may be, the submarine must stop and wait for an opportunity to come to the surface to recharge batteries.

It follows, then, that anti-submarine tactics which force the enemy to go comparatively long distances at high speeds tend to limit their activities. It is reported that when the prospects are such as to promise considerable uneconomical cruising, either on the surface or submerged, submarine commanders usually abandon the attack.

It may be mentioned here that it is extremely hard to control merchantmen and compel them to practice simple anti-submarine tactics—such as steering zig-

zag courses—calculated to embarrass the submarine in the accomplishment of its purpose. It is difficult for seamen who for years have navigated the usual lanes to understand and carry out instructions intended to safeguard them from a foe they cannot see. When the tangible proof of the enemy's presence arrives it is too late. Utmost vigilance is necessary at all times, and to get this requires a strict discipline which does not exist on board the majority of trading ships. The percentage of torpedoed ships is not sufficiently high to spur the crews to great exertions.

There are many influences inclining the individuals on board ships passing through the war zone to the opinion that getting safely by is largely a question of luck. There seems to be more or less prevalent a sort of fatalistic attitude toward the submarine, or the gambler's attitude of taking a chance against being torpedoed, with a resulting laxity in the observance of safeguarding measures. Whatever be the cause of this indifference to the practice of simple anti-submarine tactics of evasion, there is plenty of evidence that many a ship has played into the hands of the U-boat either by failure to carry out instructions, or by a poor lookout system, or by neglect to steer zigzag courses before sighting the submarine, or by stupid seamanship after sighting it. This is unfortunate, but not surprising. The nature of the submarine enemy is such that to combat it successfully requires a personnel of a high order of intelligence, well trained and well disciplined.

How Torpedoes Operate

The armament of the U-boats consists of both guns and torpedoes. The hull of the newer types is protected to some extent by armor, but is still so vulnerable that few U-boats will risk a gun engagement with a well-armed enemy. As nearly all ships are now armed, the torpedo has become the principal weapon of attack.

The general characteristics of the torpedo are now pretty well known. It is a highly scientific mechanism consisting of many intricate parts ingeniously assembled in a metal shell about twelve

to twenty feet long, twenty-one inches in diameter, weighing about one ton, and valued in this country at about \$6,000. In appearance a torpedo somewhat resembles a small, elongated auto-submarine. It has horizontal and vertical rudders which can be so adjusted, in conjunction with an automatic steering device, as to make the torpedo keep at a certain depth and either travel straight or in a curve. The torpedo is propelled by a screw driven by an automatic compressed air engine, capable of giving a speed as high as thirty-six knots. By the act of launching from the tube a starting lever is tripped, which causes the propelling mechanism to go ahead at full speed. The head of the torpedo carries a powerful bursting charge. The object of submarine tactics is to detonate this high explosive against the underwater body of the target ship.

To accomplish this object the submarine commander has to make preliminary observations through his periscope, estimate the course, speed, and distance of the enemy, manoeuvre his boat to a favorable position, make the necessary firing adjustments, aim the torpedo, and then launch it.

It is obvious that the closer the target the better the chances of scoring a hit. Torpedoes are rarely fired by submarines at greater ranges than one thousand yards because the percentage of hits at longer ranges is comparatively small. Glancing hits, moreover, are not often effective. When the target ship is end on, the torpedo, even when correctly aimed to hit, frequently glances off without exploding, (bow wave and wake currents assist this deflection), or if it does explode fails to do much damage. Torpedoes are so expensive, the supply is so limited, and the U-boats themselves are so precious that every effort is made to avoid risk of failure and destruction.

U-Boat's Method of Attack

It is thus seen that submarine tactics are not altogether simple. If the target ship is fast, steers zigzag courses, keeps a bright lookout, carries guns, and is also attended by escort ships specially

equipped for destroying submarines, the difficulties in the way of successful attack are considerably increased.

The problem facing the U-boat Captain may be summarized as follows:

Keeping in mind the importance of safeguarding his own ship and also the necessity of economizing in both fuel and torpedoes, he first studies the situation and if he is in a favorable position ahead of his quarry, he decides to attack. Assuming that the approaching vessel is armed, he submerges before there is likelihood of discovery. He then observes at more or less frequent intervals through his periscope, takes bearings of the approaching target ship, and estimates her course, distance, and speed. His purpose is to avoid discovery and at the same time to manoeuvre into a favorable position for launching at about one thousand yards' range a torpedo so aimed and adjusted as to strike the enemy ship at an angle of incidence to her fore and aft line greater than thirty degrees.

Critical Moment of Attack

There are, of course, any number of variations in the methods of making a submarine attack, but as an illustration, suppose a U-boat submerged and approaching from a bow bearing at a speed of six knots toward a target ship advancing at twelve knots. With fairly good glasses a periscope can be distinguished with reasonable certainty in comparatively smooth water by an alert lookout at 3,000 to 4,000 yards.

As the ship can probably escape by manoeuvring if the periscope is seen before the torpedo is fired, it follows that the critical time for both the attacker and the attacked is during the interval of approach from the range of 4,000 yards to the firing range of about 1,000 yards. This interval will last approximately from seven to ten minutes, depending upon the angle of approach and upon how accurately the submarine judges the course of the target ship. Beginning at 4,000 yards the submarine can be expected to show about one foot of periscope and observe for a period of about thirty seconds. After this four or five

successive observations will probably be taken at intervals of about one minute, the period of time that the periscope is exposed diminishing gradually to ten or twelve seconds.

Periscope Almost Under Water

In the meanwhile the submarine will have closed to about 2,000 yards, and from now on only a few inches of periscope will be exposed, but at more frequent intervals, about every thirty seconds, and the length of time the periscope is shown will decrease to from ten to five seconds.

At about one thousand yards the firing exposure will be made, and this will probably be for about twenty-five seconds in order to assure a well-aimed torpedo.

The above procedure is not absolute—some submarine commanders show more periscope in attacking and others less—but it may be taken as typical. This means that from the time the submarine can be seen to the time the torpedo is fired about ten minutes elapse, during which there are about fifteen exposures of the periscope for gradually diminishing periods of time, ranging from thirty seconds down to five seconds, except the last exposure for firing, which lasts about twenty-five seconds.

There has been some talk of a German invention designed to enable a submarine to make a successful approach and attack without showing any periscope. It is improbable that any such device is in general use at present.

Tactics Used Against U-Boats

Anti-submarine tactics comprise both methods to destroy enemy submarines and methods to evade their attack. Of course, the primary objective is to destroy the enemy ships, but, since it is easier for the larger vessels, transports, and merchantmen to evade the attack, every effort should be made by the transports and merchantmen to develop tactics of evasion while the fighting navy is developing tactics to destroy. Cordial understanding and co-operation, therefore, between the fighting navy and the merchant navy are of first impor-

tance in the successful development and practice of anti-submarine tactics.

The means within the ship of frustrating submarine attack are the lookout, the manoeuvre, and the gun.

An efficient lookout system is essential. A ship can usually avoid attack if the submarine or even the torpedo is sighted when still far enough away to permit a change of course before the torpedo can travel the intervening distance. Safety depends upon "seeing," and an alert lookout by gaining 200 or 300 yards in sighting a periscope may avert destruction. The need for a system of intensively trained and organized lookouts is too often neglected.

Zigzag tactics make attack difficult. Also a quick manoeuvre the instant a periscope or torpedo is sighted will often save the ship. Alert seamanship is, therefore, a main reliance of capital ships in avoiding submarine attack.

The gun is chiefly useful to compel a submarine to keep submerged. The presence of the gun is important to embarrass the attack; but to hit a periscope is difficult, and even if a lucky hit is scored no serious damage is done, as spare periscopes are carried by all U-boats.

Skilled Work of Destroyers

Tactics aiming to destroy the submarine can be best used by the destroyers and other small craft specially equipped for this work. Nets and other devices which have proved useful against the smaller type of submarine in comparatively restricted areas are not effective against the larger seagoing U-boats. Under-water weapons such as bombs and plunging shell are needed to attack an under-water enemy.

Plunging shell are somewhat similar in their operation to bombs. It may be supposed that such shell kept falling just short of a periscope by a well directed gunfire and fused to burst both on contact and at a certain depth make it very uncomfortable for an attacking submarine.

The seagoing destroyer appears to be the best type of anti-submarine craft so far developed. It combines abilities to scout, to escort, and to destroy.

Seagoing craft of all descriptions approaching the characteristics of the destroyers and capable of carrying guns and bombs are useful. Yachts, fast tugs, and other comparatively small vessels capable of keeping the sea and making reasonable speed can all do good work in the war zone.

Torpedo boats and the smaller submarine chasers and patrol boats, though not so useful as more seaworthy vessels, are still of value for operating nearer the shore. Mine sweepers also are needed.

Seaplanes, dirigibles, (Blimps,) and kite balloons make good scouts because of the large areas they can cover. Weather conditions are seldom such that submarines entirely submerged can be seen by aircraft, but this does not make the latter less valuable for detecting periscopes and submarines awash or on the surface. Also air craft mark the spot where a periscope is sighted and so assist destroyers and patrols in the effective use of their bombs.

Cruisers and converted cruisers are needed for distant convoy work, to carry seaplanes, to carry kite balloons, and also for various administrative and mother-ship duties.

An anti-submarine force, therefore, includes cruisers, converted cruisers, destroyers, submarines, torpedo boats, patrol craft, mine sweepers, sea planes, dirigibles, and kite balloons, all supplied in as large numbers as can be obtained.

Submarines Now More Wary

As has already been remarked, the details of new equipment and new methods employed in anti-submarine tactics cannot be made public. It is better to let the U-boats find these out at their own cost. But as they learn of the increasing number and variety of schemes used to destroy them they realize that the chances against them have increased. This in itself is a restraint, which makes the U-boats more wary and consequently less effective. At best there is not much comfort or security in a long submarine cruise. The prospect of dying like a rat

in a trap is not pleasant, whether because of accident, or shipwreck, or hostile attack. The strain of constant guard against the devices of an alert enemy must tell on even the strongest nerves. Any method or contrivance which increases the anxieties and difficulties of the U-boats is thus helpful in checking their activities, and may contribute in unexpected ways to their destruction.

The nature of the U-boat makes trickery conspicuous in German submarine tactics, and it is fitting that counter-tricks should prove effective against them. But, as plunging shell, bombs, and other suitable weapons are developed, it is probable that the allied navies will find simple and direct anti-submarine tactics best. History has shown that in the majority of naval campaigns direct methods usually triumph over those which rely upon deceit. It is not unreasonable to suppose that merchantmen of the near future may be so equipped as to make them auxiliary naval submarine hunters; and as tactics to destroy supplant tactics to evade, trade routes will gradually be cleared of this, literally speaking, snake of the sea.

The submarine menace is very real, and people are beginning to appreciate the facts and figures which show it to be the all-important problem of the war. But the United States Navy, if squarely ranged against this menace, will answer it. Anti-submarine tactics are being developed right along, and, while the U-boat as a lawless commerce destroyer was unforeseen and countermeasures consequently not prepared during previous years of peace, still to assume that it will not be successfully met is unjust to the navy, which is upholding traditions handed down from John Paul Jones, from Decatur, and from Farragut. It is safe to conjecture that as soon as Uncle Sam's seamen get fairly started on the work in hand they will prove more than a match for this German underwater navy which hides and strikes and runs away.

German Seamen's Defense of U-Boats

Reply of British Seamen

A NEW and significant chapter of war history has recently been written by the organized sailors of the belligerent countries, in the form of a report prepared by the German Seamen's Union with a view to justifying the U-boat warfare; and of an equally formal and much more scathing answer by the British seamen, who have suffered from that warfare. At the same time an international conference of merchant seamen met at London and voted for the withdrawal of all the sailors' unions of allied and neutral countries from the international union hitherto controlled by a Central Council in Germany.

The International Transport Workers' Federation has its Central Council in Berlin. Under date of March 8, 1917, this council sent a "German Report Upon the U-boat Warfare," along with a circular letter to the seamen's unions of neutral lands. The letter said in part:

The consequences of the German U-boat warfare for the neutral States, and particularly for their seafaring population, stand forth particularly prominently, and therefore all the more conspicuously. In consequence of impulses reaching the I. T. U.'s Central Council, either by direct or by indirect route, from America, England, and other lands, we regard it as necessary and as a duty to seek to describe the situation which the U-boat warfare has created above all for the seamen of the neutral lands. For this purpose we have encouraged the officers of the German Seamen's organization to give an objective account of the causes and the aims of the German U-boat warfare. This is now to hand.

The German Seamen's Report

Following is the full text of the report referred to above:

The question of the blame for the world war we will here leave on one side. This question would lead to a conscious taking of sides, which we desire to avoid in this context.

The causes of the war lie, according to the German view, mainly in the sphere of economics, and thereby both the intensity of this world war and its form as a war of economics and of trade are conditioned. It is also, moreover, these

economic causes of the war which have placed the war by sea in the foreground before all other events of the war.

At the commencement of the war Germany and the neutrals pinned their hopes upon the respecting by all parties of international and maritime rights as fixed at The Hague Convention and by the Declarations of Paris and London. If these had been correctly observed in the sea warfare, the seamen of all States would have seen their interests kept in view to such extent as was necessary.

England preferred to take up a one-sided standpoint which regarded only its own interests. It either interpreted all the rules for the sea war to its own advantage in a one-sided way, limited them in arbitrary fashion, or else discarded them altogether. It was nothing else than arbitrariness on the part of England when it subsequently tried to replace the international rights of sea warfare that they themselves had discarded by rules that served only their own interests.

England's bad example was followed by its allies. Their motto at the present day is: "No consideration for the German people, arbitrariness toward the neutrals, and egoism in the achievement of their own interests and aims."

The freedom of the seas was destroyed, Germany and its allies were cut off from contact with the world, and the possibilities of neutral navigation were greatly limited. England certainly had no unqualified command of the sea, but nevertheless did violence to international navigation. And protests from the neutral States, whether sharp or mild, were simply ignored by England and France whenever they found it good to do so. Every new German or neutral protest only stirred England to new arbitrary acts and to an intensification of its terrorizing measures.

The Reprisal Excuse

In this way Germany not only obtained the theoretic right, but was also practically compelled and obliged to adopt reprisals—i. e., to take preventive measures for its self-defense. Germany's intensification of the war by sea was caused by the aforesaid English actions.

When Germany, in face of this situation, resorted to U-boat warfare, this was because that was the most dangerous weapon that could be employed against England. From the technical point of view it was a novelty, behind which lay no practical experiences, and which, therefore, stood outside all international rul-

SMASHING WIRE ENTANGLEMENTS



The Effect of Trench Mortar Shells on Barbed Wire Entanglements, Which Are Cleared Out of the Way Before an Infantry Charge
(Canadian Official Photo from American Press Association)

FRENCH TRAIN RIDDLED BY BULLETS



A French Railway Train Which Has Come Under the Fire of Machine Guns, So Badly Damaged as to Be of No Further Use
(French Official Photo from Pictorial Press)

PICTURESQUE RIGA



The Church of Alexander III., One of the Most Interesting Pieces of Architecture in the City Now Occupied by the Germans

ings. No doubts can be entertained as to the legitimacy and justifiability of its employment.

Germany employs this sharp weapon because pressure always calls forth counterpressure. Meanwhile, even in its U-boat warfare, it has shown respect for human and humanitarian principles, not only as against the neutrals, but also as against its enemies. Isolated mistakes of German U-boat commanders have certainly increased the difficulties of neutral navigation, but Germany has acceded in every well-founded and just case to the claims for compensation put forward.

To all this England reacted merely by intensifying the war of starvation against German civil population, with a renewed provocation of neutral navigation, the freedom and independence of which it curtailed more and more, and the safety of which likewise became more and more threatened. Eloquent pieces of testimony to this are England's misuse of flags and the systematic arming of trading vessels intended to serve peaceful ends.

The unfavorable effects and hard consequences of the German U-boat warfare upon neutral navigation as well, can not, and ought not, to be contested; they are clear and evident, but must be put down to the account of England. England and its allies have pressed the neutral ships into their service, have induced neutral ships' Captains not to regard German rules of sea warfare and official warnings. In spite of this, Germany has shown comprehension for all neutral protests, and has been conciliatory in facilitating, as far as possible, the task of neutral navigation, so far as it did not carry contraband exclusively in the English interest or in the interest of England's allies, or so far as it was not serviceable to them in other ways.

Germany went yet further, and sought to bring the sea warfare, by the mediation of the United States, back to the international rules. England was to grant the freedom of the seas and to abandon its war of starvation against the civil population of Germany and its allies; in return, the U-boat warfare was to be restricted to its original purposes.

England did not merely refuse this generous German offer, but replied with new arbitrary acts, and took even sterner measures against the neutral States of Europe, in particular against Holland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

England's Starvation Policy

In conflict with all the principles of international right and humanity, England makes the greatest efforts, without distinction of sex and age, to drive the non-combatant German civil population into starvation, in order, in this way, indirect-

ly to bring Germany to her knees in a military sense. In this intention England does not shrink back from a starvation policy against the neutral peoples—a fact which emerges with clearness from its repeated limitations of imports and its continual confiscations of neutral cargoes. The seamen in the neutral lands ought, further, to remember what consequences this English arbitrariness and violence have invoked upon the neutral lands and their navigation.

In December, 1916, came the well-intentioned German offer of peace, the acceptance of which would have put an end to the U-boat warfare. At the command of England and on an English initiative the German peace offer was rejected harshly and without ceremony, and upon its rejection followed an intensified closing of the North Sea, which had as its final effect a blockade of a part of the Danish and Dutch coasts. To this were added a sharp English control of neutral shipping, a greater intensity in plunderings of the post on the English and French sides, increased seizures of neutral ships, refusal to supply bunker coal, &c. One provocation against Germany followed upon the other.

Germany was thus confronted with the problem: Is it possible to put a speedy end to England's unexampled conduct for the advantage of the German people, of their allies, and of the neutral lands? Germany answered this question in the affirmative by proclaiming, on Jan. 31, a rigorous U-boat warfare as the consequence of the eternal English challenges. Germany announced an intensification of the blockade of England and its allies by sea, but conceded, in spite of the widening of the blockade area, certain necessary exceptions for the neutrals, at the same time threatening to sink every vessel which, in spite of warnings, entered the blockade area. Once again pressure called forth pressure, severity was answered with severity, and extremes met; with this exception, that Germany benevolently showed consideration for the neutral States and their interests, a consideration unknown to and in no way adopted by England.

Germany's Purpose Explained

The purpose of the intensified German U-boat warfare is not to destroy wares of all kinds and to sink ships, in particular neutral ships; still less does it lie in the intention of the Germans to destroy neutral seamen's lives. The intention is rather to bring to a standstill all navigation to the ports of England and its allies; in other words, to cut off these lands entirely from all imports and exports by sea.

Against this England and its allies find prepared for them only the same fate. In an economic aspect, which England, from

the beginning of the war, was firmly determined to inflict upon millions of German citizens, old people, women and children, as well as, let it not be forgotten, the neutral peoples.

The task before us is to make this English blow, as brutal as it is inexcusable from an international point of view, recoil in its effects upon England itself, in order that in this way England may be made the readier for peace, and this not only in the German interest, but also in that of the neutrals.

The intensified U-boat warfare admits, in spite of all this, of a dangerless sea-traffic between the peoples of the Old and of the New World, and concedes further a similarly unhindered and dangerless traffic by sea between the Scandinavian lands and Germany.

What Germany now expects from the neutral maritime States is the following: They must fall in with Germany's published and extended closure of the seas against England and its allies, in the same degree as they hitherto respected the corresponding measures adopted by England or its allies. All that is required of them, accordingly, is to be fair.

Germany is waging this intensified U-boat warfare only as a measure of self-defense, above all, against England. England is now itself to feel the methods which it hitherto has applied with brutal ruthlessness to other peoples, also to such as now stand in a hostile or unfriendly relation to Germany.

The German U-boat warfare is intended to, and certainly will, shorten the war in general, i. e., will hasten to bring about the peace for which all peoples long. To that extent it serves also the interests of the neutral States. In any case, its chief aims demand an objective consideration, in particular from the workmen in the neutral lands. And these its chief aims ought also to be adopted to making it easier and more tolerable for seamen in the neutral lands to bear the temporary inconveniences that it carries with it.

Safety in Submission of Neutrals

A strict observance of the rules laid down by Germany for German U-boat warfare signifies the surest protection for neutral goods and human lives, and means the saving of neutral ships as cultural assets after the war, an object of the greatest interest, both to Germany and to the neutral lands.

England, in consequence of the U-boat warfare, oversteps all bounds in its terroristic measures against the navigation of the neutral lands with the aim of forcing them into the service of themselves and their allies. England wishes in this way to escape from the extended sea blockade at the cost of the neutrals, as well as from its economic consequences, and so to pro-

tect and spare its own ships at the cost of the mercantile navies of the neutrals. Such a policy is traditional with England.

Will and can the neutral navigation and the neutral shippers pay this tribute to England? Upon the answer, affirmative or negative, to this question depend the consequences of the intensified German U-boat warfare to the neutral shippers and the neutral seamen.

If this tribute is paid to England it may bring about material advantages to the shippers in the shape of larger profits. But it would expose neutral lives and property to extreme dangers and to certain destruction. A refusal of the tribute demanded by England might condemn the neutral shipping to a partial inactivity and occasion material losses to shippers and seamen, but would protect neutral lives and neutral property and render them safe for the future.

It is from this point of view that the navigation interests, and above all the seamen, ought to consider the question and to draw thence their conclusions as to the effect upon themselves.

For them the question is one of self-help for their own protection and self-preservation. The future will show whether the instinct of self-preservation, in particular among seamen, is stronger than England's powers of persuasion and its advocates of all kinds in the neutral lands.

The British Seamen's Reply

The following is the text of the "Reply of the Organized Seamen of the British Mercantile Marine to the account published by the German Seamen's Organization as to the Causes and the Aims of the German 'U' boat Warfare." It was prepared by Charles P. Hopkins and was made public in London on Aug. 20, 1917:

1. The German seamen, after significantly refusing to discuss the question of the blame for the commencement of the war, state that the causes of it lie, according to the German view, mainly in the sphere of economics.

With regard to this it may be observed that the event which led to the crisis from which this war proceeded was the wholly unjustifiable demand made by Austria, with Germany's connivance, upon Serbia by the presentation of the Austrian ultimatum, the acceptance of which was inconsistent with the continuance of Serbia as an independent power. It is possible that economic reasons may have prompted this step on the part of the Central Powers, but, whatever the reasons, they can hardly justify their action in deliberately bringing about a crisis which they knew and, to all appearances, hoped would result in a world war for which, as the mil-

itary events of the first few months showed, they had been so patiently and thoroughly preparing. Great Britain, on the other hand, can hardly be accused of entering the war for economic reasons, any more than her allies can. The British Government during the crisis before the declaration of war did all that was possible to avert war, or, failing that, to localize the conflict. Their efforts were vain, because good-will was absent on the side of the Central Powers.

Up to almost the last moment the British Government refused to pledge itself to come to the assistance of France, and it was only the violation of Belgium which finally turned the scale on the side of British participation—a violation by Germany of a treaty which she was pledged to observe. Even the Germans recognized the wrong they did in Belgium at the outbreak of war, although they have since tried to explain it away. It should not be forgotten that the German Chancellor, speaking in the Reichstag on Aug. 4, 1914, stated, in referring to the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg: "The wrong—I speak openly—the wrong we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained."

2. The German seamen maintain that Germany pinned her hopes at the commencement of the war upon the respect by all parties of international and maritime rights.

What are the facts? At the very commencement of the war the Germans engaged in the indiscriminate laying of mines upon trade routes in defiance of all the rules of international law, and to the common danger of neutrals as well as belligerents. This disregard by Germany not only of international law at sea, but of the elementary dictates of humanity, has been constantly maintained throughout the war both on land and at sea. It will suffice to mention such incidents as the sacking of Louvain and the torpedoing of the Lusitania and many other passenger ships; the poisoning of wells; the forced deportations from Belgium; the shooting of Miss Cavell and Captain Fryatt; the torpedoing of hospital ships, and the numerous cases in which the U-boat commanders have deliberately fired upon the crews of merchant ships after they had taken to the boats.

Reprisal Claim Refuted

3. But the chief point made by the German seamen is that the submarine warfare is justified as a measure of reprisal against the British blockade of Germany.

The Germans maintain that it is illegal to cut off the food supplies of an enemy country.

This is a curious contention, because one of the avowed objects of the submarine blockade when it was first started was that it was to cut off all supplies from this country. Moreover, did not the Germans in the war of 1870 starve the City of Paris, both the civilian population as well as the garrison? Further, German statesmen themselves have on various occasions laid down the principle that to stop the food supply of the civil population is as natural and legitimate a method of bringing pressure to bear on an enemy country as it is upon the defenses of a besieged town. This view is upheld on the authority of both Prince Bismarck and Count Caprivi.

It is thus quite evident that the British blockade is neither contrary to international law nor to the views held by German statesmen; but, quite apart from this, it is quite impossible for the Germans to justify submarine warfare as a measure of reprisal against Great Britain for the simple fact that submarine warfare was instituted before the passing of the Order in Council of March 11, 1915, which instituted the blockade.

The following list of incidents in chronological order should suffice to dispose of this plea:

September, 1914.—The Dutch vessel *Maria*, from California to Dublin and Belfast, with grain for the civil population, was sunk by the German cruiser *Karlsruhe*.

Oct. 26, 1914.—The Admiral Gantéaume, with 2,000 unarmed refugees, sunk by a German submarine.

December, 1914.—Admiral Tirpitz foreshadowed the adoption of the submarine campaign.

Jan. 27, 1915.—The American ship *William B. Frye*, with wheat from Seattle to Queenstown, was sunk by the German auxiliary cruiser *Kronprinz Wilhelm*.

Feb. 4, 1915.—The declaration by the German Government of their intention to institute a general submarine blockade of Great Britain and Ireland with the avowed purpose of cutting off all supplies from those islands. This blockade was put into effect officially on Feb. 18, 1915, although, as a matter of fact, a merchant ship had been sunk by a German submarine at the end of January.

It was not until March 11, 1915, that the present measures against German trade were put in force by Great Britain.

Before the enforcement of those measures, it will thus be seen the Germans had destroyed cargoes of foodstuffs coming to the civilian population of this country; had declared their intention of instituting a system of submarine outrage, and had actually submarined merchant vessels without warning. And yet they now try to justify their submarine blockade as a measure of reprisal!

An Insincere Excuse

4. The German seamen seek to make out a case that the intensified submarine warfare was brought about owing to the refusal of the Allies to accept the German so-called peace proposals at the end of 1916, and that it was only when those proposals had been taken at their proper value by the Allies as an unnecessary attempt to place the blame of the war on the Entente Powers that Germany reluctantly instituted unrestricted submarine warfare.

It is sufficient, in answer to this, to refer to what the German Chancellor said in the Reichstag when announcing the adoption of unrestricted submarine warfare. He said that as soon as he himself, in agreement with the Supreme Army Command, reached the conviction that ruthless U-boat warfare would bring Germany nearer to victorious peace, then the unrestricted U-boat warfare would be started. He continued as follows:

"This moment has now arrived. Last Autumn the time was not yet ripe; but today the moment has come when, with the greatest prospect of success, we can undertake this enterprise. We must therefore not wait any longer. Where has there been a change? In the first place, the most important fact of all is that the number of our submarines has very considerably increased as compared with last Spring, and thereby a firm basis has been created for success."

Does this not prove conclusively that it was not any scruple or any respect for international law or neutral rights that prevented unrestricted submarine warfare from being adopted earlier, but merely the lack of means to carry it out?

Another reason given by the Germans to justify unrestricted U-boat warfare is that Great Britain refused to grant Germany the "freedom of the seas." Apparently the German idea of warfare is that Germany should be free to exercise to the full her land-power, but that the Allies should not be free to exercise their sea-power, which they have always used with humanity and respect for neutrals, in striking distinction to German methods.

Finally, the German seamen claim that they have been more considerate to neutrals than the Allies, that they have placed fewer hindrances in the way of neutral trade, and that all they desire is that neutrals will be fair to them and will respect their measures equally with the British measures. To this it may be asked how many neutral lives have the Germans sacrificed at sea, and how many have the Allies? The answer to the first question shows an appalling disregard of innocent neutral lives on the part of the Germans, whereas, so far as is known, no neutral

has lost his life at sea owing to the armed forces of the allied Governments.

Treatment of Neutrals at Sea

With regard to the restrictions on neutral trade all that Great Britain has asked is that neutral countries do not serve as bases of supply to the enemy, a request at once natural and in accordance with the spirit of international law. Neutral countries have received freely the supplies necessary for their home consumption. It is true that neutral ships as the price of receiving British coal have been required to comply with certain conditions laid down by the British Government; but as the coal in question is British property and there is no obligation at all on Great Britain to supply this commodity, of which she herself and her allies stand in great need, it is clear that she is rightly entitled to demand some service from the people to whom she supplies this product.

The Germans, on the other hand, have placed a restriction on neutral trade, which is wholly unjustifiable, by proclaiming a danger zone, in which all ships are sunk at sight, whether trading with an enemy country or engaged in purely neutral trade. For instance, a ship like the *Bloemersdyke*, a neutral ship carrying a neutral cargo to a neutral country, was sunk by the Germans, as well as many vessels carrying relief for Belgium, which they have destroyed in defiance of all their pledges. There is this great difference between the German danger zone and the British blockade: The latter is a justifiable use of sea power, gained by the command of the sea, and is carried out with due respect for neutral lives and neutral property. Neutrals are at liberty to contest the action taken in the prize court. The German measure, on the other hand, is the mere arbitrary declaration of a danger zone over an extent of sea where they have no real control, but is merely a zone in which they say that indiscriminate murder by submarines is permissible. There is no respect for neutral lives or for neutral property. In fact, the Germans hope, by a system of barefaced murder, to force neutral shipping to abandon the traffic which German sea power, exercised in a legitimate manner, is powerless to prevent. The Germans may seek to justify their policy, but the judgment of the world has already been formed, and nation after nation joins the ranks of Germany's opponents, to fight side by side with the free peoples of the earth against the military despotism which is the avowed enemy of democracy and freedom.

Drastic Action by Seamen

An international conference of seamen and firemen of allied and neutral coun-

tries met in London in August to consider the crimes committed by commanders and crews of U-boats. Havelock Wilson presided. In the session of Aug. 18, 1917, the conference passed resolutions demanding reparation and recommending withdrawal of the various national seamen's unions from the International Transport Workers' Federation and the formation of a new organization by sailors of allied and neutral nations. Delegates were present from France, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Australia, and other countries. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

That this international conference composed of all sections of seafarers employed in merchant ships of allied and neutral nations hereby expresses our sense of horror and indignation at the brutal crimes perpetrated by the commanders and crews of submarines belonging to the Central Powers, of suffering entailed not so much on ourselves as on our wives and children, and we hereby pledge ourselves to support any action calculated to put an end to the present measures adopted by the commanders and crews of those submarines.

The French delegate moved a resolution declaring "that reparation must be made by the Austro-Germans for their inhuman conduct of submarine warfare, and until such reparation be made the seafarers represented at this conference declare that they will hold the Austro-German seafarers equally responsible with the authorities for such conduct, and reserve to themselves the right to take such action on the conclusion of the war as may be deemed best to enforce the views expressed in the resolution." The Scandinavian delegate seconded, and the resolution was unanimously adopted. There was also passed unanimously a resolution put by the Scandinavian representatives that "all delegates present recommend to their organizations to withdraw from the International Workers' Federation, and that an International Federation Executive be elected by those representing the seafarers' unions belonging to allied and neutral countries."

Mr. Moore of the Imperial Merchant Service Guild then moved a resolution that "this International Conference pledges itself that, unless the present

"methods of Austro-German submarine warfare do cease, we will refuse in the future to sail in any ships carrying seamen of the Central Powers." This was carried with cheers.

Firing on Lifeboats

The conference also drew up the following list of authenticated cases in which enemy submarines fired upon helpless men in small boats after they had left their ships:

- (1) Kildare, British steamship. Sunk by submarine April 12, 1917. While boats were pulling clear of ship shells came over them and then a submarine was seen on the surface. She fired from ten to fifteen shells at the boats, killing an A.B.
- (2) John W. Pearn, British steamship. Sunk by submarine May 1, 1917. Submarine fired two shots at boat which was pulling away.
- (3) Vulcana, British steamship. Sunk by submarine March 7, 1917. After boat had been got out, she capsized in the heavy swell running, and had to be righted. Firing was continued by the submarine until boat was clear.
- (4) Belgian Price, British steamship. Sunk by submarine July 31, 1917. Lifeboats not fired on, but broken up and survivors thrown into the sea after being placed on outside of submarine, which submerged, leaving them to their fate, after also depriving them of lifebelts.
- (5) Westminster, British steamship. Sunk by submarine Dec. 14, 1916. Survivors took to boats and were shelled by submarine, Captain and chief officer being killed.
- (6) Eavestone, British steamship. Sunk by submarine Feb. 3, 1917. Submarine turned her gun on boats, firing three shrapnel shells and striking both boats. Third shell killed master, steward, donkeyman, and two A.B.'s; severely wounded second officer.
- (7) Addah, British steamship. Sunk by submarine June 15, 1917. Submarine opened fire on master's boat, killing eight men, and after boat had been sunk and men were swimming in the water submarine shelled them with shrapnel.
- (8) Umaria, British steamship. Sunk by submarine May 26, 1917. Submarine fired on boat, injuring all occupants.
- (9) Vanland, Swedish steamship. Attacked by submarine July 23, 1917. As lifeboat was making for shore, submarine continued to fire on master and crew with machine gun, wounding the second mate.

- (10) Baltic, Swedish steamship. Sunk by submarine June 27, 1917. Boats fired on for about an hour after crew abandoned ship.
- (11) Freden, Danish steamship. Sunk by submarine May 22, 1917. Lifeboat damaged, and several of crew wounded

- while trying to mend it; one Frenchman killed, others severely wounded.
- (12) Hestia, Dutch steamship. Sunk by submarine March 30, 1917. One boat fired on by submarine and sunk, six Dutchmen and seven Chinamen being killed.

Fighting Hostile Submarines

Sketch of the Methods Used by the French and Italian Navies in the Mediterranean

Pierre Mille, a staff correspondent of the Paris Temps, recently made an extended visit to the French fleet. On his return he wrote the article which is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

NAVIGATION on the surface has two enemies—the mine and the submarine. There are several types of mines, differing in diameter, priming, and explosives. But in general every mine consists of three parts: the mine itself, which should explode at first contact with an object that strikes it; the weight that anchors it at a certain spot and keeps it from drifting, and the cable that connects the anchor and the mine, maintaining it in a position about ten feet below the surface. The use of mines that are not fixed to the bottom is forbidden by The Hague Convention, but that has not hindered the Germans from using them.

Every day new mines are discovered, evidently set in place a short time before. They have been sown either by neutral fishing vessels owned by the enemy or by enemy ships disguised as neutrals; or, again, by special submarines built for that purpose. These submarines lay mines along the coast as a fish lays eggs—happily in smaller numbers. The mine is even more destructive than the torpedo. One has been known to cut a ship in two—even a warship—as if it had been done with a pair of shears.

A mine-laying submarine has no torpedoes, but nothing hinders it from having guns. Besides, we are only at the beginning, perhaps only the early dawn, of the use of submarines. At present only great surface vessels are capable of assuring mastery of the high seas; the proof is that we are holding that

mastery. But it is almost certain that in the future the submarine will be so perfected that even the armored cruisers will be forced to descend and operate under the water. * * * But that is the future; the Germans began the war ten years too soon. In spite of all their efforts, and of an energetic will to succeed, they cannot, in the midst of war, lacking time and materials, bring about this great revolution. For the present submarine navigation is full of difficulties, which prevent the new weapon from producing its maximum effect.

Fuel for Thirty Days

It is not impossible that enemy under-seas craft in the Mediterranean have been able at times to get supplies of fuel oil on the coasts of certain neutrals or on certain islands, but they have no imperative need to do so. They carry enough to run thirty days, and they need only to go from a German port to Pola or Cattaro in order to find what they need without asking a favor of anybody, leaving those ports then to "work" regularly in the Mediterranean, and remaining at sea for a month without need of new supplies. The real service that unscrupulous neutrals can render them is to furnish information as to the routes taken by ships they wish to sink and to furnish them with fresh vegetables and meats.

The question of fresh food is very important, in fact, for the submarine crews, whose work is hard and exhausting. Life

on board the underseas craft of the Entente is still more difficult than that on the German submersibles. The reason is simple. Our submarines have only one task—to sink U-boats; they have no surface vessels to sink. They are obliged, therefore, in this hunt to operate almost entirely under water. This produces an incessant nerve tension for our crews and makes it practically impossible for them to eat anything but preserved foods. They have, indeed, a little electric stove for cooking, but it is seldom used, because it consumes electricity. On the contrary, when an enemy submarine has struck its blow it can retire—the ocean is large. It comes to the surface, like the porpoises and turtles; it sleeps, it rests. And the men do their cooking on deck with kerosene, or even with coal. With coal! One can scarcely imagine such luxury.

Three Kinds of Peril

Except for this advantage, the enemy submarine is in no better position than ours. Like the flying fishes—though it cannot fly—it has to fear attack on the surface, under water, and in the air above. On the surface its enemy is the torpedo boat; beneath, it is the net and the submarine. It may even chance to hit a mine—sometimes a mine laid by its friends—which destroys it just the same. Above, its enemy is the seaplane, a voracious hawk. When the submarine comes to the surface it never knows what may fall upon its head.

"My dear fellow," I heard the commander of one of our submarines say to a friend at dinner, "I came to the surface, and what do you think I saw? An Austrian seaplane 300 yards above my nose!"

"And then?"

"Then I bent my back to receive the hailstorm. Well, the enemy did not see me, or perhaps he was as much disconcerted as I. * * * I had time to dive, but it was a close call!"

Enemy submarines are no better off amid these perils than are our own. That is why, if we had enough submarines, patrol boats, convoy ships, hydroaeroplanes, life would become almost absolutely impossible for the German and

Austrian U-boats. From now on their existence will be painful. They must have perfectly trained crews and particularly energetic and intelligent commanders. It should be noted that the enemy's successful submarine attacks are almost always by the same units, the same commanders.

How Mines Are Destroyed

The boats that destroy mines are trawlers—ordinary patrol trawlers, or net layers, and dredge trawlers. The former are content to discover the mines and report their whereabouts. The dredge trawlers tow a sort of giant shears, which cut the buoy ropes of the mines and bring them to the surface, where they are made to explode.

This is not the only work of the trawlers. They not only lay the steel nets, but also watch them. They are sentinels, scouts, hunters of submarines and mines. Officers of the navy and of merchantmen, with our coastwise fishermen, take part in this constant patrol work. Nowhere will you see finer men or more accomplished sailors. Perpetual heroism, stubborn and weatherbeaten, reigns on those cockleshell craft. During the eight months of the stormy season the men can seldom do any cooking on board: the high waves sweep the deck from stem to stern and extinguish the fires. The men then eat canned foods, as do those on the submarines.

On the torpedo boats, the destroyers, and the pleasure yachts requisitioned for war service the hardships are much the same, the work is as constant and hard, and the patience is of the same heroic sort. These vessels never rest. It is their thankless and dangerous task to pursue submarines, fight them, and convoy merchant ships. Convoying is only a last resort: if there were enough torpedo boats the patrols would suffice to purge the sea of the submarine peril. But there are not yet enough of these vessels—there never will be enough. All efforts ought now to be concentrated upon the building of light fighting ships, as hitherto they have been concentrated on the manufacture of heavy artillery.

I have not, however, completed the enumeration of the means of defense.

There is the drifter, the trawler that drags a net behind it, fishing for submarines as they used to fish for mackerel. For months and months it drifts with the winds and currents, scouring the sea, its net always in the water, never stopping, almost never going into port. Its crews are Frenchmen, mostly Bretons; and with them, too, are English fishermen from the North Sea and rough and fearless sailors recruited from waters as far away as the Pacific. Each crew of nine men is composed, as nearly as possible, of a single family—father, sons, uncles, and nephews. But it may happen that the father is placed under the orders of the son; it is a question of professional aptitude.

The monotony of their quest, which may be fruitless for months on end, dulls the brains of these men separated as

they are from the rest of the world; their eyes take on a look of emptiness or of wildness; they have half forgotten the use of language, and sometimes, as if drunk with solitude and hypnotized with mirages, they conjure up strange visions and find diversion in them. But it also happens sometimes that their sombre and silent watch is rewarded: they have at various times had the fierce joy of feeling a submarine shudder in their net. In that case they drop an enormous bomb through the water upon their prey, a bomb capable of tearing the hull to pieces even if it explodes sixty yards away. The danger to themselves is almost as great as to the submarine. It often means their own shipwreck. If they escape, in proud silence they hoist to the maintop the death's-head flag of the old buccaneers.

The Guns of Flanders

By A. W. K., London

Boom! Boom!
 Can't you sense it? Can't you feel it? Can't you hear it?
 'Tis the drumming of the guns,
 Boom! B'room!
 Don't you hear it? Can you bear it? Don't you fear it?
 'Tis the thudding of the guns.
 Patient, peevish, laughing, weeping,
 Scheming, dreaming, waking, sleeping;
 Youth and age; flippant, sage;
 Guilty, just; none but must
 Feel the hum come
 When our sons' guns
 Give tongue and dun the Hun runs.
 Ah! the guns!

Crack! Whup!
 Did you speak us? Do you teach us or beseech us?
 We're the guns, the Flanders guns.
 Crash! Crump!
 Do you ask us of our task, us in our mask, us
 Demon guns, hounders of Huns?
 You sit and moon. We'll fume and boom.
 We'll croon the tune of hell-hounds' doom.
 Point and bark! Recoil and hark!
 On the mark! Stiff and stark
 Are the Huns' sons
 When our gun tongues
 Dun doom upon the Hun runs.
 Oh! we're guns!

The Third Year of the Blockade

Review by a British Expert

Archibald Hurd, The London Telegraph's noted naval writer, is the author of the following survey of blockade activities and submarine warfare of the year ended Aug. 4, 1917:

THE military blockade has been supplemented by the commercial blockade since March 11, 1915. During the past year, owing to the entrance of the United States into the war, with the support of practically all the other countries on the American Continent, the blockade has been rendered complete. In an economic sense Germany is now passing into a comatose condition. For over three years she has obtained only exiguous supplies overseas, either directly or through neighboring countries. Now that traffic is being stopped. Three years ago the blockade operated on two lines—the Dover-Calais line to the south and the Scotland-Iceland line to the north, with a branch toward Norway. The work of the naval patrols was supplemented by a number of ingenious compacts concluded by the Foreign Office with Denmark, Norway, and Holland, on the one hand, and American traders on the other. The constriction by these means was being tightened without antagonizing American or other interests when the United States abandoned her neutrality.

Now the area of blockade has been extended; its furthest limit is to be traced in the ports of the American Continent, where ships and cargoes are scrutinized and, in order that it may be made more effective, a severe rationing system is being imposed upon those nations which have the misfortune to be Germany's neighbors.

Submarine piracy brings Germany no relief from the pressure of the blockade; it hastens rather the process of economic exhaustion and weakens her military effort, for she has only a certain amount of labor and material to employ on land or sea. This development on the part of Germany was not foreseen by the

naval authorities of this country or any other country. In the first place, reliance was put on the dictates of humanity and the law of nations; in the second place, the sea going capacity and military value of the submarine were underestimated. Germany has utilized the submarine because it is the only type of man-of-war which she can trust outside her mine-protected areas, except at increasing risk. When the campaign opened, a large number of submarines had been constructed and manned; they were suddenly released on the trade routes in the confident expectation that they would produce a coup, sinking so many merchant ships that within a few weeks this country, humiliated and terrified, would seek for peace; Germany knew that without uninterrupted sea communications the armies overseas could not be supported and the civil population of these islands and of the Allies could not fight. We now have the Admiralty's figures for five complete months:

Record for—	Sunk by Mine or Submarine.		Total Sunk.	Unsuccess- Total fully At- tacked. tacked.	
	1,600 Tons Under Gross 1,600 Tons or Over.	Gross.		Attacked.	tacked.
March	65	27	92	59	151
Weekly aver..	16.25	6.75	23.0	14.75	37.75
April	132	52	184	101	285
Weekly aver..	26.2	10.4	36.8	20.2	57.0
May	89	41	130	94	224
Weekly aver..	17.8	8.2	26.0	18.8	44.8
June	85	24	109	90	199
Weekly aver..	21.25	6.0	27.25	22.5	49.75
July	65	13	78	48	126
Weekly aver..	13.25	3.25	19.5	12.0	31.5
Weekly average for 5 months.	19.8	7.1	26.9	17.8	44.7

There are elements in this examination of the Admiralty returns of the last five months which must be discouraging to the Germans and encouraging to us. The basis upon which the campaign was undertaken was that it would offer to Germany the absolute assurance of an early peace in accordance with her wishes—in short, save her from another Winter of warfare. Preparations for the campaign had been made over a period of two years. The engine-making and ship-

building resources of Germany had been concentrated on the construction of submarines, and a large training school had been established for officers and men. According to official statements made in Berlin, arrangements had been made for sending to sea an increasing number of submarines from February onward. By the Summer the campaign was to reach its maximum, and Germany was to reap immediate advantage from the operations of increased numbers of submarines acting during the long Summer days when visibility is good.

What has happened? It is impossible to draw elaborate and detailed conclusions from the Admiralty figures. In the first place we are presented with a statement of the number of "targets"—that is, ships of all nationalities entering or leaving British ports. On the other hand, we learn only the number of British vessels sunk by submarines or mines, and to this is appended a statement of the number of British vessels unsuccessfully attacked by the means of submarines alone, since it is impossible, of course, to tabulate the number of ships which do not strike mines, for that would reduce the return to an absurdity. But certain definite conclusions are revealed by the analysis which has been made above.

The average weekly sinkings, which amounted to as much as 36.8 in April, have since fallen to 19.5—a reduction by nearly a half. At the same time, the number of vessels attacked unsuccessfully has dropped from 20.2 to 12 in July, again furnishing satisfactory evidence of the failure of the enemy submarines. Whether that be due to the increased arming of British merchant ships, to the growing efficiency of the British offensive measures, or to the inability of the Germans to maintain as many submarines at sea as was the case in April—owing to losses or other causes—it is impossible to say. The only conclusion to be formed is that owing to one or other of these causes, or all the causes in combination, the losses of ships by mine and submarine are about half what they were in April, and that there has been an appreciable decline in the number of merchantmen attacked.

Let the position be clearly understood. On the one hand, the race between the two blockades has not been decided in favor of the submarine, and it is established beyond question that, even though the depredations continue on the average of the last five months, a long period must elapse before this country would be forced to succumb, even though in the meantime little success attended improved efforts to combat the submarine and make good the losses of merchant shipping. Can Germany hold out? Even if our losses continue at the present rate to the end of the year, they will not be decisive.

But the continuance of those losses must prove a grave embarrassment and a source of weakness, because the number of ships remaining at our disposal is limited, and there are about 40,000,000 people to be fed and supplied with raw materials for work, apart from the needs of the navy and army, which under the conditions of war are stupendous, representing millions of tons annually of sea transport, and the demands of our allies for shipping are large. Our naval and military operations make an irresistible prior claim on tonnage, and consequently every ship which is sunk involves a reduction in the carrying power at the disposal of the civilian population. That is the position.

In a normal year we turn out, in addition to men-of-war, nearly 2,000,000 tons of merchant shipping. Under war conditions we can, if labor and material are supplied, increase that output by 50 or 100 per cent. Everything depends upon our putting into the shipbuilding campaign all the energy at our command, irrespective of all other claims, not excluding those of the army. Without adequate supplies of merchant shipping neither the army nor the navy can maintain the struggle, and the nation must be undone.

The naval year has been marked by no naval battle, and few incidents which will find a place in the history of this world war. Destroyers have made "tip and run" raids to the coast in the darkness from time to time; on one occasion they broke through into the Channel, but failed to interrupt the army's communi-

cations. No single one of those incidents was of the slightest military importance, though, unfortunately, loss of life resulted.

The fourth year of naval war opens with the British fleet commanding the seas with a success which was never anticipated in the years before the war. It is on the offensive every day and all the day, as well as by night, as the Germans have learned to their cost. Our vast naval engine somewhat resembles a fan. In August of 1914, we hardly realized its size and its strength as it lay hidden, far more completely than today, behind the fog of war. With the progress of hostilities it has been spread out, until today it covers the oceans of the world. There is no sea in which a British squadron is not on service; vast auxiliary forces numbering not far short of 3,000 keels, have come into existence, each vessel deftly fitting into the general scheme.

The fan has gradually been opened

out. The base, on which the effective strength of the outspreading stems depends, consists of the grand fleet, with its battleships, its battle cruisers, its light cruisers, its destroyers, its submarines, and its great assembly of auxiliary craft. The outer squadrons on duty in the English Channel and Atlantic, in the White Sea and the Bay of Biscay, off Gibraltar and in the Mediterranean, in the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf, off the Cape of Good Hope and the east Coast of Africa, in the East Indies, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, constitute the stems of the naval fan, the intervals between which are filled in with destroyers, patrol vessels, monitors, mine sweepers, and other complementary craft. There has never been an organization comparable to that which today supports our every war effort. Its virtue lies, not in the ships of steel or wood, but in the men. A third year of war has tested the scamen of our age as the seamen of the last great war were never tested.

Submarine Sinkings in Eight Months

Total Ship Tonnage of 4,561,000 Sunk Since the Beginning of Germany's Intensified U-Boat Campaign

By Charles H. Grasty

War Correspondent of The New York Times
[Copyrighted]

London, Sept. 9, 1917.

FOLLOWING, in terms of tonnage, are the monthly sinkings by German submarines from January to August, inclusive, the figures being for the Allies and neutrals in the aggregate, but not including raider losses and ships damaged or beached but not sunk. The weekly averages are given for purposes of comparison:

Month.	Total Tonnage.	Sunk Weekly.
January (four weeks).....	333,000	83,000
February (four weeks)....	479,000	120,000
March (five weeks).....	600,000	120,000
April (four weeks)	788,000	197,000
May (four weeks).....	549,000	137,000
June (five weeks).....	758,000	152,000
July (four weeks).....	463,000	116,000
August (five weeks).....	591,000	118,000
Total.....	4,561,000	.....

Against the loss of about four and a half million tons in eight months new construction is estimated at less than a million tons, leaving the net loss to allied and neutral shipping at about three and a half million tons. The loss to American shipping is said to have been less than one-half of 1 per cent.

While the decline in the shipping loss in July and August was substantial, it cannot be regarded as satisfactory, and the situation continues to call for the kind of activity demanded by a great emergency. America's opportunity for service lies more immediately and urgently in the direction of putting down the submarine menace than even in sending soldiers to France, all-important as that is. In fact, these two matters are inseparably connected.

As submarine attack and defense are reduced to a business, a good deal of mystery surrounding the war under water is clearing up and commonplace facts are becoming known. The popular mind pictures the waters off the British coast as swarming with submarines. It is a matter of general knowledge in naval circles now that the number of German submarines in the Atlantic Ocean never exceeds twenty and that the number operating in the North Atlantic off the British coast does not exceed ten. These figures do not include submarines engaged exclusively in mine laying.

It is estimated in the best British naval circles that Germany has not built as many as 300 submarines altogether, and that about 150 of all conditions are in existence today.

The U-boat is of very delicate mechanism and needs frequent repairing, which, in the main, explains the small number operating in the Atlantic and elsewhere. Most of the boats are being repaired or replenished constantly and out of commission.

Still another reason is the difficulty in getting crews and keeping them going. The work is so hard and the dangers are so constant that officers and crews peter out. After a few months the men lose their appetite and cannot sleep.

The internal arrangements of a submarine are such as to make life on one of them extremely trying. Plumbing fixtures, kitchens, and eating facilities are jumbled together, and ventilation is necessarily bad. It is very difficult to maintain whole crews in service.

Another difficulty, and one constantly increasing, is the shortage of material for torpedoes. Wild shots are much more frequent than formerly.

The multiplication of destroyers has greatly increased the nerve-racking character of submarine duty. U-boat navigators are deathly afraid of the destroyers, with their speed, guns, and depth bombs. The presence of destroyers and other patrol boats in force in the English Channel explains the immunity of transports which have carried millions of soldiers back and forth

between France and England without serious loss.

Cannot Raid in Fleets

Another submarine weakness which impedes operation and shakes the nerves of U-boat men is the blindness of their craft. When submerged they cannot see, and there have been many collisions. For this reason they cannot operate in companies, which furnishes still another explanation of the small number utilized.

As is well known, the submarine, when submerged, must keep in motion, as it cannot otherwise maintain its equilibrium. When it stops it is liable to "up-end."

It is clear, therefore, that the submarine campaign, as it now stands, is one depending upon hysterical courage. Germany lashed herself into a spasm-like fury in the early months of last Winter, and the peak of her effort was reached in April, when the sinkings aggregated about 200,000 tons a week. In order to accomplish this extraordinary result extraordinary means were used which it was impossible to sustain in subsequent months. The comparatively low figures of July and August represent, to some extent, the reaction from the high pitch of energy in April.

There is much gratified comment here on the action of Washington in placing increased orders for the construction of destroyers, and the period subsequent to Jan. 1, 1918, is looked forward to confidently. The next four months are necessarily to be a time of anxiety, and America is relied upon fully to employ her superb energy and resourcefulness in protecting allied interests during that dangerous period.

The principle of the convoy system has been soundly established by the experience of the last few months. Naval authorities hold that it is clear that shipping can be protected by escorting vessels. It is only a matter of having enough cruisers and destroyers. With an adequate number of these vessels the destruction of shipping can be reduced to the point of new construction, and whenever that is done Germany will bite the dust.

Ambassador Page's Plymouth Address

An Eloquent Statement of War Aims and Mutual Relations of Britain and America

Walter Hines Page, the United States Ambassador to Great Britain, delivered a speech at Plymouth, England, on Aug. 4, 1917, which moved the great gathering in the Guildhall to enthusiasm and was later printed in full in the London papers. The most striking portions are here presented as worthy of permanent record.

I AM glad to stand in this town and at the beginning of this new era in the life of our race to pledge the unwavering fellowship of free men across the sea—the sea that once separated us, but that now unites us. I pay homage here to the immortal memory of those sturdy men who sailed from this harbor nearly three hundred years ago and carried to the making of our New World that love of freedom which now impels us to come to the defense of the imperiled freedom of the world. The idealism of the Republic rests on their unconquerable spirit, which we keep yet, thank God, when a high duty calls us. In memory of them, and in the comradeship of this righteous war, whose awful shadow will darken the world till we win it, I greet you as kinsmen.

We are met on the most tragic anniversary in history. It is not a day to celebrate for its own sake. What we shall be glad to celebrate will be the day of victory and its anniversary ever afterward. But, before we achieve victory, it is fit that we meet on this dire anniversary to fortify our purpose, if it need fortifying, and to pledge ourselves that the brave men who have died shall not have died in vain and to reassert our purpose to finish the task, even if it exhaust the vast resources and take all the valiant lives of the Allies in Europe and of the Republic across the sea. For what would the future of the human race be worth if the deliberate and calculated barbarism of our enemies overrun the earth? The supreme gift of free government, which this brave island gave to the world, and to which all free lands chiefly owe their freedom, would be swept away. Let the darkness of death overtake us now rather than that the

darkness of tyranny should sweep over the whole world of free men.

No American can come to Plymouth without thinking of the going of the English from these shores to the new land, where they set up a new freedom and laid the foundations of the most prosperous and hopeful community on the earth. In the course of time those New World communities fell apart from political allegiance to the old land. But they fell apart from the old land only in political allegiance. If we had need to discuss this political divergence, I should maintain that political separation was as well for you as it was necessary for us, and that by reason of it human freedom has been further advanced and a new chapter in free men's growth opened throughout the English-speaking world.

Race Which Endured

The American Revolution was a civil war fought on each side by men of the same race. And this civil war was fought in the Colonial Assemblies and in Parliament as well as on the battlefields in America, and it was won in the Colonial Assemblies and in Parliament as well as on the battlefields in America, for from that day on you have regarded colonies as free and equal communities with the mother country. This civil war naturally left a trail of distrust, the greater because of the long distance between us by sail. But, when the first steamship came over the ocean, and still more when the cable bound us together, a new union began to come about. But in the meantime the American community had developed in its own way, and we had become so fixed and different in our conventions and ways of life that we could not easily come back to your

conventions and ways of life if we would. In fact, there is no other test that the British people have had—no test that any people has ever had—which proved its great qualities so well as the British settlement and management of America. Here were men in a new land, cut off from close contact with their kinsmen at home, who took their political affairs in their own management, and thereafter were without guidance or support from their more numerous kinsmen left behind.

How did the race stand such a test? No other migrating race has stood such a test so well; and those first English colonists have now grown, by natural increase and by numerous adoptions, into a people which today include more English-speaking white men than the whole British Empire. They have not only outgrown in numbers all the British elsewhere, but they have kept what may be called the faith of the race. They have kept the racial and national characteristics. They have kept British law, British freedom, British Parliaments, British character.

I am not boasting of my own land; I am only reciting how your race has endured and survived separation from you and your land. Our foundations were British; our political structure is British, with variations; our social structure is British—also with important variations; more important still, our standards of character and of honor and of duty are your standards; and life and freedom have the same meaning to us that they have to you. These are the essential things, and in these we have always been one.

And now the day of our supreme test and of the heroic mood is come. There is now a race reason why we should have a complete understanding; and such a complete understanding has come. You will, I hope, pardon me for even alluding to our old differences; for they are now long-forgotten, far-off things. I allude to them only to clear the way. It is not the going of the Pilgrims nor the falling away of the colonies that we now celebrate, but rather the coming of American warships, which symbolize the new union of the two peoples that this fierce

assault on our civilization has revealed afresh. Politically two peoples, in all high aims and in the love of freedom we are one, and must now remain at one forever.

Differences Swept Away

This war has swept away incidental differences between us as a harrow smooths a field. Not only are our warships come. Our troopships, too, have landed an army on the soil of our brave ally, where the enemy yet keeps the wavering line of an invader, and more warships will come and more troopships, million-laden, if need be, till that line is forever broken and till the submarines are withdrawn or are forever submerged. There is coming the greatest victory for free government that was ever won, and the day of this victory which we are both fighting for may turn out to be the most important date in our history, or perhaps in all history. And the necessity to win it has cleared the air as no other event in modern times has cleared it; and but for the millions of brave lives it has cost, this clearing of the air would richly repay all that the war will cost. It has revealed the future of the world to us not as conquerors, but as preservers of its peace. The free, peace-loving nations will have no more of this colossal, armed, and ordered pillage; and no combination of the peace-loving nations can be made effective without both branches of the English-speaking peoples. This empire and the great Republic must then be the main guardians of civilization hereafter, the conscious and leagued guardians of the world.

It is this that the war has revealed to us. It is not a task of our seeking. But it is a task that we will, with the other free peoples of the world, gladly undertake. To undertake it, our comradeship must become perpetual, and our task is to see to it that it be not broken nor even strained—our task and our children's task after us. It is, of course, the function of Governments to keep friendly nations in proper relations to one another; and both our nations fortunately can and do trust both our Governments to do that. Through all the difficulties and differences that arose between our two

Governments during the early stages of the war, there was no rupture of friendly dealing. When the full story of these years of delicate relations comes to be told it will be seen that mutual toleration and forbearance played a far larger part than a rigid insistence on disputed points. Such differences as we had were differences between friends. I am sure that I may say with propriety that the two distinguished British statesmen who were his Majesty's Chief Foreign Secretaries during this period showed a spirit in their dealings with the United States Government that put the whole English-speaking world in their debt; and I am sure that they would say the same for the Government of the United States.

Mutual Knowledge

But while, fortunately, our two Governments may be fully trusted to bind us together, Governments come and Governments go. Far more important than any particular Government is the temper and action of public opinion in free countries such as ours. The complete and permanent union in all large aims of our two nations, generation after generation, must, therefore, rest on the broad base of a friendly and informed public opinion in both countries. If this argument be sound it leads us—every one of us—to a high duty. The lasting friendship of two democratic nations must rest on the sympathetic knowledge that the people of each nation have of the other—even upon the personal friendships of large numbers of people one with another. Personal friendships make a friendly public opinion. It is, therefore, the highest political duty that Britons and Americans can have to build up personal

knowledge of one another and personal friendships.

[Here Mr. Page urged the use of new textbooks in the schools of both England and America—simple and interesting books that should teach the youth of each nation to appreciate the qualities of the other. He concluded:]

Most valuable of all the activities that lead to a permanent sympathy is our present fellowship in war. American fighting units are come and very many more will come. They all work side by side with your men and with the French. And most of these, of course, are young men, and, like your young men, the flower of our race. Now these are forming companionships that nothing can sever. Men who go forth to die together, if fate so will it, understand one another as long as they survive. Beside the comradeship of arms, formed where death comes swift and frequently, other companionships seem weak. For men's naked souls are then bared to one another. In this extremest trial that man ever underwent anywhere at any time the high emotions and the guns are at work; everything else of life is still or pushed out of consciousness. And men who come together then are forever inseparable. Already there's many a corner of a foreign land that is forever England; and presently there'll be many a corner of a foreign land that is an American grave also.

Those that die and those that live will hereafter alike so bind our two peoples in mutual understanding that any disturber of that understanding will but play the poor part of a sacrilegious fool.

A New Covenant Between the Great English-Speaking Nations

This noteworthy editorial article appeared in The London Telegraph on Aug. 16, 1917, under the title, "A New Covenant":

FOR the first time in history, a body of American troops marched through the streets of London yesterday. They made their way to Buck-

ingham Palace, where King George received the salute; they were greeted by the Prime Minister and other members of the War Cabinet, a meeting of that body being adjourned for the purpose, and they were acclaimed by thousands of sightseers, representing not merely the capital of the empire, but the empire itself. If ever there was an imperial city, it is the London of today, with Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, South African, and other oversea troops thronging its streets, enjoying leave from the rigors of duty, and in our midst a score and more official representatives of the great dominions. London has become the nerve centre of a vast organization which draws its strength from every sea and every clime, and finds its inspiration in the confidence that, as a result of this war, the cause of freedom will be firmly established. It was this London, with a sprinkling of Belgian, French, and Italian residents, which yesterday cheered the advance guard of the great American Army.

The scenes presented during the march of these fine, muscular, athletic men from the other side of the Atlantic—typical of American manhood—must convince their fellow-countrymen that the significance of their intervention in this titanic struggle is fully realized. Washington once declared, with all that pride which distinguished him, even though realizing that he was merely “a member of an infant empire,” that “these United States shall one day have a weight in the scale of Europe.” That day has dawned; the new expansion was made evident in the streets of London yesterday, when citizens of the dominions, in unison with representatives of these islands, raised their voices to welcome the valiant soldiers who in no long time will be fighting under “Old Glory” on the battlefields of the Continent.

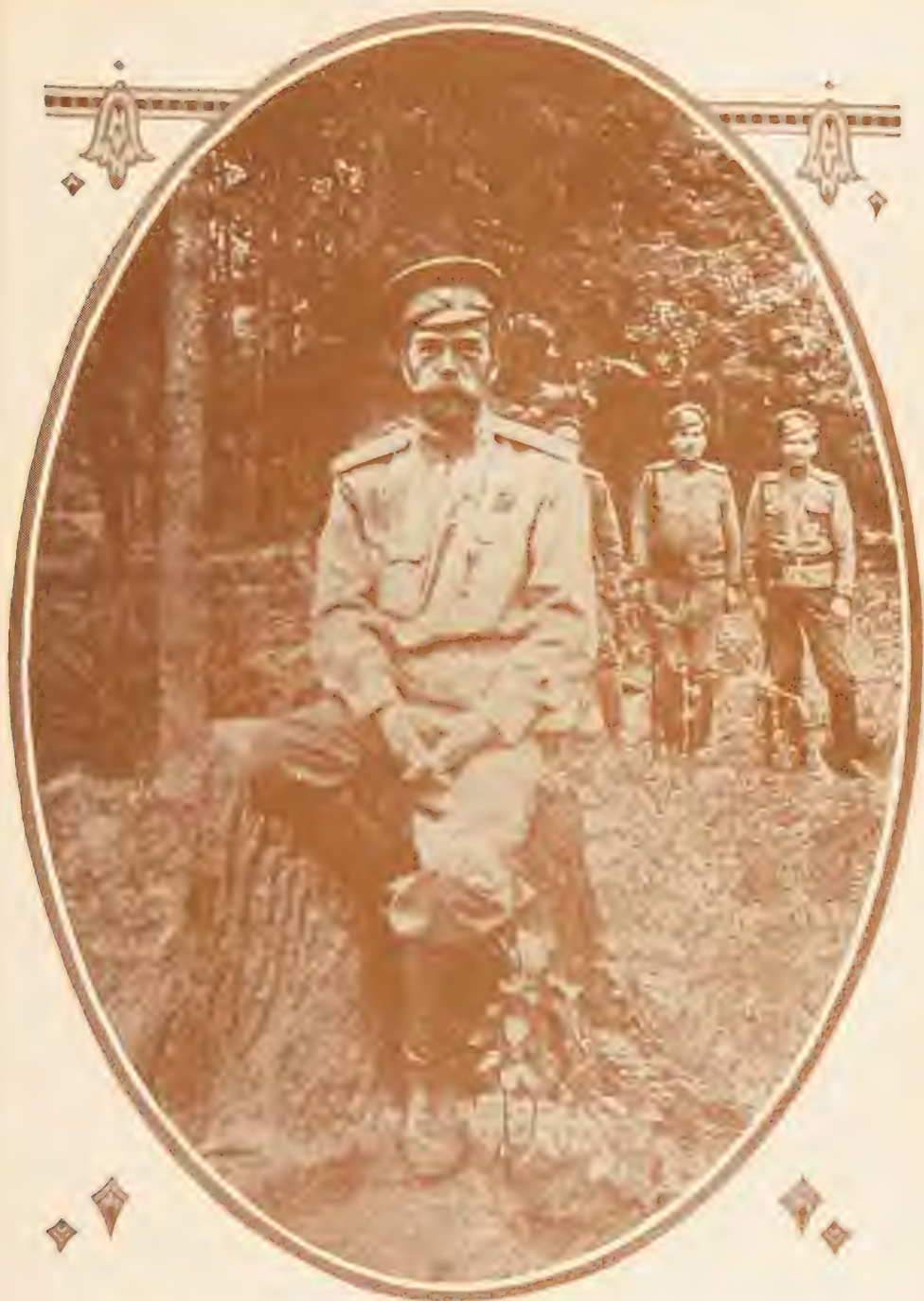
What did it all mean? The Monroe Doctrine, which was framed to protect the peoples of the New World from the evils pressing down the Old, has been superseded, or rather extended; the soldiers whom we greeted yesterday with sincere appreciation and admiration represent a new principle—the unity of the

English-speaking world in defense of the inalienable rights which the common forefathers of the two races handed down to their successors as a priceless heritage. The American soldiers were the outward and visible sign of a new covenant.

Mr. Gerard has revealed the violent division of opinion which occurred in Germany last Spring as to the importance of American intervention. When the submarine issue was being discussed, the apostles of organized force, Marshal von Hindenburg, Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, and their entourages professed a contempt for the United States—a mere democracy. Dr. Bethmann Hollweg and a few civilians were doubtful whether piracy was worth the risk it involved. As we have long known, the hesitations of the latter were swept aside; the submarine was accepted as “offering the best and only means of a speedy, victorious ending of the war.” In three months, at the latest, it was declared, England would be suing for peace; the other allies would be left without support to collapse; and the dreaded fourth Winter campaign, which the Germans were determined, if possible, to avoid, need not be faced. In those circumstances what the United States, unprepared to use her power in a European struggle, said or did was of little consequence. She had a fleet, it was true, but her army was even smaller than the “contemptible British Army”; her people were undisciplined, and would refuse to bear the military yoke which the British had accepted. In that way the Germans, in desperate straits, consoled themselves.

The awakening has begun. General Pershing and the fine body of officers and men under his orders in France are working the conversion; the march through London yesterday will assist the movement; those thirty-two great training camps in the United States, each bearing the name of a military hero of the American people—Lee, Sherman, Jackson, Grant, Sheridan, Funston, McClellan, MacArthur, Cody, and others—will complete the work. The foundations are being laid in the deep-rooted sentiments of the American people of a great

CZAR OF RUSSIA AS A PRISONER



Nikolai Romanoff Photographed in the Grounds of the Palace at
Tsarskoe Selo, Where He Was a Prisoner Before Being Sent to Siberia.
(Central News Photo)

RUSSIAN GIRL SOLDIERS



Girls With Close-Cropped Hair Who Joined the "Battalion of Death"
(Photo American Press Association.)



Service Caps Being Distributed to the Girl Soldiers
(Photo © International Film Service)

national army. Do the Germans wonder what its strength will be? They will learn—they have already learned—that two million men are to be placed in the field. Are they curious as to the fighting value of those troops? Could they have seen the soldiers who were acclaimed in London yesterday they would have gained some conception of the character of this new force which, in due course, in spite of piracy, will cross the Atlantic. The submarine, instead of proving their salvation, will be their undoing, bringing to nothing all those dreams of dominion by land and sea in which, a little over three years ago, they freely indulged.

Over sixty years ago Mazzini looked to the United States to save Europe; he thought he heard a voice from the other side of the water declaring, "We will no longer give Cain's answer to God, Who has made us free; we will not allow foreign armies to suppress the aspirations which we hold sacred, the ideas which may enlighten us. Let every people be free to live its own life. To main-

tain this liberty, we are ready to intervene by word of mouth—if need be, by the sword." Those hopes were not fulfilled in his experience. But, though he could not fix the hour or day of their realization, he had the vision. "There is something great in this idea of an Anglo-American alliance. * * * The laying of the first stone of that religious temple of humanity which we all foresee is a labor well worthy the co-operation of the two worlds." The soldiers who marched through London were heralds proclaiming by their presence and martial bearing that, in the fine words of Julia Ward Howe's Battle Hymn:

He is trampling out the vintage where the
grapes of wrath are stored;

He has loosed the fateful lightning of his
terrible, swift sword.

The Germans, unconsciously employing the submarine as the agent of world destiny, are drawing the civilized peoples of the world within a union the members of which have sworn that Prussianism, and all that it represents of misery, servitude, suffering, and death, shall be crushed.

A War Sermon in Westminster Abbey

By the Archbishop of Canterbury

London's principal religious service at the opening of the fourth year of war was held in Westminster Abbey, and was attended by the King. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. Randall Thomas Davidson, preached from the text, "Seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses * * * let us run with patience the race that is set before us," (Hebrews xii., I.) Recalling the fact that he had stood in the same pulpit on Aug. 2, 1914, the Primate said:

THREE years ago! It seems like ten. Some of us find it hardly possible to "think ourselves back" into the pre-war days or revivify in vision the sunny homes, the radiant hopes that then were ours. Then came the first weeks and months of war. To most people it is becoming increasingly difficult to feel again the glowing impulse which throbbed in every fibre of British manhood as we gave ourselves in serious purpose to the high emprise whereto, as we unhesitatingly believed then—as we unswervingly believe still—we were called by every obligation to which an honorable man must rise. We are no more doubtful of

it now than we were in those August weeks three years ago, but the long, long strain does tell upon nerve and muscle; and a stiffened upper lip and a sternly firm endurance must in some measure replace the comparative buoyancy and spring with which in those first eager days we deliberately faced the dread ordeal of a vast world war. At this anniversary time we pause and take stock of the three years' outcome. Face it squarely at its grimmest and its saddest; try to belittle nothing, to exaggerate nothing.

Is it all worth while? Does the issue which shone out so clearly in those first

days hold good? If we could have foreseen in all their wide ghastliness these three years of human strife and devastation, should we have acted as we did? Would we reverse it now if we could? Ask that question up and down the land and the answer from almost every thoughtful man and woman would roll back overwhelmingly: "We were right then. We are right now." Horrible as it all is, and was, we could do no other. And yet, God knoweth, it is not quite easy to keep the earlier, the more sharply cut issue clear and pure and unfused. So much has happened to blur and besmirk it. We are very human, and in fields so vast and in conditions so unlooked for there has been abundant room for mistake or for vacillation; for weakness or for cross-counsels; for rash experiment or for overcaution. Human passion and vengefulness, righteous wrath, and sometimes unrighteous wrath, have flared up. The picture has lost the cleanness of its first color, and has become scratched and blotched. Yet there the plain facts are, if we look for them and get back to them. There did come an issue in the world's story, and we could not and did not evade it. That definite issue of "right and wrong," of honor and dishonor, has been no whit impaired, and through the confusion we can get back to it if we will. So getting back to it, as it is well we should, we find ourselves in touch with what is highest and purest in our country's history, and the knowledge nerves us to the patience which is so difficult and yet so necessary now.

My friends, can we not, in this building, of all places in our land, transfer that injunction straight and plainly to ourselves? Respite—Circumspice. Here beneath our feet lie the bones of scores of the men who, in nine centuries of change and chance, have upheld in and for our country, high witness to the principle of loyalty to truth, of stainless honor, of dauntless courage, of tireless patience. Their forms look down on us in marble from the walls. Their example—the example of that cloud of witnesses—is at once a reassurance and an inspiration to the weakest hearted and the most wayward of us all. There is no

epoch, there is scarcely a great episode, in English history but has its representative among these great witnesses. In this transept, to quote Macaulay's stirring words, "Chatham seems still, with eagle face and outstretched arm, to bid England be of good cheer." Over the western door his yet more illustrious son seems once again to "pour forth the lofty language of inextinguishable hope." So we might run on. Take modern times only, Johnson, Wilberforce, Gladstone, Salisbury, and many more have each of them a message for today. And their witness, after all, is one.

And now upon us, the men and women of this generation in the world's life, the duty, the privilege has at a supreme crisis been laid of upholding, on our country's, our empire's part, the principles of good faith and honor; and, as it seems to us, of liberty and of ultimate peace. We are not alone. Our great allies have, in their own way and with us, the same grave task to fulfill. Notably we thank God for the incoming on our side of the great Republic of the Western World. That fellowship, arriving when it did, is the surest human witness that could be borne to the greatness of our cause. It knits a strong and sacred bond which is to outlast these tempestuous years and to weld our peoples in imperishable brotherliness of service for the welfare of the world.

To us, then, is intrusted a great, a consecrated task. How are we going to do it? Only the merest handful among the people of a great country have the opportunity of showing what we call heroism in its large, conspicuous sense. Nay, it is the veriest handful even in the fleets upon the sea and the armies in the field. But the power of witness and the power of patience belong emphatically to us all; the power in each man of witness to something, to some cause, perhaps to some one that he feels to be higher than himself.

To those men among the shell-swept trenches or on the black and hissing sea the call comes. It has perhaps no special peremptoriness from one hour to another. But it is there. It rings out and rings on, in ears that are open to it, and

for answering it aright those men need not courage only, but the more difficult thing—patience, cheery patience in face of hourly dangers and discomforts, perhaps for days or weeks on end, and then, when the actual moment is reached, the flash and rush of dauntless bravery. It has been a revelation to us all. It bids us revise our estimate of many whom we knew and loved, nay, it bids us revise our estimate of what we all of us can do. As a keen thinker wrote a few weeks ago, “It changes the whole aspect of the world, even to a man whose life is advanced and his character somewhat set, when the men who were his intimate friends are proved to have had in them, not merely the ordinary virtues and pleasantnesses of common life, but something high and resplendent which one associates with the stories of old saints or heroes—still more when there is burned into him the unforgettable knowledge that men whom he loved have died for him.”

The thoughts and prayers and thanksgivings of not a few of us are centred upon some unobtrusive, perhaps unknown, grave on the banks of the Yser or the Somme, or under the cliffs of Gallipoli, and the proudly sad thanksgiving that we offer breathes fellowship and hope. “Seeing that we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us—us too—run with patience.” We, too, can will.

“With patience.” Am I not speaking the mind of every one of us if I say that is just what we find hardest? The horribleness of growing accustomed week after week, month after month, for three long years, to the sad sights and sounds and tidings of the same dread tramp and toll and tribute of persistent war—O God! we exclaim, that the veriest cataclysm of battle might come if only it meant the end, and if only the victory for which we pray and agonize were won.

There lies our test. It is to steel us to the long patience that we need the help of the cloud of witnesses. They witness, to what? To Him Whose ways are not as our ways, and Who gives the power to endure as well as the power to strike.

They did witness, they do witness, to that. They have proved it true. We believe, with every fibre of our being, that there is in these mighty things a right and a wrong. We have a cause given us to uphold, and—if we may reverently borrow a very sacred phrase—we are “straitened until it be accomplished.” Meantime, every offering of what we are or have, every output of self-denial for others’ sake, every setting aside of personal likings, or interest, or gain on behalf of what is given us, as a people, to do is, in St. Paul’s words, our “reasonable service,” our service deliberately rendered for what, in our souls, we believe to be for truth and liberty among men. There is something in the heart of each one of us which answers to that call. There is an “inner man” which lies ready for any summons, any offering which may be asked of it. It is often untested, unemployed, because of our hard inattention to the voice of conscience, which is in truth the Voice of God:

I have a temple I do not
Visit, a heart I have forgot;
A self that I have never met,
A secret shrine—and yet, and yet—

This sanctuary of my soul
Unwitting I keep white and whole,
Unlatched and lit, if Thou shouldst care
To enter or to tarry there.

With parted lips and outstretched hands
And listening ears Thy servant stands;
Call Thou early, call Thou late,
To Thy great service dedicate.

“To Thy great service dedicate.” That lifts our thoughts and prayers away from present strifes and battlings, and swings us out into the larger vision of what is to be the outcome of it all. It is to that ultimate issue that we are really “dedicate.” The three years have cost us much. They have perhaps taught us even more. We have seen, we do see, not perils only, but failures and weaknesses and sins, which, in the rush of new conditions and in the perplexities of untried paths, have too easily beset us. We Christians belong here and now to a city which hath foundations deeper than those of earthly kingdoms—a city whose Builder and Maker is God.

Italian Army's Spring Offensive

Official Narrative of Operations of General Cadorna's Forces From March to June, 1917

THE following account of the operations of the Royal Italian Army under General Luigi Cadorna on the various Alpine fronts has been issued by the Italian General Staff at General Headquarters:

The long period of inactivity in war operations, imposed by the Winter and protracted to the end of April by the inclemency of the weather, was a period of fruitful preparation for the army. The higher military authorities, seconded by the firm support of the Government and with the entire energies of the nation at their disposal, directed their attention to further development in the organization of the army, enlarging and strengthening its units. The supply service was perfected and every effort was made to insure an incessant production of all kinds of war material and to adapting the most recent scientific inventions to the actual system of warfare.

New regiments were formed and grouped under higher units organically complete in their subsidiary services. Powerful artillery was cast and distributed. The number of machine guns was largely increased. At the same time the intensified production of ammunition enabled the staff to create large stocks of reserve, so indispensable for carrying out effectively any offensive action on a large scale and for having to resist an eventual strong offensive on the part of the enemy.

The engineer corp service was greatly increased, as also the production of technical appliances of warfare, of which, as the present war has proved, an army cannot be too freely supplied.

Aviation was greatly developed. The output of machines was intensified and everything was done to render them more powerful, so that this arm, which had given such brilliant results, might be able to carry out offensive and reconnoitring work with greater facility.

With these various forms of activity, so differently taken singly but co-ordinated with one aim in view, the Italian Army, war-hardened by experience and encouraged by the results of the past, prepared to face its third Spring in war.

Battle on the Julian Front

Toward the end of Winter the General Staff, being aware of a big concentration of Austro-German forces on the Trentino front, a sure sign of a coming offensive action, had

already organized every means for adequately meeting the situation, and was conscientiously able to address words of faith and strength to the nation. But, as at the beginning of April the enemy's preparations were seen to be slackening, the General Staff decided to take the initiative in the operation.

The plans of the General Staff for the Spring offensive were as follows: First of all, to engage the enemy on all the front from Tolmino to the sea in an intense artillery action, which would leave him doubtful as to the real direction of the decisive attacks; then to attack on the right wing to the north of Gorizia, and, lastly, to strike cut on the Carso.

On the Trentino front a big array of forces and artillery, ready for an offensive, had placed the Italians in the position of being able to face an attack of the enemy, had the interrupted preparations for his offensive been resumed.

Attack on the Middle Isonzo

The first phase of the action, the objective of which was the heights to the left of the Isonzo from Globna to the Salcano defile, was intrusted to the General Staff of the Gorizia Army. This operation was to be carried out by means of a heavy frontal attack on the massif mentioned, supported on the right by a strong assault on the Gorizia hills and masked on the left by a demonstrative action, including the fording of the Isonzo, between Loga and Bodrez, as a menace to the rear of the Austrian positions on the Ban-sizza-S. Spirito Plateau.

A vigorous demonstrative action, which was to contribute to the success, had to be effected by the Third Army on the southern edge of the Carso.

The operations were begun on May 12 with careful artillery preparation.

The bombardment reached its maximum intensity and violence on the morning of May 14. About midday the Italian infantry began their advance from Plava and Gorizia. During the first assault Hill 383, east of Plava, (Poggio Montanari,) was carried by the Udine Brigade (Ninety-fifth and Ninety-sixth Infantry Regiments,) while the Firenze Brigade, (127th and 128th Infantry Regiments,) braving with magnificent valor the terrible fire of the enemy, succeeded in reaching the spur of Hill 535 on Mount Cucco. At the same time the Avellino Brigade (231st and 232d Infantry Regiments) with great élan rushed the Zagora barrier, partially occupying the strong points of Zagomila; the 230th Infantry (Campobasso Brigade) climbed the

slopes of Mount Santo, and by evening penetrated the convent thereon; and to the east of Gorizia the Messina Brigade (Ninety-third and Ninety-fourth Regiments) carried the strongly fortified Hill 174, north of Tivoli.

On the other portions of the front the pressure was strong, but met everywhere by the stubborn resistance of the enemy, who forced the Italian troops to engage in a heavy struggle.

Forcing a River Passage

During the night of the 15th a detachment of two battalions (Thirty-seventh "Bersaglieri" and the Cervino "Alpini") and subsidiary parties surprised the Austrians completely, forced the passage across the Isonzo between Loga and Bodrez, organizing themselves in an improvised bridgehead to the left of the river.

At dawn on the 15th the attack on the heights was continued with renewed vigor. In this way the summit 611 on Mount Cucco and Hill 524 on the Vodice were carried, in the face of most violent attacks of the Austrians, who also stormed Hill 174, but ineffectually.

As the occupation on Mount Santo could not be maintained, the Italians had to withdraw their lines to a position under the summit.

The days following, until the 22d, may be considered as being devoted to the organization and the consolidation of the conquests begun on the 14th and 15th. They were days of fighting of unheard of violence and of undying glory for the Italian troops. Subject to most furious fire and numberless counterattacks, the positions reached were extended. The success was increased by the occupation of Hill 363, (east of Plava,) the hamlets Globna and Palliova, and a firm hold was obtained on the whole mountainous ridge which, culminating in Mount Cucco, separates the Isonzo from the deep valley which branches out in front of Anhovo. Some advantageous points were reached on Hill 126 at Grazigna, (east of Gorizia.)

Once the demonstrative manoeuvre had been accomplished, the bridgehead of Bodrez was abandoned on the 18th; the withdrawal was carried out by surprise as the occupation had been, though the enemy, alarmed, had already brought numerous battalions against the small Italian detachment.

While the operations on the Isonzo heights were taking place, the demonstrative action further south, on the outskirts of the Carso, intrusted to the Third Army, was being carried out.

For several consecutive days the enemy was closely engaged and the Italian troops were even able to progress temporarily north-east of Dosso Fatti and on Hill 126, south of Vippacco.

Altogether these days secured for the Italians the possession of most of the rocky bastion of Mount Cucco and Mount Santo, be-

yond the Isonzo, and allowed them to advance their lines from Hill 363, over the eastern versant of Mount Cucco, over Hills 592 and 652 on the Vodice, on the saddle of Hill 503, and from this point to the western slopes of Mount Santo as far as the old line facing on the Isonzo the spur of S. Valentino.

The success of this first stage of the Italian offensive was crowned by the taking of 7,113 prisoners, including 163 officers, 18 guns, a great number of bomb-throwers and machine guns, and a large quantity of war material.

The Austrian Diversion

No sooner had the Italian attack on the heights to the left of the Isonzo become delineated than the Austrians attempted a diversion on the Trentino front to lighten the pressure of the Italians and misguide their attention.

The action was carried out from May 19 to 22 by means of most violent concentration of fire on the Italian positions in Val Sugana and on the Asiago Plateau and several infantry attacks to the west of Lake Garda and in the Adige Valley.

During the night of the 21st the "Dente del Pasubio" (the Tooth of the Pasubio) was attacked in force, but the Austrians were repulsed with severe losses. Another furious attack was delivered on the 22d with big forces on the Italian positions on the Piccolo Colbricon in Travnigolo Valley. This attack, after a small initial success, ended in the complete rout of the Austrians, who left a good number of prisoners in the hands of the Italians and hundreds of dead in front of the latter's defenses.

On the Carso Plateau

The attempts to divert the attention of the Italians had no other effect for the Austrians than that of causing themselves new losses without succeeding in modifying the decision of the Italian General Staff, who, as soon as preparations were completed, ordered the second phase of the action to be begun on the Carso.

On May 23, from 6 A. M. to 4 P. M., all the artillery of the Third Army shelled with great violence the enemy's positions, which had been partially destroyed by previous bombardments and always kept under fire to prevent their being put into working order again. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the infantry began the attack.

On the left wing, according to the plans of the General Staff, the action, though it was to be only demonstrative, was conducted with great firmness and skill, and the not easy task was carried out by engaging the Austrians east of Mount Vucongnacco, on Hills 378 and 363, and in the neighborhood of Castagnavizza.

The troops at the centre and on the right carried the Austrian intrenchments close to the Italian lines, the Bologna Brigade (Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Regiments) meanwhile

spreading out in the sector south of the Castagnavizza-Boscomalo road, and, going round the last-named village to the southwest, they advanced past Lucati and captured Jamiano, Hills 92, 97, 77, 58, Bagni, (east of the Adria Works,) and Hill 21.

One hundred and thirty airplanes, including a group of the Royal Navy seaplanes, took part in the battle.

The Austrians, who at first had replied very weakly to the destructive fire of the Italians, reserving all the force of their artillery to stop the attack of the infantry, were surprised by the rapid advance, and only toward evening began a violent reaction with persistent counterattacks and heavy bombardments. But the Italians gained the day, as is proved by the number of prisoners captured—over 9,000, including 300 officers.

Monitors Take a Hand

The battle was furiously resumed the next day (May 24) and extended to the sea, two monitors shelling the Austrian positions on the coast. The left of the Third Army continued to act as a pivot, exerting great pressure on the Austrians and meeting their counterattacks with the Barletta Brigade, (137th and 138th Regiments,) while the centre prosecuted the operation of isolating and capturing the Boscomalo salient, and succeeded with the Padova Brigade (117th and 118th Regiments) and Mantova Brigade (113th and 114th Regiments) in reaching the slopes of Hills 235 and 241, in the vicinity of Fornaza, and in pushing forward toward Hill 219, northeast of Komarje. The right wing—Bergamo Brigade, (25th and 26th Regiments,) Toscana Brigade, (77th and 78th Regiments,) Arezzo Brigade, (225th and 226th Regiments,) and the Second Bersaglieri Brigade, (7th and 8th Regiments)—continuing the frontal attack brilliantly begun the day before, reached and closed on the enemy line at Flondar.

On the 25th, while the left wing, fulfilling its task, provoked a heavy barrage fire and succeeded also in carrying some elements of the Austrian trenches, the centre completed the capture of the Boscomalo salient and reached the following line approximately—Hill 202, southeast of Boscomalo, to Hill 251, south of Castagnavizza, and the right wing (Seventh Army Corps) broke through the Flondar line about south of the Jamiano-Erestovizza road, some detachments being pushed forward as far as the heights between Flondar-Medeazza and S. Giovanni.

The attempts of the enemy to arrest the advance were on this day and on the following ones desperate—most violent shelling, counterattacks in force without consideration for losses, and bombardments by airplanes flying very low—but the Italian advance proceeded vigorously.

On the 26th of May, while the left wing, overstepping by its impetus the mandate received, maintained for some time a position

beyond the village of Castagnavizza, the centre completed the occupation of Hill 241 and went forward on Hill 219, and the right wing advanced on the hills west of Medeazza and



THE ISONZO FRONT, WHERE ITALY IS FIGHTING FOR TRIESTE

reached the mouth of the Timavo River. On the 27th, fighting slackened on the left; at the centre the Italians still advanced, completing the occupation of Hill 219, (Fornaza,) while the right wing occupied the trenches east of Komarje and the village of S. Giovanni.

On the 28th some parties of the Forty-fifth Division, to the extreme right, went beyond the Timavo as far as Hill 28, but, however,

they were not able to maintain themselves there.

On the succeeding days, until the 31st, the positions captured were extended, rectified, and strengthened under the protection of the artillery, which neutralized the Austrian fire concentrated on these positions.

Vigorous Counterattacks

While the Italian manoeuvre was becoming manifest on the Carso and the action bid fair to be heavy, the Austrians attempted with every means to distract the Italian forces and diminish the pressure on his part of the front by redoubling their counterattacks on the positions, left of the Isonzo, which had been captured during the first phase of the battle by the Second Army Corps. The efforts of the Austrians were mainly directed against the Vodice, their object being to retake it in order to justify the official silence as to its having been lost and on account of the particular importance of its position with regard to Mount Santo.

The attacks of the Austrians were met with as much vigor by the Italian troops, for in order to contribute to the action on the Carso and to systemize their own position as was necessary, they also engaged between the 23d and the 27th in a series of fights, some very furious, in the area of Hill 363, Vodice, Mount Santo, Hill 126, slopes of S. Marco. This fighting had the effect of considerably bettering the position of the Italians on the slopes of Hill 363 and on the eastern versant of the Vodice and somewhat on the northern slopes of Mount S. Marco, (the area comprised was Hill 174 east, Diruta House, Du Fini House, Dosso del Palo.)

The most furious fighting which took place in these days was, on the 24th, during the Austrian attacks on the Italian lines from Hill 363 (Plava) to the Vodice, at Tivoli, at Grazigna, and on the Faiti; on the 25th, again on Hill 174 (Tivoli) and on the Vodice; on the 26th, at the head of the Palliova Valley; and on the 27th on Hill 126, east of Grazigna.

On the 28th the Austrians, employing big forces, were able to reach the summit of the Vodice, but were at once driven back. On the same day they again attacked Hills 126 and 127, but without success. On the 29th and 31st three consecutive attacks were repulsed by the Fifty-third Division.

The persistency of these attacks, the considerable number of forces employed by the Austrians, and the intense movement of troops in the rear, all go to prove that the manoeuvre of the Gorizia Army was successful in drawing the Austrians toward it, thus favoring the operations taking place on the Carso.

The tangible results of the second phase of the battle were 16,568 prisoners, including 441 officers, 20 guns, a large number of machine guns and trench mortars. The Italian line from Castagnavizza to the sea was advanced from one to four kilometers, and a

threatening and formidable series of Austrian intrenchments were destroyed, thus leaving more breathing room for the future operations of the Italians.

The total number of prisoners taken from the 14th to the 28th was 23,681, including 604 officers; 38 guns, including 13 of medium calibre, 148 machine guns, 27 trench mortars, besides a considerable quantity of rifles and war material.

The Austrian Counteroffensive

There is no doubt that the Austrians, foreseeing the Italian offensive or intending to carry one out themselves, had taken advantage of the favorable situation on the Russian front and ordered a concentration of troops and war material behind their lines East of the Isonzo.

The Italians during their offensive had had tangible proof of the presence of new Austrian artillery. As the reinforcements had arrived too late or in too limited a number to stop the Italian advance, the Austrians employed them in a counterattack, which was favored by their knowledge of the ground and by the fact that the Italian defenses in the new positions had not had time enough to be sufficiently consolidated.

The big effort which the Austrians intended to make on the Carso was preceded by strong demonstrative actions. On the 1st of June, while a violent artillery fire was directed on the Faiti, infantry attacks were begun on Hills 174, (Tivoli,) 126, (Grazigna,) and 652, (Vodice.) On the 2d the bombardment of the Faiti became more violent, and on the 3d the fire was intensified along the whole front from Mount S. Marco to Flondar. The Italian artillery replied effectively and held the infantry in check.

On the 4th of June the Austrians began the general attack, between Mount S. Marco and the sea, which lasted without interruption for three days of hard struggle sustained by Italian troops in difficult conditions, on positions still partly demolished by the previous actions or else recently captured and not yet organized enough for defensive purposes.

The attack was at first temporarily successful on the Italian left, firmly held and violently repulsed in the centre, and on the right was at first held with difficulty, but afterward completely stopped.

During the night of the 3d to 4th of June the new positions occupied by the Italians on the northern slopes of Mount S. Marco were violently attacked, and the Austrians succeeded in gaining a foothold, but a heavy counterattack at once dislodged them. The Austrians at dawn on the 4th penetrated the destroyed defenses on Dosso Faiti, but detachments of the Tevere Brigade (215th and 216th Regiments) and the 251st Regiment, (Massa Carrara Brigade,) with a violent counterattack lasting all day, succeeded the same night in driving them back.

The positions between Versic and Jamiano

were the scene of a struggle of extreme violence. The troops of the Sixty-first Division, the gallant soldiers of the Grenadier Brigade of Sardegna, (First and Second Regiments,) the Siena, (Thirty-first and Thirty-second Regiments,) and Bari (139th and 140th Regiments) Brigades, engaging in frequent hand-to-hand struggles, by a stubborn defense and by delivering several counterattacks, succeeded in getting the better of the enemy, who, suffering very severe losses, was forced to abandon the attack.

These positions, the real key to the line reached during the recent offensive on the Carso, and which gloriously withstood wave after wave of furious enemy assaults, remained firmly in the possession of the Italians.

Italians Retire, Fighting Fiercely

To the right, south of Jamiano, where detachments pushed well forward had been obliged to halt, the Italian fire had come to a standstill. The position was not an advantageous one from a tactical point of view, and the short time which elapsed between the Italian offensive and the Austrian action had not given the Italians the opportunity to modify these conditions to their advantage. It was therefore necessary to retire, not so much for the onset of the Austrians, as to withdraw the line from the destructive effects of the artillery. The ground abandoned by the Italians was a strip from 200 to 800 meters on a front of slightly more than two kilometers. It was the only advantage gained in what the enemy intended to be a complete recovery from the reverse suffered during the second half of May. A further 585 prisoners, including thirty officers, were taken during this defensive fighting.

The positive results of the Italian offensive during the Spring were conspicuous, as has been said, for the tactical objectives arrived at, and they were no less important for the damage inflicted on the Austrians. Besides the 24,260 prisoners, (including 634 officers,) it is calculated that at least 100,000 men were placed hors de combat. No obstacle and no force was able to arrest the Italian infantry, which fought tirelessly on difficult ground during continuous attacks and counterattacks for eighteen days without interruption and without rest.

The co-operation of siege, field, and mountain artillery was most effective. Some batteries did not hesitate to advance with the infantry to the line of fire. Ten British batteries of medium calibre and the Royal Navy artillery contributed most efficiently. The trench mortar batteries and machine-gun companies greatly distinguished themselves, the former in destroying enemy entanglements and trenches, the latter in accompanying the infantry in the assaults and in strenuously defending the positions attacked. Though the cavalry was not employed in its particular tactical task, it contributed largely

with officers and soldiers to the forming of trench mortar batteries and machine-gun companies, paying its tribute of blood. The aviators, with great valor, did most useful reconnoitring and offensive work. All the special sections of the engineers distinguished themselves by working calmly under fire and fighting, when necessary, side by side with the infantry. The sappers, telegraphists, bridging, mining, and train companies, the balloon sections, and the aerial cableway sections all contributed to the success. Excellent work was done by the Royal Army Medical Corps, Red Cross, and Military Order of Malta services and by the supply, motor-car, and railway services.

Action on the Trentino Front

The Austrians had not had time to recover from their reverse on the Isonzo when the energy of the Italian troops obliged them to defend themselves on the Asiago Plateau. Notwithstanding the advantage of their defensive positions, which nearly everywhere dominated the Italian ones, the Austrians were here obliged to constantly change the position of their troops to the points threatened by the intense bombardments and infantry raids of the Italians, who dealt them a series of reverses, which, according to reliable information, had a demoralizing effect on their capacity for resistance.

In the more southern part of the sector the Fifty-second Division, with its "Alpini" and "Bersaglieri" units and the Piemonte Brigade, (Third and Fourth Regiments,) in close co-operation with the artillery of all calibres, were gradually able to capture and hold against numberless counterattacks the Agnella Pass and the massif of Mount Ortigara, the summit of which is 2,105 meters (6,904 feet) high, (June 10-19.)

Altogether 1,500 prisoners, including 85 officers, were captured.

Besides these operations of strategic importance, many other minor tactical actions took place in various other parts of the front, and are the best proof of the fighting spirit of the Italian troops and their aptitude in overcoming the difficulties of mountain warfare, which requires besides high military qualities also patient and tiring work. In this way the successful explosion of a mine on the Colbricon permitted the Italians to extend their occupation, and repeated enemy counterattacks were repulsed, April 13, 14, and 18. On April 22 an advanced post was recaptured and most of the garrison made prisoner near the Tre Cime Shelter Hut, (Drei Zinnen Hütte,) at the head of the Rienza. During the night of April 23 Austrian raids were repulsed on the Zugna, (Adige Valley,) in the Campovetil (High Cordevole) and Gabriele (west of Tolmino) areas, while an Italian detachment occupied by surprise an advance post near Castagnavizza, capturing the defenders.

An immense mine was exploded by the Austrians on the Piccolo Lagazuoi (Rio Coste-

ana) on the night of May 23, causing a big landslide, which, however, did but little damage, at once made good by the Italian defenses.

The Italians, on their part, during the night of June 22, exploded a powerful mine under the Austrian positions on Hill 2668, on the southern edge of the Piccolo Legazucì, destroying all the enemy garrison and establishing themselves on the summit itself.

During the second half of May and at the beginning of June some "Alpini" parties, by boldly scaling the heights, succeeded in occupying several dominant points at the head of the Zembrù Valley, (Ortler,) and on June 15, with the help of skier sections, the Corno di Cavento, the key to the defense of the Fumo and Genova Valleys, was captured.

Aerial Activity

During this period of the offensive the Italian airmen took a conspicuous part in brilliant air fighting, in patient and continuous reconnoitring flights, and in successful bombing raids.

Thirty-five Austrian machines were brought down in air fights or by anti-aircraft guns.

Large quantities of explosives were several times dropped on the Austrian railway lines and on their points of assemblage at Volcia Draga, Rifemberga, Opicina, S. Daniele, (Brannizza,) S. Lucia, (Tolmino,) in the Adige and Brenta Valleys, and on the Asiago Plateau.

The Vipacco Valley, where Austrian troops and hutments were massed, and where there was intense convoy and artillery traffic, was bombed day and night by airships and airplanes with successful results.

Veritable air battles took place on May 23 over the Austrian lines at Medeazza and Flondar, and on June 19 during the fighting in the Mount Ortigara area. During these battles reconnoitring airplanes preceded in the vanguard to discover the enemy guns, the big battle-planes followed closely, dropping immense quantities of explosives on the enemy's trenches, and even flying low enough to attack with their machine guns, while chasing-planes effectively carried out their work of protection by engaging the numerous enemy machines which attempted to repulse them.

The Italian Army has thus victoriously entered on its third year of war, proving by its great increase in material and continued progress in organization that it is ably seconded by an incessant display of physical and moral energy on the part of the entire nation in arms, which, conscious of the value of the work done and of its own strength, has perfect faith in the final victory.

[*The story of Italy's Summer campaign of 1917 appears in the earlier pages of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.*]

July, 1914

By EDWARD SHILLITO

In that lost world always it is July,
 Always July that ends the peaceful times!
 Life snapped for us, when from the rain-cleansed sky
 Fell soft the scent of limes.

Still hangs that world, like kingdoms in the tales,
 Told in an Orient forest with quiv'ring breath,
 Where at a wizard's nod all warm life fails,
 And there's no life nor death.

Sundered from us it shines: upon the brink
 Of precipice, cut sheer by giant hands,
 Above the chaos where we strive and sink,
 And rise again it stands.

Lost world, no daring feet can scale those heights;
 No word of ours to life can quicken thee;
 Thy silver mornings—thy untroubled nights,
 Our eyes may never see.

But always in the flood-tide of the year
 You, who were with us in that last July,
 Will cross to our new world; you we shall hear.
 And see you, till we die.

Disclosures of King Constantine's Relations With Germany

A WHITE BOOK, containing the Greco-Serbian Treaty, and documents relating thereto and to the Germano-Bulgarian incursion into Eastern Macedonia, was distributed to the Deputies of the French Chamber on Aug. 17, 1917.

The documents establish that there existed an agreement between the Athens Government and the Central Powers. It first appears in a telegram from General Bairas to the General Staff, stating that a Bulgarian Major had a meeting with a Greek officer and declared that, in virtue of an agreement between General von Mackensen and the Athens Government, an occupation extending to two kilometers within the Greek frontier, provided it was a strategical necessity, was allowed at any point, and that consequently the heights surrounding Lechovo had been occupied. The following day General Yanakitsas, the Minister of War, telegraphed to the commander of the Kavalla Army Corps that it had only agreed that the Germano-Bulgarians could advance to the frontier line, but under no circumstances must doubt be cast on the Bulgarian officers' good faith, nor should force be used, as the maintenance of friendly relations was desired.

Then comes a letter from Count von Mirbach, the German Minister, to M. Skouloudis, the Premier, stating that, in view of the movements of the Allies' troops, the Germano-Bulgars were compelled to enter Greek territory in order to insure free transit through Rupel Pass. Count von Mirbach formally declared that this was a purely military necessity, that Greek sovereignty would be respected, and that the population would be well treated. Similar assurances were given by M. Passaroff, the Bulgarian Minister.

Charges Against Premier

At this juncture M. Skouloudis sent protests to the Entente Powers, and it is charged that this was done to deceive them. A few days later M. Skouloudis

made a statement to Parliament regarding the occupation of Rupel Pass, in which, it is charged, he misrepresented the facts.

Another document is the following telegram from the Greek Minister in Berlin, addressed to M. Skouloudis:

Have reason believe we must keep in view probability Germano-Bulgar advance into Rupel Pass.

Other documents from a German source certify the existence of an agreement regarding Fort Rupel, and furnish evidence of understandings with the Bulgars.

Reports were received from Greek diplomatists and provincial authorities concerning Bulgarian atrocities against Greeks, with a view to the annihilation of the Greek element in Eastern Macedonia, but these reports were shelved.

The documents include a telegram from the Greek Minister at Bucharest to M. Gounaris, stating that he had been informed by a British colleague that, according to sure information, Germany had categorically assured the Sofia Government that Greek neutrality had been definitely insured, even in the event of a Bulgarian attack against Serbia. On receipt of this telegram M. Gounaris addressed a telegraphic circular to all Greek Legations, communicating the Bucharest telegram, and requesting them to state if an opportunity offered

that a Bulgarian attack against Serbia could not leave Greece indifferent, and that the only result of a Turco-Bulgarian agreement would be the further cementing of the ties uniting those countries.

M. Gounaris's subsequent attitude showed that this telegram was issued for effect only, and was not acted upon.

Telegram to the Kaiser

Telegrams exchanged between the Kaiser and King Constantine when Great Britain declared war on Germany reveal the attitude of the King. Replying to the Kaiser's telegram recalling

reasons why Greece should stand by Germany's side, King Constantine telegraphed, through the Berlin Legation:

The Emperor knows that my personal sympathies and political opinions draw me toward him, and I shall never forget that it is to him we owe Kavalla. After mature consideration, however, I fail to understand how I could serve his purpose by the immediate mobilization of my army. The Anglo-French fleets rule the Mediterranean, and would destroy our warships and merchant navy. They would occupy our islands and would prevent the concentration of my army, which can only be effected by sea, there being no rail-ways. Without being able to render him any service we would disappear from the map.

Consequently I am of opinion that circumstances impose on us neutrality which can be profitable to him, considering that I engage not to harm his friends and my neighbors, so long as they do not harm our local Balkan interests.

The Greek Minister in Berlin sent a dispatch to King Constantine, the principal passage in which is: "Von Jagow has told me that he thinks the Emperor will understand the necessity expressed by your Majesty of maintaining neutrality for the present. Von Jagow repeated to me the advice he had formerly given, to come as speedily as possible to an understanding with Sofia and Constantinople, adding that Serbia today constituted the 'skin of the bear.'"

New King's Throne Speech

An Athens dispatch of Aug. 4, 1917, gave the following text of the speech which the young King Alexander made from the throne after taking the oath to the Constitution in the Chamber of Deputies:

It is with sincere joy that I address this first greeting to the representatives of the nation. You know the events which brought about some months ago the division of the Hellenic State, but the benevolent solicitude of the protecting powers of Greece succeeded, without sacrifices or an internal struggle, in reconstituting the national unity by the re-establishment of liberal institutions. The conditions upon which the transmission of the royal power was effected have clearly shown the path to be followed in the future. They render necessary the appeal to the national sovereignty, so as to revise and consolidate at the same time as the throne a form of government established on the basis demanded by the popular will, to decide in

the most precise fashion the extent of the sovereign rights of the people as well as the extent of the royal authority as defined by the Constitution, by giving it the democratic character which is the desire of the dynasty. "The royal power resides in the love of the people," but foreign events did not permit the immediate convocation of the National Assembly, and that is why, in order to inaugurate the new constitutional era which we are entering, we have repealed the decree which by a violation of the Constitution dissolved the Chamber, and have convoked this Chamber for its regular second session.

Gentlemen, I am glad to inform you that my Government, faithful to national tradition, has already given its foreign policy the orientation approved by the people at the elections of May 31 and ratified by the Chamber. After two glorious wars Greece desired peace, of which she had great need, in order to retrieve her sacrifices and to regain her strength with a view to reorganizing the State recently enlarged, and to render it capable of accomplishing its great civilizing mission in the East. Greece was therefore grieved to see a new war break out which would result in a general conflagration, setting against one another two worlds, two civilizations, and two opposed conceptions of nationalities and of humanity. Indeed, it would have been sufficient for little Greece to remember her traditions, her history, and her duty in order not to hesitate spontaneously to offer her feeble forces to that group in the conflict whose war aim was to defend the rights of nationalities and the liberty of peoples.

The Hereditary Enemy

But more imperious obligations called Greece into the same camp, and she has therefore now adopted an attitude which duty and honor imposed upon her toward the brave and chivalrous ally—the defense of the rights of Hellenism and the debt of gratitude contracted for her original liberation and for the protection which she has always enjoyed. If it had been given to the entire nation to follow as soon as possible such a policy, it would more rapidly and more effectively have assured the defense of the country against the hereditary enemy. Part of the Greek Army has fortunately had occasion to prove at the front its value and morale by heroic acts, thanks to which Greece has been able to regain the esteem of the allied armies and foreign public opinion, and her prestige, until then so deeply sullied, and to avoid the national catastrophes which were threatening her. The heroism and self-sacrifice of the troops at the front are a most happy augury for the ultimate fate of the struggle undertaken by united Greece, for they are evi-

dence of the fine pride and gallantry of the Hellenic Army.

Faithful to this policy, my Government has already recalled the representatives of Greece from the capitals of the enemy countries. The first result of this policy has been the decision taken at the last conference in Paris to re-establish in its integrity the sovereignty of the State by the abolition of all the controls recently imposed, and by the evacuation of the Epirus and the other regions occupied by the Allies. Greece is justly proud to have found in this conference the same consideration as her powerful protectors and allies. My Government will submit to you the legislative measures necessitated by the needs of the war, convinced that it will have your whole support, but the country has other needs than these as the result of the existence of a state of war. * * *

I appeal to your unanimous aid in studying the measures indicated in the present circumstances as regards the economical situation of the State and the country. Gentlemen, never has the country passed through a more serious period. Greece has to defend her territory against barbarous aggressors. But if in the trials of the past Greece has been able, thanks to the civilizing strength of the morale of the race, to have overcome the conquerors and to rise free amidst the ruins, today it is quite a different matter. The present cataclysm will decide the definite fate of Hellenism, which, if lost, will never be restored. I am convinced that to accomplish the great and difficult task which the country has undertaken it will have assistance equal to the danger of which you are aware. I am also certain that the self-sacrifice of the Hellenic people will rise to the heights demanded by the struggle to which we have been called by the supreme care of our national defense, and for which I wish success by invoking the Divine assistance.

Monarchy on Final Trial

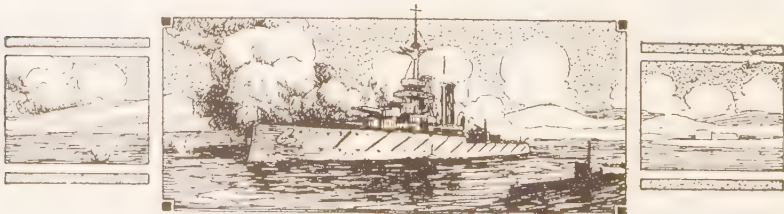
Premier Venizelos made a definite statement on Aug. 25 regarding the pos-

sibility of a Greek republic. It was delivered in the Chamber of Deputies at Athens, and was elicited by a speech of George Cafantaris, Chairman of the delegation which recently visited America, who said he was deeply impressed with what he had observed of republican institutions in the United States. He moved the Government's draft of the reply to the throne speech, but closed with a strong expression in favor of the establishment of a Greek republic.

M. Venizelos promptly made a short declaration to the effect that the views of M. Cafantaris did not represent the Government's position. He said he had often told the former King Constantine that the nations of the world were gradually approaching the idea of abolishing the institution of kingship and it depended upon the existing Kings themselves to hasten or postpone this inevitable consummation. Unfortunately, Constantine's policy had been such as to deal a mortal blow to the idea of a monarchy, and many Greeks who formerly opposed a republic now admitted its advisability in principle, though he considered it still premature.

"The Government, nevertheless," continued the Premier, "is of the opinion that it is our duty to give the monarchy another trial. This, of course, is a final trial, but I am sure that the Greek people and the coming Constituent Assembly will be disposed to render possible the continuation of our present system of democracy presided over by a King."

This statement was received with prolonged applause, as clearly defining the Government's position on the recent growing tendency toward a republic.



Germany After Three Years of War

Short Rations and Unshod Feet

A HOLLAND goldsmith who lived four years at Hagen, in Germany, arrived at Amsterdam early in August, 1917, having fled the country on account of the intolerable food conditions. He stated that a great change had come over the financial position of pensioned servants of the State as the war proceeded. He knew cases of men who had pensions of 96 marks a month which were reduced at first to 64 and then to 32 marks. The Government paid premiums to artillerists for used-up shells. Later, instead of paying money for them, it awarded the men war loan stock, and men were given three days' leave for subscribing 1,000 marks to the war loan.

He said that the food was deplorable. He had to rise at 6:30, when he was given a cup of coffee and two slices of bread; the coffee was made out of hips and haws. The bread, for some reason, was always covered with sawdust. Some of the Germans ate sawdust and all. He always kept his two slices of bread until breakfast, at 9 o'clock, when he had another cup of coffee. At 1:30 he went to his boarding house for dinner. There were twelve boarders, including some Swiss, a Walloon, and several Germans.

Meagre Fare at Dinner

The table was laid for dinner, but nothing to eat was placed upon it until a tureen of soup was brought in, which was immediately pounced upon by one of the Germans, a fat man, who always took the first helping, being careful to remove such fat as might be floating on the top and a good share of the solid residue which had settled at the bottom. His fellow-guests resented this very much, and ultimately a rule was established that the guests should be served first in rotation, each thus getting a chance of securing some of such fat as there was in the soup, the ingredients of which were never known to those who consumed it.

After the soup portions of cooked green vegetables were served. These were followed sometimes by portions of potatoes. At 4:30 two slices of bread were served out with blood sausage, (black pudding,) and at 7:30 the men got their supper, consisting of another kind of soup, served boiling hot. If not taken very hot it would have been uneatable. This insufficient diet naturally sent the clients further afield for food. They went "hamstering" on their own account. "Hamstering," indeed, said the Hollander, "is the great occupation in Germany in the present time. Every one 'hamsters'—that is, every one obtains stores of provisions by clandestine means."

Latterly great care had been taken by the municipalities to husband the resources of gas, the only way in which the people were able to get their food cooked being by having it at stated hours when gas was available. Not only gas but other things were sometimes "cut off." At the time of an air raid on Düsseldorf the postal service was "cut off." A similar measure was adopted at Essen at the time of an air raid. At that time the principal railway station was shut off from the public and men coming to their work in the morning were obliged to leave the trains two miles from the station.

The shortage of leather induced the professors of Hagen to set the example of going barefoot. One of the professors appeared one day in his classroom without shoes or stockings. Others followed his example, and after a while the pupils presented themselves at the schools unshod. The professor's enthusiasm only lasted about three weeks, but the boys continued to go barefoot.

By degrees all the men were called up for military service and their places were taken by boys and women. The supply of food became so short that demonstrations were made and at Hagen 2,500 men and women presented them-

selves at the Town Hall demanding food. The demand of the people was only satisfied by their being given seed potatoes.

Women as Railway Guards

Another returned traveler from Germany made the following statement regarding the employment of women:

"The number of women railway guards increases steadily. In very many cases they are badly acquainted with their duties, and have no better answer to give than: 'Es tut mir leid, mein Herr; ich fahre die Strecke selbst zum ersten Mal,' ('I'm sorry, Sir; it's the first time I've done this journey myself.') One sees women employed on railways not only as guards, as formerly, but as brakemen and artisans. Once at a railway junction I saw a whole crowd standing together. They wore long, thick overcoats for the nights, which were then still cool, their hair brushed back under the regulation caps, the bag with tools and other necessities over the shoulder. Where a number of male colleagues was mingled with the group, it was hardly possible to distinguish between them. There was no distinction in the matter of uniform, and only in the case of the women one noticed peeping out under the heavy overcoats smaller feet less stoutly shod than those of the men. I must say that these women compelled my respect, for they seemed burly and healthy and not unhappy at finding themselves in the position they now occupy.

"One already hears anxiety expressed concerning the future of these women workers. On the one hand, the women have become independent and will be less amenable to the ordinary requirements of family life. On the other, it is believed that the opportunity of employment will be small after the war, so that those who are obliged to continue to provide for their own subsistence will hardly be able to maintain themselves. Moral deterioration will be the inevitable consequence of this state of things. There is already much complaint about the moral conduct of the women workers. I was told that in Westphalia, where prisoners of war and women work together in the mines, the most deplorable condition of things prevails."

Scarcity of Small Change

A correspondent who recently returned from Germany reported a great shortage of small change. There is much put into circulation, but it disappears again immediately. No one can say precisely where it remains, but it is suspected that the agricultural population bury it in the earth in order not to have to change it for paper.

Regarding the attitude of the German people toward the war, this traveler wrote as follows in August, 1917:

"Germany is tired of the war—there is no question about that. In spite of themselves the Germans long ardently for peace. One hears nothing more of the lust of conquest; but I must say that I have never heard anybody in Germany say, 'We must give it up.' I do not know what the people imagine will be the end of the war, and I believe they do not know themselves. They are depressed, and how can it be otherwise with the frightful losses that they have suffered? I know cases of young men who are the sole survivors of the class with which they left school. There is not a municipal, police, or railway office where one does not see bending over a desk a woman in black who has lost her breadwinner and who must now provide a precarious subsistence for herself. I have never heard terms of reproach associated with the name of the Kaiser, any more than with those of the statesmen of lower rank, although a general democratic, if not socialistic, spirit has penetrated the people. I have heard dignified men of high position say that all this fuss about Princes must be done away with after the war—that the times would not admit of so much money being wasted in this way any more. The worst is expected of the demands which the people, especially the soldiers returning from the field, will make after the war.

"There is no question of the prevalence of a revolutionary spirit in Germany, but that there is sometimes tension here and there is a fact. Popular entertainments are given regularly in all towns, to which the people can go without payment. We have returned to the

days of old Rome—rather less bread but more circuses. The late Spring, which made an early harvest impossible, caused

much disappointment. One often heard it said with emphasis, 'No, we cannot go through another Winter.'

The Austro-Germans and Islam

French Official Report on the Remarkable War Propaganda of Germany in Moslem Countries

We translate herewith for readers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE the most interesting portions of a report made to the French Chamber by Louis Marin, Deputy from Nancy, on the French Mission to Arabia:

FROM the very beginning of the war the Germans have been developing a world wide propaganda that has proved formidable in its wealth of material resources, its ingenuity, its variety of methods, and the regularity of its operations. Pamphlets in all the languages of Europe and Asia have been scattered with a profusion that staggers the imagination. Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Spain, the United States, and South America were first inundated; then came the turn of Africa and Asia, though with less success, despite the power to pass well guarded frontiers.

The Allies, it is true, replied to this frantic propaganda, but all too tardily; and whatever their efforts in this line, it may fairly be said that in quantity of output the Germans surpassed them "as much as a 420 shell surpasses a 75." Tracts, brochures, manuals, maps, documents of every sort, journals, dispatches, calendars, stage dramas, songs, films, the German propaganda has laid every imaginable form under contribution. Enormous sums have been spent in editing and distributing this matter gratis to all who would read it.

The Germans did not limit themselves to sowing their ideas among the neutrals and among the malcontents and dupes in enemy countries; with the same methodical industry they cultivated among their own people and those of their allies a faith in invincible Germany, which was

about to draw inestimable profits from certain victory. For this purpose alone almost 25,000 volumes in German, not counting fugitive sheets and small tracts, were published. A quarterly catalogue entitled "Die Deutsche Kriegsliteratur: Teildruck aus dem Register zu Heinrichs's Halbjahrs-Katalog," (German War Bibliography: A Separate Edition of the Table of Contents of the Semi-annual Catalogue of the Heinrichs Press, Leipsic,) contain about 15,000 titles of books devoted solely to the events of 1915, Germany's certain and sweeping victory, the origins of the war, the laws of war, the organization of German commerce after the war, German war humor, correspondence from the front, war dispatches, &c. To this deluge of print must be added the manuals at arms, books of prayer, songs, military instruction, hygiene, guides in all languages, to obtain any idea of the systematic poisoning of public opinion throughout the whole world undertaken by the Prussian Generals and their staff of learned doctors.

Propaganda in the Orient

A war machine so well equipped naturally reserved some of its best products for the Mohammedan subjects of the Entente and for Oriental neutrals who were not sufficiently Germanophile. The former especially engaged its attention; a Mohammedan revolt would deprive the Allies of dreaded native soldiers, and compel the use of numerous troops to suppress uprisings far from the front. No intrigues were left untried in the effort to make this magnificent double stroke succeed.

As the seas were controlled by the Allies, it was through Spain, Turkey, San

Francisco, and the Philippines that the Germans dispatched their venomous literature to South Africa, East Asia, and the far Orient. In Spain, indeed, the propaganda is still carried on almost in broad daylight, despite the benevolent neutrality of the Government toward the Entente. It is under the patronage of Prince Ratibor, the German Ambassador at Madrid, and recruits its agents from the Germans who have long been residents there, or from recent refugees and men interned in Spain. Its operations are centralized at Barcelona and are directed in that city by Mr. Hofer, a printer and typefounder. It possesses a wireless telegraph outfit, a press, and a publicity staff to furnish Spanish newspapers and magazines with reading matter, photographs, and cuts favorable to the cause of the Central Empires.

From Barcelona, Cadiz, Almeria, thanks to the agents of the German Navy League and the North German Lloyd, there were shipped by trickery on neutral vessels—chiefly Dutch and Spanish—tracts in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Hindustani, Bengali, Punjabi, Malay, Chinese, Annamite, Siamese, almost all printed at Berlin, some in Switzerland or even in Spain, to preach revolt to the natives against their English, French, Russian, and even Dutch oppressors, and to sound the praises of invincible Germany, born protector of Islam and of the Mohammedans of all the world.

To this work there was added, in order to "instruct the Orient in world politics," a bi-monthly review in German, whose title, translated, reads: *New Orient: Bi-Monthly Edition of the Correspondence of the Bureau of Oriental Information*. (Published at Berlin.) This deals especially in questions of Asiatic policy which are considered thorny for the Entente, such as "Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Persia," "Siam and France," "The Condition of British India," &c. The Allies can at least find in it interesting facts regarding the present functioning of the Turkish Government. The *Osmanischer Lloyd*, edited by Dr. Uebelhör, appears to be devoted more especially to keeping up the morale and confidence of Germans living in Constantinople.

To stir up trouble in British India,

emissaries went there from Turkey, through Persia and Afghanistan, to denounce, in the name of the Sultan, the so-called crimes of England against Islam. They incited the native Moslems to revolt against Great Britain, to refuse their aid against the Sultan and his faithful ally, "Hadji William," whose resounding pilgrimage to Jerusalem they could recall, and who, descended from a sister of Mohammed, was pretending to be a Christian in order to keep his power over his brave people, but always with the desire and certitude of turning soon to the faith of the Prophet. While awaiting that glorious day the Mohammedans should join with the Hindus and seize the present extraordinary opportunity to free themselves from the British yoke.

To these seeds piously sown in the ignorant crowd the Germans added, for the educated classes, curious brochures in Hindustani, Punjabi, Bengali, all ably edited and well presented typographically, and all denouncing the injustices and crimes of Great Britain, at the same time pointing to England's inevitable defeat under Germany's blows. Similar brochures in the Malay language urged the Malays of the Straits Settlements to revolt against the rule of the infidel and obey the Caliph at Constantinople.

In Persia it was a matter of casting odium upon both Englishmen and Russians, and of talking much more of Mohammed than of the Caliph at Constantinople, thus suiting the sentiments of the Shi'ite Mussulmans. Tracts in the purest Persian denounced the land greed of England and Russia, and extolled the benefits which the Shah and his empire could derive from German protection.

Pamphlets in Oriental Turkish and in Azerian Turkish for the benefit of Russian Mussulmans unveiled to them the crimes alleged to have been committed by their masters in East Prussia, and urged their duty to revolt against the empire of the Czars and make common cause with the Turco-Germans.

It is not only among the Malays and the Islamized Tiams of French Indo-China, and among the Chinese Mussulmans that Germany has tried to stir up trouble. Her activities are seen even

more clearly in the recent uprisings, wholly Islamic in character, among the native Malays and Javanese of the Dutch West Indies.

South Africa, a granary and military nursery for the Allies, has attracted the special attention of the Germans, as it was certain to do. Unable to approach it by way of the north or the ocean, which was guarded by the allied fleets, they attempted to penetrate to it by way of the northeast. Through Abyssinia they sent money, munitions, and some Turkish officers—not to mention considerable presents to the Senussi tribesmen, who were in revolt on the western edge of Egypt—to arouse the Sudan and foster resistance to the Italians in Tripoli. The suppression of these revolts is now practically complete.

The same thing was done in Tunisia, where the mass of the population, like its princes, remained perfectly loyal to France despite the secret excitations of a few fanatics and the egoistic rantings of a few young Tunisians. In Algeria and Morocco the Arabs and Berbers enlisted in crowds under the French flag, and their heroic deeds at the front are well known. Yet the propaganda for these two countries had been prepared with almost excessive care by the Germans; not being able to approach the natives from the south, it was through Spain and Spanish Morocco that they tried to contaminate them. From Madrid, from Seville, from Malaga, there issued with tireless activity during the whole year of 1915 and a great part of 1916 a stream of tracts in Arabic—some in Maghrebin characters, others in Berber—all edited with rare art and impudence for the purpose of inciting the Algerians, and especially the Moroccans, to throw us into the sea. Thanks to our squadrons and to the close watch of our frontiers instituted by General Lyautey few of these appeals “to the noble inhabitants

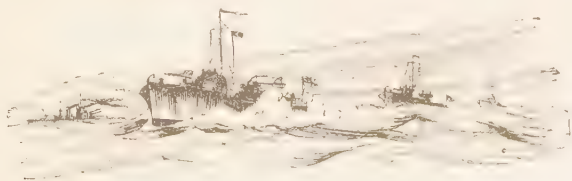
of Chaouia” against the “infamous French” reached their destination, and none produced any effect.

Such was the nature of these reservoirs of intellectual poison gas, labeled “Made in Germany.” One of our most noted Oriental scholars, M. Cabaton, professor in the School of Oriental Languages, has patiently gathered a large collection of them and translated them with care in their most minute variations. [Here follow twelve pages of titles of German tracts.] They have a double aim: to excite the hatred and scorn of the Mohammedans against the European powers, whose crimes against Moslem subjects and whose repeated defeats in the present war are exploited; and to excite admiration for Germany, protector and friend of Islam, rich and victorious among the nations of the earth.

The conclusion is inevitable: all the Mohammedans in the world, downtrodden by Allies or neutrals, ought, under pain of being remiss in their religious duties, to join in the Jihad, the holy war proclaimed by the Sultan at Constantinople, Caliph and Commander of the Faithful. They are assured of final success, thanks to the support of invincible Germany.

It is undeniable that the German propaganda aiming to arouse against the Allies all their Mussulman subjects was organized on a grandiose and methodical plan and pursued with tireless energy from the beginning of the war. It was a large undertaking, and it appears to have failed utterly.

Its failure seems due principally to the fact that it was bookish, though addressed to Oriental peoples who pay little attention to reading; therein lay its grave psychological error. Its insistence in lauding Germany to the skies, with its too evident exaggeration of statistics, also helped to render it suspect, even among the Mussulmans most inclined to listen to it.



Turkey's Heavy Hand in Syria

Fate of the Lebanon

Syria, from Damascus to Aleppo, is suffering in divers and terrible ways from the war. The majority of the population is said to be in sympathy with the anti-Turkish revolt in Arabia, and on July 6, 1917, Al Hussein ibn Ali, the new King of the Hedjaz, entered Southern Syria with troops and took possession of the little town of Akaba, pushing on beyond Ma'an, the Ma'on of the Old Testament. Jerusalem has long been threatened by the British expedition from Egypt. Natives of Syria, especially the Christians, are dying by thousands from starvation and disease. The Turkish Government has taken various and drastic measures to meet the double peril to its tottering power. Among other things, it has abolished the last of the old liberties of Lebanon, as related in the following article by K. T. Khairallah, a native Syrian, which is translated from the Temps of Paris:

TURKEY, profiting from the war's complications, has just wiped out the last vestiges of the autonomy of the Lebanon. The Temps of July 25, 1917, has announced the suppression of the elective Grand Council and the nomination of Turkish Governors in Batrou and Zahle.

Since 1861, thanks to an international convention, the vilayet of Lebanon possessed a statute which guaranteed its autonomy. That convention, entered into on June 9 of that year by Turkey and the great powers—Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Prussia—was modified in 1864, received the additional signature of Italy on July 27, 1868, and has since been renewed six times.

In 1915, under cover of military necessity, Turkey violated Article 14 of that convention when she invaded Lebanon territory with 40,000 soldiers. The Lebanon, disarmed by the very terms of the international agreement, saw its militia dispersed, its high functionaries sent into exile, and had at last to resign itself to seeing a Turkish Governor, designated by Turkey, taking the place of the ruler who had been recognized by the great powers. It was only two years afterward, at the beginning of 1917, that the Government at Constantinople tried to justify this violation. By a note addressed to its German and Austrian allies it denounced the Treaties of Paris and Berlin, and concluded by announcing the abolition of Lebanon's autonomy. "It was under pressure of the French Government," the note declared, "that that autonomy was created."

To justify its violations the Turkish Government has systematically garbled

historical truth. The initiative of France in 1860 did not tend to create an autonomous government in the Lebanon, since that existed already; but to make it respected by those who were interested in destroying it. The great powers and Turkey herself at that time bore witness to "a state of fact." Ever since 1516, the year of the Ottoman entry into Syria, the Lebanon had not ceased to be governed by its independent emirs. If the civil war of 1860 caused its liberties to be restricted, the powers guaranteed to it in return certain economic advantages represented by dues which Turkey paid regularly until 1876. Since then she has not kept her bargain, and her debt to the Lebanon now amounts to many millions of francs.

After the last protocol of Dec. 23, 1912, the people of the Lebanon protested. A petition signed by more than 300,000 persons was addressed to the great powers and presented on Dec. 17, 1913, by my colleague Skandar Ammun and myself, to the French Government. To put an end to the unsolved question, the Government at Constantinople found it simpler to take possession of the Lebanon.

The people of that vilayet, who are in a most lamentable state, are incapable of making their rights respected. Lebanonians living abroad, acting through their political committees in Cairo, in New York, in Sao Paulo, in Buenos Aires, and elsewhere, have addressed protests to all the powers in behalf of their country's liberty. Their eyes naturally turn toward the Allies, who are fighting for justice and the liberation of oppressed peoples. They call attention to the extermination with which their country is threatened, and their right to freedom

from the yoke which since 1861 has oppressed them.

Yonder on the sunny hills of Lebanon, facing the Mediterranean waves, lived a little nation, industrious and pacific. For three years a thick veil has hidden from the eyes of the world the atrocities and

nameless horrors which it has endured. What remains of it, now that famine, epidemic, and the "justice" of the Turk have wreaked their will upon it? At least let the ashes of the dead, of those who were our dear ones, rest in ground freed from all servitude!

The Dogs of War

By H. Wood

Staff Writer of The Exchange Telegraph

DOGS have now become of such a general and important use in the entire French Army that it is no longer possible to supply the demand. Although numerous societies throughout France for the breeding of dogs send large and regular quotas to the armies, and although every dog pound in France contributes every cur that comes its way, thousands of dogs are still needed. For the numerous duties that have been developed dogs, regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, can be utilized. The only qualification necessary is that of an average dog's intelligence, which is sufficient to permit its being trained for one of the regular services now assigned to the canine tribe in the French Army.

A dog kennel (and by kennel is meant an establishment large enough for the training of hundreds of dogs) is now just as much the regular equipment of every French army as are its kitchens, its automobile trains, or its munition caissons. The kennel for each army is usually situated in the front line, where the army is fighting. As fast as dogs can be secured and trained they are sent down to the front for active participation in the fighting.

Like everything else in the present great struggle, the rôle of the dog has changed and developed to an extent never before dreamed of. Previously war dogs had been trained only for two general purposes—that of carrying aid to the wounded and that of accompanying patrols for the purpose of scenting out the

enemy. The Belgians had added one rôle of their own, owing to the development of dog transportation in the country—namely, that of dog teams for drawing machine guns. While these original rôles are still preserved to a certain extent in the present struggle, the new tasks that have been developed for dogs are vastly more numerous and important. Two of these rôles—those of "liaison" dogs and sentinel dogs—can almost be said to have attained a degree of supreme importance. The "liaison" dogs, or those that carry messages from the first-line fighting troops to the commanding officers in the rear, have perhaps the most dangerous and the most useful rôle.

One of the greatest problems developed by the present war—and one that has not yet been successfully solved by any army—is that of keeping up communication between the force attacking and the artillery and commanding posts in the rear. The terrible barrages of artillery fire with which the enemy seeks to cut off and prevent such communication explain the difficulty of the problem—a difficulty that is only equaled by the supreme necessity of a solution. The principal methods up to date have been only ground and surface telephones, (that are laid as fast as the troops advance,) wireless telegraphy, airplanes, and foot runners. Recently the Germans have tried a system of inclosing the message in a shell and shooting it from a trench mortar through the French barrage to the rear. None of these has completely solved the problem, any more than has

the use of dogs by the French, but the latter are nevertheless rendering the most extraordinary service.

Thousands of dogs are found that have an aptitude for this task. They are given a special training, even down to accustoming them to shell and barrage fire. Once they are given the message to carry to the rear it is seldom if ever that they fail to arrive with it, unless first killed either by shell or machine-gun fire. Hundreds of these dogs have fallen and are still falling victims on the field of honor; but when it is considered that every dog thus killed saves the life of a soldier who would have otherwise been obliged to carry the message rearward, it is readily seen that their deaths are not in vain.

Many dogs that fail to show an aptitude for "liaison" work develop into excellent sentinels. The aptitude for this is not so easily developed as might be imagined, owing to the fact that the most valuable services must be rendered at night. Hundreds of dogs that prove first-class sentinels during the day might become nervous, fidgety, and excitable under night conditions at the front. The dogs, however, that arrive at the perfection required take their place on the top of the trench alongside the gun barrel of their master, detect every patrol or every

individual soldier that attempts to approach the barbed-wire entanglements in front, and lets his master know in a quiet way, without even tipping off to the enemy, that his approach has been discovered.

Although these new rôles have superseded to a large extent the original one of carrying aid to the wounded on the battlefield, dogs are still being trained and used in this work. One of the veterans along this line, who is named "Dick," and who won the Croix de Guerre at Verdun, where his master was killed and himself badly wounded, has just recovered sufficiently to go back into service. He has been attached to a section of the American Ambulance. Another one of these early Red Cross types, who also won the Croix de Guerre, but who was too badly wounded ever to be able to return to service, is being used in a unique way. He has the task of monitor at the Army Dog Hospital at Neuilly, and sees to it that refractory dogs become docile and obedient. If compulsory education for dogs produces the same general increase in intelligence that it is supposed to for humans, the canine population of France, with the close of the war, should be the centre of dog intelligence of the entire world.

Breaking News of War Casualties

The Australian Commonwealth Government has a humane and considerate method of informing relatives when soldiers lay down their lives on the battlefield. When the military authorities in Melbourne receive word that a soldier has been killed they send a wire to the priest or minister in the town where the nearest relatives to the man reside, and the message, which is addressed to the clergyman, is couched in the following terms:

It is officially reported that Sergeant Billjim, No. 1234, Twenty-sixth Battalion, was killed in action on Jan. 27. Please inform Mr. and Mrs. Billjim (father and mother) and convey to them our deep regret, also the sympathy of their Majesties the King and Queen and the Commonwealth Government in the loss that they and the army have sustained by the death of this gallant soldier.

The clergyman immediately conveys the sad intelligence, and in a few days the Premier, as head of the State, sends a letter which varies according to the different States. That sent by Crawford Vaughan, Premier of South Australia, who autographs every document, reads as follows:

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Billjim: On behalf of the Government of South Australia, I desire to convey to you an expression of sympathy in the loss of your dear son who, it has been officially reported, was killed in action whilst serving with the Imperial Forces in France.

The heroic deeds of those who have fallen in fighting for their Empire will never be forgotten, for it is realized that a man can render no greater service than to lay down his life in the cause of liberty, justice, and civilization.

[Signature.]

Indictment of Montenegro's King

Documents Indicating That His Intrigues With Austria Have Forfeited His People's Confidence

This noteworthy article, which appeared anonymously in *The New Europe*, sheds some new light upon the mysterious collapse of Montenegro in the Autumn of 1915, and indicates that King Nicholas has forfeited the confidence of his people. The author writes from the Yugoslav viewpoint, being an advocate of a great South Slavic State centring about Serbia; but after making allowance for this bias, the evidence presented is sufficient to show that the exiled King has placed himself under "a moral boycott on the part of all Montenegrins of any political standing." King Nicholas and his family are in France.

THE great war has placed the dynastic principle on its trial. In our own country and in Italy the royal houses have indented themselves, even more closely than before the war, with the aspirations of their peoples, while in Belgium and Serbia King Albert and Prince Alexander have become the symbols of democratic kingship. But, by an irony of fate, our greatest and our smallest ally present us with the reverse of the medal. The world knows how the House of Romanoff came to an end; and, in the present article, we give our readers a glimpse of the dynastic straits to which King Nicholas has reduced himself and his family by a long course of intrigue.

Mystery still surrounds the collapse of Montenegro in the Autumn of 1915; but it is now known that the King's third son, Prince Peter, had a secret meeting at Budva in Dalmatia in May of that year with the former Austro-Hungarian Military Attaché, Colonel Hupka; that telephonic communication was at times maintained between Cetinje and Cattaro; that by the King's orders the Montenegrin Army remained absolutely inactive for many months, and that General Jankevitch, the Serbian General, sent to Cetinje at the Czar's instance, and his successor, Colonel Peshitch, were hampered at every turn; that an agent of Prince Danilo negotiated in Switzerland with an agent of the Central Powers for a separate peace during the Bulgarian onslaught; that Prince Peter, on his father's orders, withdrew the Montenegrin troops from the key position of Mount Lovtchen at the critical moment and allowed the Austrians to enter al-

most unopposed; and that the King, disregarding the unanimous resolution of his Parliament to fight to the end, telegraphed to the Emperor Francis Joseph and Baron Burián. It was only the invading Austrian General's excessive conditions, and the stern attitude of his own officers, that finally determined King Nicholas to retire to Medua and so to Italy—the bulk of his army having meanwhile been caught helplessly in a trap. But, as is well known, Prince Mirko was left behind to reinsure Montenegro with the Central Powers.

Once established in France, King Nicholas sought to retrieve his fortunes by offering the post of Premier to Mr. Andrew Radovitch, whose record as a patriot and a democrat is known to every Southern Slav. Subsequent events are related below.

Admonished by a Patriot

On Aug. 18, 1916, Mr. Radovitch presented a memorandum to King Nicholas in the following terms:

The events now taking place in the various theatres of war provide me, as a devoted subject, with the occasion for drawing your Majesty's attention to the future destinies of our country. There is no longer any doubt as to the complete victory of our allies, which will lead to the final fall of the Turkish Empire in Europe, the defeat of Austria-Hungary, and the liberation and union of the Serbian people. More than any other people, it has paid with its blood for its deliverance, which will probably be followed by that of the Croats and Slovenes, who, in agreement with the Serbs, aim at creating a Yugoslav State. This idea represents the ideal of a whole people. * * * He who seeks to combat the movement will sooner or later be vanquished, for he will

find himself confronted by a torrent which carries away everything in its path.

It is conceivable that, solely out of regard for the august person of your Majesty, Montenegro might be re-established, while the other Yugoslav territories formed a State under the sceptre of the Karageorgevitch. In the most favorable circumstances Montenegro would expand in Herzegovina as far as the Narenta, and would form, with Rugusa, the Bocche di Cattaro, and Skutari, a State of about a million inhabitants. The country is peopled by the most energetic elements to be found among the Serbs, but as its richness does not correspond to the spirit and enterprise of the people, discontent has sprung up, and from day to day the desire for union with its brethren of prosperous Serbia and Bosnia increases.

After this war it will be very difficult to govern in all countries. Democracy will become dangerous, and will shatter like a torrent all obstacles in its way. The statesmen will be faced by the heavy task of guiding it prudently, in order to prevent overthrow and upheaval. There is no doubt that the events which took place in our country before and after the catastrophe will render Montenegro more difficult to govern than any other State; to this must be added the recent internment of the Montenegrins, and the famine to which a large part of our unhappy population will inevitably succumb. At the best, financial union will have to be followed by military and political union with Serbia or the Yugoslav State. But despite this imperious necessity, excited spirits in the two Serb States will leave no means untried to produce union, so that they would become the theatre of every kind of intrigue, such as our common enemies would encourage. Instead of the peace and well-being so amply merited by the Serbian people after so many sacrifices, discord and trouble would prevail.

Abdication Tactfully Suggested

The issue of such a situation can easily be foreseen, especially *after the reign of your Majesty*. You would find it impossible to accept the exorbitant demands of democracy, and would end, amid discontent, a reign which, especially during the first forty-five years, has been rich in glory. Recent events, however, need to be effaced by a striking act such as would worthily crown your Majesty's reign.

Montenegro has, for many centuries, been the intrepid champion of Serbian liberty and the Slav vanguard toward the West. The day when, with God's help, the Yugoslav lands are liberated, this task will have been gloriously achieved. Your Majesty's great ancestor, the greatest of Serbian poets, the Prince Bishop of Montenegro, Peter Petrovitch-

Njegosh, offered to the Ban Jelashitch, a Croat and a Catholic, to place himself at the head of the Yugoslav State. Your predecessor, Prince Danilo, placed his throne at the disposal of Prince Michael, solely in order to realize union of the Serbs.

Your Majesty in your youth gave free play to your patriotic sentiments in the hymn, "Onamo, Onamo," so dear to all Serbs, and in your works, "The Empress of the Balkans" and "The Poet and the Vila." Your Majesty has kindled the national conscience of our people and inspired it with the sacred idea of realizing the solemn vow of every Serb. The happy moment has come for your Majesty to realize this dream, and to leave behind you one of the proudest names in Serbian history. * * *

Your Majesty should become the champion of a strong and compact Yugoslav State, in which the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes would enter, and, perhaps, later on, even the Bulgars, as an autonomous unit. This State should be formed on the model of Italy, with equality of all its members. The Croats are nearer to the Serbs than were the Piedmontese to the Neapolitans; both are more akin to the Slovenes than the Piedmontese to the Sicilians. Until a common code has been drawn up the various provinces must retain their present legislation. The differences between them will soon be smoothed over, as in Italy. The roughness of the Serbs of Serbia and Montenegro will be toned down by the culture and love of order of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes of the Hapsburg monarchy. The Croats cannot wish for an independent Croatia, since it would be under the tutelage of Hungary. * * *

For Union of Southern Slavs

The memorandum goes on to point out that union must be followed by the fusion of the two Serb dynasties, which is rendered easier by the fact that the Prince Regent of Serbia is also the grandson of King Nicholas. It is therefore suggested that Kings Nicholas and Peter should both abdicate in favor of Prince Alexander, and that the succession to the throne of the united State should be assigned after him to Prince Danilo of Montenegro, and then alternately to the heirs of the two dynasties. The proper procedure would, it is added, be for King Nicholas and his heir to notify to the Czar their acceptance of these proposals, and then to conclude a formal treaty to that effect with the Serbian Government. The Montenegrin people

would, after the war, be given an opportunity of ratifying the decision on a basis of universal suffrage. "There is not a Serb and in general not a Slav who would not welcome with enthusiasm so momentous a step on the part of your Majesty, who, in the history of the Serbian people, would become the rival in glory of the Emperor Dushan. * * *"

These proposals were received with apparent approval by King Nicholas last Summer, but the actual decision was continually postponed. At last Mr. Radovitch, finding that a visit paid by the King to Italy in the Autumn had increased his tendency to evade the issue, presented a second memorandum on Jan. 11, 1917, couched in even more explicit terms than the first. The essential passage in this document runs as follows:

From the fall of the Serbian Empire [1389] to the present day, the ideal of the whole Serbian people has been union. Whenever this has appeared possible, we have seen Serbian monarchs who were ready to make sacrifices for the sake of unity. Never since Kosovo have we been so near to the realization of this ideal. * * *

If, unhappily, Montenegro is not capable, at this decisive moment, of offering effective aid in the struggle to realize an ideal which it has held for five centuries, your Majesty and your Government have none the less the duty to do all that is possible in this direction. * * * But it is clear that the most difficult question to regulate is the dynastic question, which alone—at least, in the view of us Serbs—could interfere with the idea of unification.

Dynasties which only considered their own private interests might evoke difficulties, and would, by doing so, incur grave responsibility. Holding as I do the view that this is the only road to safety and union for all Serbs and even Jugoslavs, I take the liberty of begging your Majesty to send an autograph letter to H. M. the Emperor of Russia, declaring your willingness to take, as soon as possible, the necessary measures for reaching an accord with the Sovereign and Government of the kingdom of our brothers of Serbia, and also with the representatives of the other Yugoslav countries, in order to decide our unification and lay its foundations.

Attitude of New Cabinet

Mr. Radovitch's proposals were declined by King Nicholas, on the pretext that the time was not yet ripe, and

accordingly the Cabinet resigned. The Czar signified his disapproval of the King's separatist intrigue by conferring upon Mr. Radovitch the Order of the White Eagle. He was succeeded as Premier by General Matanovitch, while Foreign Affairs were intrusted to Mr. Tomanovitch, the son of a former Premier, and Finance to Mr. Ilitch, a Serb advocate from Croatia, and only recently a Montenegrin subject. It might have been expected that men who owed their position entirely to the King's personal favor could be relied upon to fulfill his behests, but there are limits beyond which men of honor cannot be induced to go. Annoyed at the activity of the Montenegrin Committee of Union, founded by Mr. Radovitch and other prominent exiles, the King insisted that his Government should address a note to the Allies, disavowing the committee and declaring that "the Montenegrins continue to regard the Montenegrin Government as the sole representative of their interests." To this demand General Matanovitch refused the assent of his Government in the following terms:

The alliance gives us rights, but also imposes upon us duties. * * * The principle of nationality is the basis of our struggle against the Central Empires, the formula for solving the future constellation of Europe. * * * We unhappily are unable to fulfill our military duties, but we can and are bound to, remain inalienably faithful to the great principle for which our best sons have shed their blood. To accept this note, which officially proclaims separatism *pur et simple* for one part of our people, would be to disavow the alliance, to break the last thread which binds us to it, and force on a rupture of diplomatic relations.

The demobilization of the Montenegrin Army in January, 1916, lost us the friendship of Great Britain and aroused the suspicions of the other Allies, and even of our Serbian brethren. The political catastrophe which would be the infallible result of this note would mean the definite ruin of our country.

The reasons which serve as basis for the Government's policy are as follows: The *status quo* is no longer possible in the Balkans. The national conscience is awake and expanding in all sections of our nation. *The idea of union has become the faith, the religion, of the masses.* This faith has been created through the centuries by thousands of national martyrs. * * * Today it only depends upon

the attitude and skill of our popular representatives whether our national problem is to be solved by normal and legal means. For the separation of any section of our people would necessarily, as an anti-national reaction, lead to a revolution such as might efface the traces of the past.

General Matanovitch concluded by laying great stress upon the need for "a sincere and profound entente with Serbia," and for identifying the Montenegrin dynasty with the national ideal.

Another Cabinet Crisis

Not merely did this memorandum fail to evoke any satisfactory reply, but a fresh crisis was produced by King Nicholas's action in telegraphing on May 24 to the King of Italy in the following terms:

I am happy to learn of the glorious successes obtained by your heroic army, to which my admiration and enthusiasm go out. Greeting with all my heart its supreme chief, I hope that this same hand which is liberating Italian lands will soon be stretched out toward my unhappy mountaineers.

The compliments to Italian prowess, altogether unexceptionable in themselves, were interpreted by the whole of Slav public opinion, and unquestionably intended by the King himself as a direct slight to Serbia and a peculiarly insidious bid for Italy's aid in frustrating Yugoslav unity. Fortunately, the record of King Nicholas is sufficiently well known in Rome to make the Consultachary of giving more than a perfunctory support to the inveterate Balkan intriguer. His action, however, rendered a Cabinet crisis inevitable, and on June 5 General Matanovitch addressed a fresh memorandum to the King, explaining his reasons for accepting office last Winter and for now resigning.

The solution put forward by the late Premier, in favor of the union of the dynasties and alternative reign, seemed to me very complicated, unrealizable, and calculated to give rise to serious consequences. At that time I agreed with the opportunists, believing that this great work would have to be realized in the most advantageous way possible and with the least possible injury to existing historical foundations. For the rest, I was in entire agreement with my predecessors. The great events which are shaking the world open a new era in human history. Our

people is also engulfed in the chaos of events. * * * Montenegro could not escape the general movement; and on the day when the barriers separating it for centuries from its blood brothers—and particularly from Serbia—had fallen, the problem of reconstructing the Serbian State had arisen of itself. The new situation demanded a new form of State; separatism, being in conflict with the spirit of the age, became impossible for the future.

The Government, he continued, accepted office on the understanding that a project of union should be prepared, ready to submit to Parliament for approval after the restoration of peace. More than once he asked the King's permission to proceed with the draft, but met first with evasion and on May 15 with a definite refusal. He wrote:

The annoying consequences of this have robbed us of the little prestige which was left to us: For your Majesty's refusal could only be interpreted in competent quarters as hesitation to pronounce openly on a question of international policy which divides the world into two opposite camps. Besides, your Majesty has seen fit to raise great and delicate political questions whose solution was contrary not only to the spirit of the Government program, but also to the Constitution of Montenegro.

The telegram to the King of Italy, the Premier concluded, was a denial of the Yugoslav ideal, such as the Government could not ignore, the more so as its dispatch without the knowledge of the Government was quite unconstitutional. General Matanovitch and his colleagues thus saw no alternative but to resign.

Abdication Openly Demanded

Mr. Ilitch went even further. In his letter of resignation he flatly accused the King of acting "in flagrant contradiction to the program of the Government," and added that in his opinion "the action of T. R. H. the Princes is not in accord with the interests of the royal house, with the obligations toward the Allies, and with the well-being and ideal of the nation." He even expressed the fear that "the end may be a collapse of the dynasty's prestige," and concluded by demanding in so many words that "the Petrovitch dynasty should abdicate in favor of H. M. the King of Serbia," as "the sole conceivable means of avoiding a catastrophe." He not unnaturally

added that his letter might be treated as an act of resignation.

This dramatic action may be taken as a moral boycott against the dynasty on the part of all Montenegrins of any political standing. The new Premier, Mr. Eugene Popovitch, an old man of 72, is a native of Dalmatia, but has for most of his life been an Italian subject, and was for many years Montenegrin Consul General in Rome. If he is scarcely known to his nominal compatriots, his colleagues are entirely unknown and sub-

ordinate officials, who have never played any political rôle and are mere creatures of the King. The most striking proof of the discredit which he has brought upon himself is the refusal of the Allies to admit his representative to the recent conference in Paris.

Disregarding all hints, King Nicholas was unwise enough to give to the press a statement to the effect that Mr. Popovitch was the Montenegrin delegate to the conference, who none the less remained outside.

Rumania Betrayed by Russia

Secret Documents of the Czar's Government Reveal Cause of One of the War's Great Tragedies

The National Review of London, edited by L. J. Maxse, recently published an important article, of which the most significant portion is printed below:

TODAY, thanks to the upheaval at Petrograd, many documents destined to remain forever hidden among the secret archives have come to light. The explanations they furnish are as unexpected as they are valuable. Public opinion, ignorant of the truth, had accepted the most natural explanation and had attributed the two capital faults to the Government of Bucharest; but now, to the general stupefaction and indignation, it became evident that, far from being guilty of carelessness and want of foresight, Rumania was the victim of a terrible plot hatched in Berlin in concert with the men of the old régime at Petrograd, enemies of the cause they were called upon to defend.

Irrefutable evidence shows that the date of the declaration of war and the plan of campaign were forced upon Rumania by the Government of Petrograd, presided over by Messrs. Stürmer and Protopopoff. It is superabundantly proved that these men, who came up against the gentle obstinacy of Nicholas II. every time they tried to convince him of the necessity of concluding "a separate peace," had no other object in view

than to put their country into the position of being forced to do so.

The check of the Rumanian intervention, on which many fine hopes were founded, seemed to serve their purpose to perfection. It has been proved now that the offensive of Brusiloff had come to a full stop at the beginning of August. And, still more, his armies were running the risk of being outflanked. Arrested at the passes which debouched into the Hungarian plain by the army of Koewess, General Brusiloff had been obliged to turn the front of his armies to the north-west—toward Lemberg—thus exposing his flank to the divisions which Hindenburg was bringing up against him.

Plan of Petrograd Plotters

A complete defeat of the Russian armies, for which they would have been responsible to the Emperor, to Russia, and to the Allies, would not have suited these men. The defeat of Rumania, which they could impute to the inefficiency of her army, would lead equally to the same end, without compromising their personal prestige. At any price it was necessary to turn away from the Galician front the storm which was threatening.

So the plan they conceived was put

into execution. On July 1 the Imperial Government sent to the Rumanian Government the now famous ultimatum, the brutality of which is equaled only by its perfidy. It was the first document of a correspondence with which the revelations of General Iliesco in the *Matin* have made us acquainted—revelations completed by the publication of Count Czernin's last report in the Austrian Red Book and loyally confirmed by the men of the new régime in Russia. Nothing is more distressing than the reading of this correspondence. On one side the constant reminders of promises, the despairing remonstrances; on the other the haughty, sometimes even injurious, tone, the feigned assurance. "Now or never," says the Russian ultimatum which forced Rumania into the war, "for it must not be hoped that we shall again permit the Rumanian Army later on to make a military promenade and enter Austro-Hungarian territory in triumph."

It was impossible for the Rumanian General Staff to resist the imperious orders of their powerful neighbor, especially as at that moment no help could be hoped for from England or France, both distant and both entirely absorbed by the battle of the Somme. Despite their heroic efforts and their daily successes, the British and French armies had not yet succeeded in their principal object, the relief of Verdun, against which Hindenburg was at that moment preparing his last attack with formidable forces. It was impossible to hope that, under these circumstances, France and England would oppose the wishes of the Russian Government, especially as they were expressed in terms which left no other alternative than to advise the Rumanian General Staff to come to an understanding with the Russian command. France gave a last proof of her solicitude for Rumania in pledging herself to come to her help by a general offensive of the Saloniki army, which should begin eight days before the date of the entry of Rumania into the campaign.

Sarrail's Army Checkmated

The desire of France to help this new ally was so sincere that M. Briand, then President of the Council, breaking all

precedents, went so far as to announce in the Chamber the projected offensive of the Orient forces. The treason which unfortunately surrounded this army on all sides rendered it impossible for General Sarrail to carry out this plan at the opportune moment. Warned by the pro-Germans of Athens of the impending attack, the Bulgarian Army made the first move, and, attacking on both flanks, obliged General Sarrail to regroup his forces, which paralyzed his movements. Thus the Rumanian General Staff remained alone to face the Government of Petrograd.

Obliged to yield to the Russian ultimatum and to declare war on the day fixed in it, they asked the Russian higher command for their co-operation in the plan of campaign worked out by them, showing how impossible it would be, with the sixteen divisions, which represented the whole army, lacking heavy artillery, completely unprovided with machine guns, to cover the 600 kilometers of the Danubian front and at the same time attack on the 700-kilometer front of Transylvania. They proposed taking possession of the bridgeheads of Rustchuk and Sistov in order to guard against a passage of the Danube. To hold in check the 200,000 Bulgars, reinforced by several Turkish divisions, whom the Rumanian General Staff knew to be concentrated against the Dobrudja front, they asked for the help of seven or eight Russian divisions. Thus assured against all danger on the southern front, they might, in liaison with the left wing of Brusiloff's army, invade Transylvania with some chance of success. Before all, they insisted on the delivery of 400 machine guns which the Russian Government had promised to hold in readiness on the frontier, so as to be able to deliver them the day Rumania should declare war.

Rumania Forced Into a Trap

The answers of Messrs. Stürmer and Protopopoff to these proposals left Rumania no longer any doubts as to the extent of the sacrifice demanded of her. They were opposed to all operations on the Danube, declaring that they had been categorically assured that the Bulgarians would lay down their arms. They took

entire responsibility for it. On no account were hostilities to be directed against them. For the same reason they judged it absolutely useless to comply with the request for seven or eight divisions: "Who is threatening the Dobrudja front?" said a message coming from the Russian higher command. And when the Rumanian General Staff insisted on certain information, according to which about eight Bulgaro-Turkish divisions were advancing toward this front, a new message arrived, which said that two divisions might be put at their disposal. These indeed arrived. One of them was composed of Serbian, Croatian, and Czech prisoners belonging to Austrian regiments captured in Galicia. As to the machine guns, not one could be procured, and it was only later that M. Protopopoff confessed that he had not been able to deliver them because they had been placed on the roofs of the houses in Petrograd to put down the threatening revolution.

These messages were well calculated to dispel the last illusions of the Rumanian Government. It is hard to conceive that they could have been blind enough to believe that, with their sole resources—sixteen divisions, summarily armed—they would succeed not only in conquering vast extents of territory, but also in keeping them, when they could already hear the tread of the Bulgaro-Turkish armies, reinforced by three German divisions under Marshal Mackensen, advancing toward the Danube, and when, in the north, an army of élite, with material of crushing superiority, was preparing, under the command of Falkenhayn, for a crushing counteroffensive.

A Tragic Alternative

The Rumanians were thus placed before the tragic alternative of risking the fight under conditions in which defeat—with all its terrible consequences—was nearly certain, or of resisting the Russian ultimatum and, in this case, giving up all hopes of the union and emancipation of the race, resigning themselves to become to Germany what the Asiatic monarchies of old were to the Roman Empire. They chose the first alternative, trusting to the honor of the Brit-

ish and French Governments that they would take account of the immense sacrifice Rumania was making.

The beginning of the campaign could seem brilliant to those who judge only by appearances, but the fears expressed as to the bad faith of the Bulgarians were not long in being realized, and the Russian assurances on this subject speedily proved fallacious; the Dobrudja was attacked by large forces. This part of the immense front of 1,300 kilometers had now to be defended, and the divisions called back from Transylvania, where, at the first bound, sweeping before them the Hungarian troops, they had reached Sibin.

The Second, Fifth, Tenth, and Fifteenth Divisions, withdrawn in haste and sent, under the command of General Aversco, to the Dobrudja, retrieved the situation by a brilliant success, thus avenging the check of Turtukai. But by this the Transylvanian campaign was compromised. For the last time the Rumanian Government made a moving appeal to their ally, enumerating in detail the strength of the enemy and showing that only the immediate dispatch of considerable reinforcements could give hope of resisting the two armies with which Falkenhayn and Mackensen proposed inclosing Rumania as in a vise. How was it possible, indeed, for the Rumanian Army, left to its own resources, to resist thirty-seven divisions, with a superior armament, twenty of which belonged to the élite of the German Army, when a great power like Italy, whose army had given proof of such brilliant qualities, had nearly yielded to the attack of thirty-three divisions composed exclusively of Austro-Hungarians? But M. Stürmer could now hardly stop in the disastrous course he had taken. He confined himself to prescribing a regrouping of the Rumanian forces still left to themselves.

Gallant but Hopeless Fight

From the end of September, with all the energy of despair, the army retreated step by step, defending the passage of each river; first the Jiul, where, after a magnificent effort, it succeeded in retrieving the situation by destroying the Eleventh Bavarian Division, killing

or capturing down to the last man—next the Alt, and finally the Arges, the last rampart defending Bucharest. At this moment, in December, two Russian divisions, the first since the two divisions sent to the Dobrudja, arrived to take part in the defense of the capital. But in this battle, which for three days remained undecided, their part was null, for even there they did not arrive in time. The left wing of the Rumanian Army being turned, the divisions which had, under General Averesco, bravely held out on the line Predeal-Bucharest were obliged to beat a retreat and take up a last stand on the line Galatz-Focsani, thus abandoning with the capital all the rich Walachian plain.

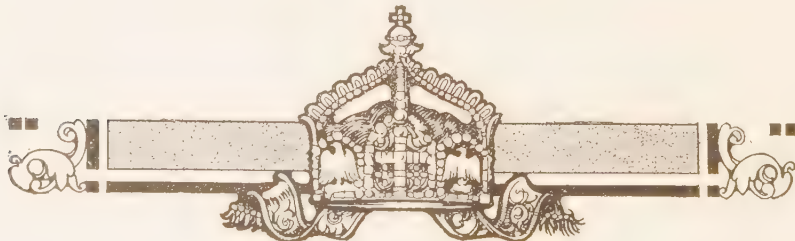
The Rumanian Government gave a last proof of their spirit of sacrifice in destroying, before they retreated, everything that could possibly serve for the revictualing of the enemy. Besides the cereals, of which the Germans found only very small quantities, all the splendid modern plant of the rich petroleum industry was systematically destroyed. An Anglo-Rumanian commission was intrusted with the task of setting fire to the petroleum wells, which cover a vast region on the southern slope of the Carpathians. The sight of the flames and the columns of smoke, which plunged whole territories into darkness; the regiments defiling mute and gloomy, the populations fleeing terror-stricken before the blackness spreading like a cloud which the midday sun could not pierce, have left on the memory of all those who witnessed this grand but terrible spectacle an impression which will never fade. Thus the expected sacrifice was accomplished.

Of the 620,000 soldiers who, on Aug. 28, had marched at the given signal, and in whom Rumania had placed the hope of the realization of her ancient dream, only a third remained to continue the struggle along the line of the Sereth. Well over 200,000 men were killed or wounded, about 100,000 had been taken prisoner in the different places where they had been surrounded through the junction of the armies of Falkenhayn and Mackensen.

Rumania and Verdun

The year 1916 ended in disaster for Rumania, but she had the satisfaction of knowing that her sacrifice had not been in vain, and that these successes of the Kaiser's troops had been largely made up for elsewhere. For by drawing down on herself the thirty-seven divisions of élite which would otherwise have been employed on other fronts, she had saved the armies of Letchitsky and Brusiloff from a counteroffensive which had caused the gravest anxiety. She could also claim with pride that she had not been quite a stranger to the fullness of the successes of her allies on the Somme and the Ancre, and that she had contributed to the definite and complete check of the Germans in the battle of Verdun—a battle second in importance only to that of the Marne—and the name of which will predominate in the history of the war in 1916.

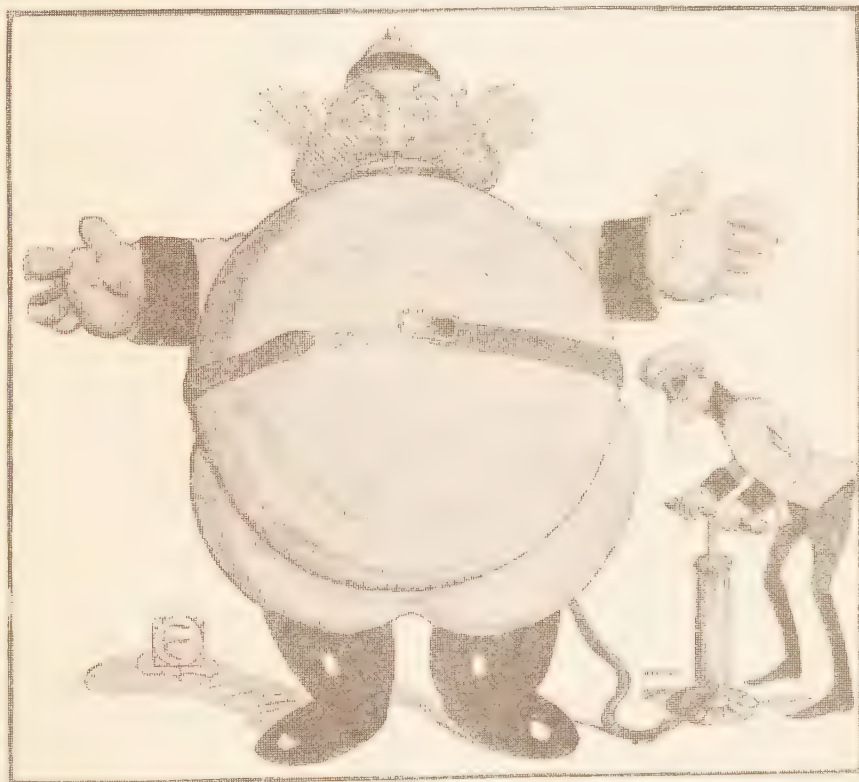
Let us hope that the military conferences of the Allies intrusted with the conduct of the war will decide to use the new army of half a million of men which Rumania has organized in a way more profitable to the complete and definite victory of the Allies.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

Undiminished Power



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

GERMANY: "They say we are exhausted. We are as great as ever."

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Other Danger

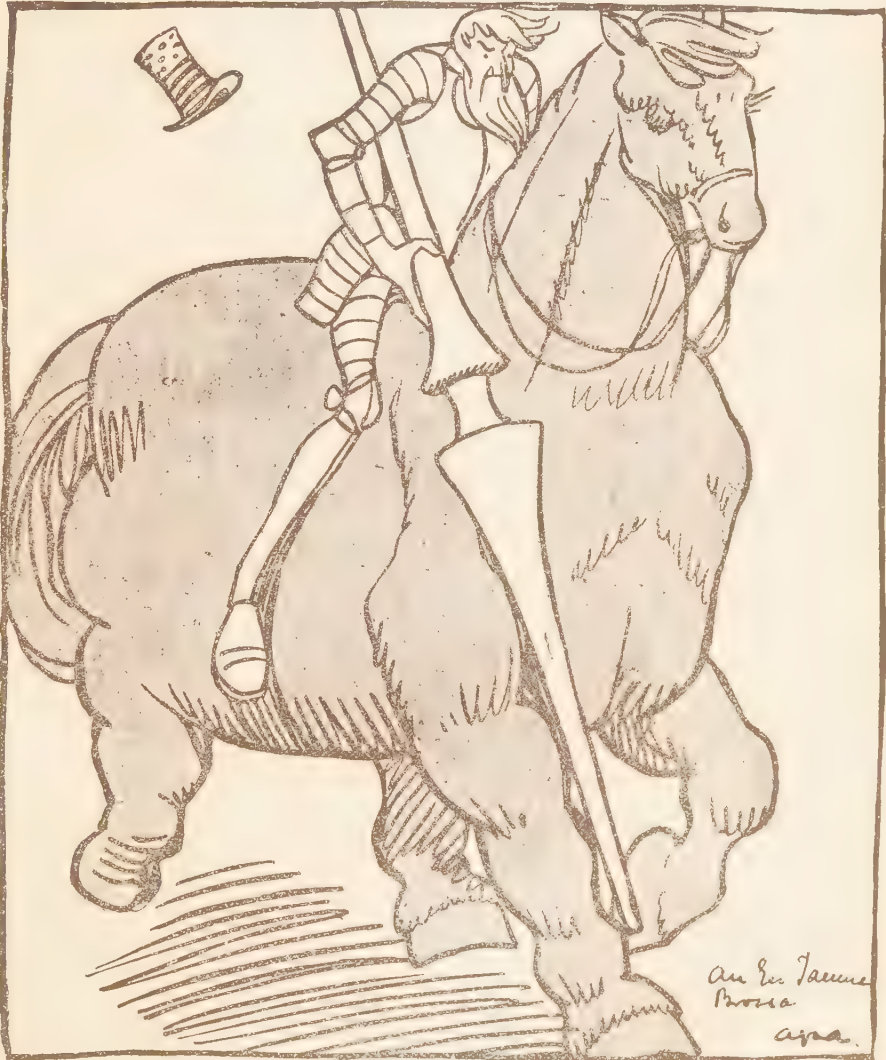


—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

When Europe lies bleeding and dying, look out for the hyenas of the East [the yellow races of Asia.]

[Spanish Cartoon]

The New Don Quixote



—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

“Don Quixote has become a Yankee.”

[Words of Jaime Brossa, at a Spanish banquet given to the French Minister of Fine Arts.]

[American Cartoon]

Eye to Eye



—From *The Chicago Herald*.

The Dark Ages face to face with the New World.

[American Cartoon]

American Peace Arguments



—From *The Chicago Herald*.

View looking west from Berlin.

[English Cartoon]

Comic Relief



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

The new German Chancellor amuses the Entente.

[Australian Cartoon]

Johnny Yank



—From The Sydney Bulletin.

“Waal, boys, guess there’s room for me in here somewhere!”

[American troops landed in France on June 28, 1917]

[English Cartoon]

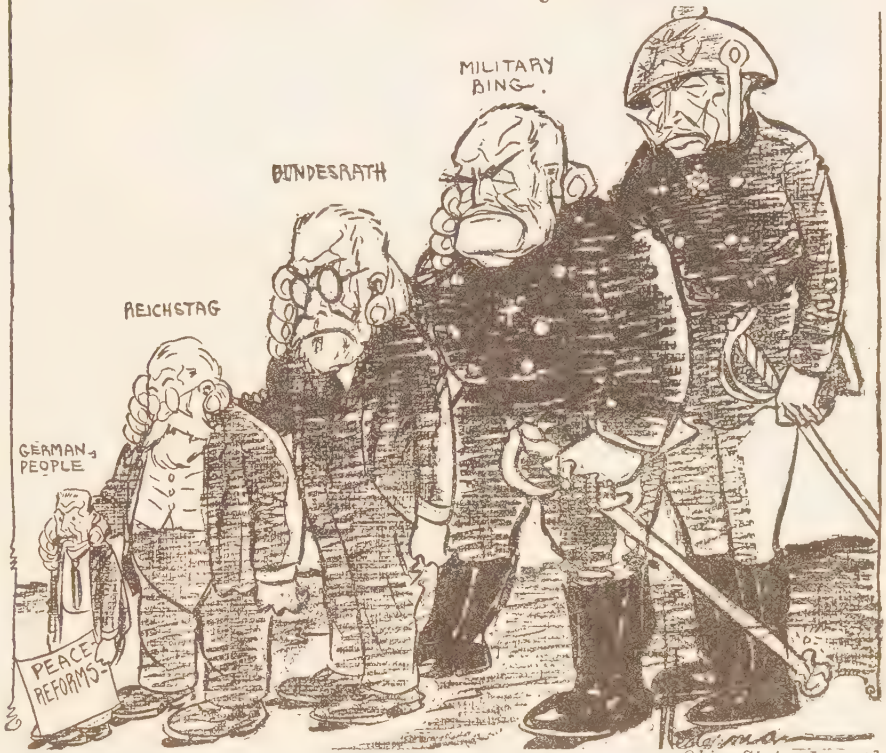
The Potsdam Sphinx Found Out



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE: "O Majesty! Your riddle of victories on every front has remained unsolved for three years, but now we know the answer—the utter defeat of Germany and the doom of the Hohenzollern!"

[American Cartoon]
The Kaiser System



—Ohio State Journal.

A fine chance the German people have to start something!

[Swiss Cartoon]

Civilization in 1917



"Death and hunger, murder and lies upon earth, peace and good-will toward the devil."
 —From Nibelungen, Zurich.

[English Cartoons]

Anti-Germ-an Poison Mask



—From The Sunday Evening Telegram, London.

The most suitable costume for members of civilized nations who have personal dealings with the people of German race in future.

The Missing Word



—From News of The World, London.

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE: "Say 'Restoration,' you son of a gun, 'R-restoration!'"

[Italian Cartoon]

American Intervention



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

GERMAN MILITARISM: "I hear a noise!"

[Russian Cartoon]

Agriculture in Russia



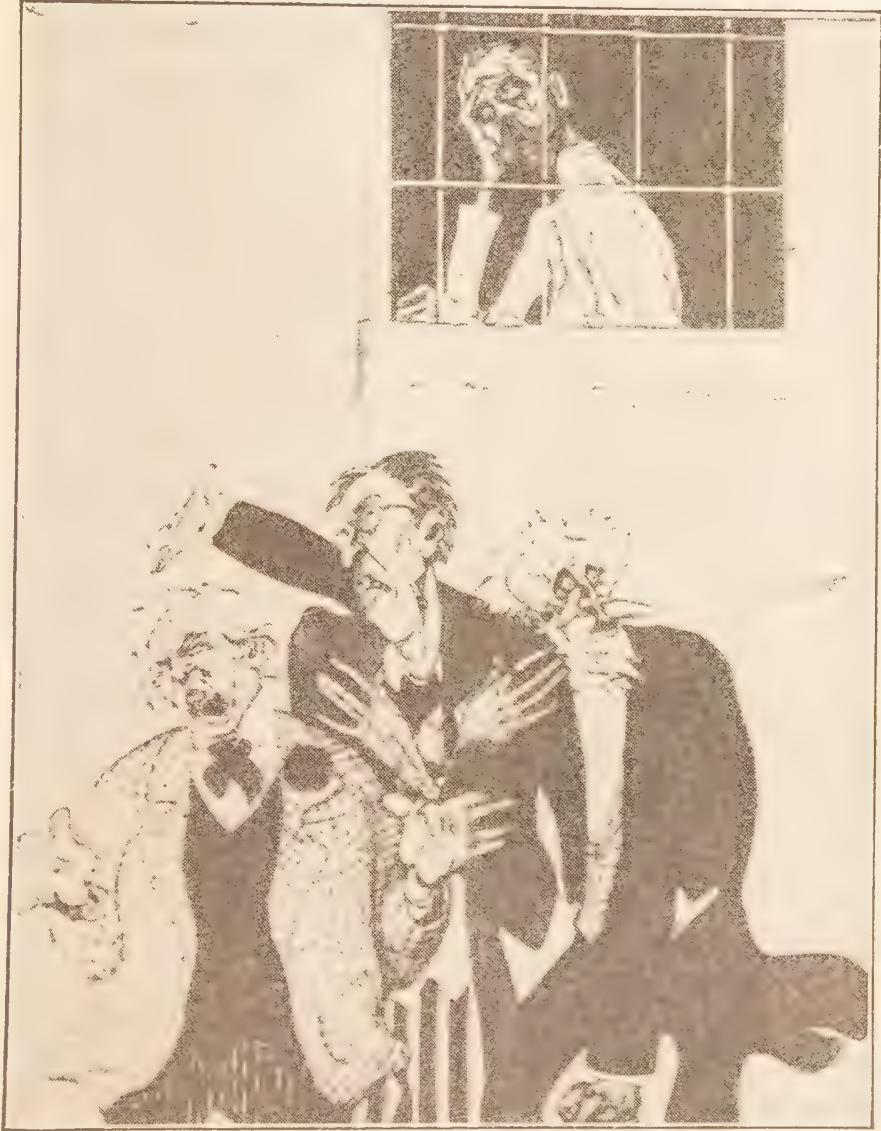
—From *Novy Satirikon*, Petrograd.

LANDLORD: "Why do you stand on one foot?"

PEASANT: "Because I can't put the other down without trespassing on your property."

[German Cartoon]

The Entente Jewel, Consistency



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin.

CHORUS OF THE ALLIES: "We will never negotiate with an autocratic Government—never!"

VOICE OF NICHOLAS (above): "And those fellows once called me brother!"

[American Cartoon]

The Rainbow



—From *The New York Times*.

America's hosts are coming, a thousand thousand strong.

[German Cartoon]

Tremble, Germany !

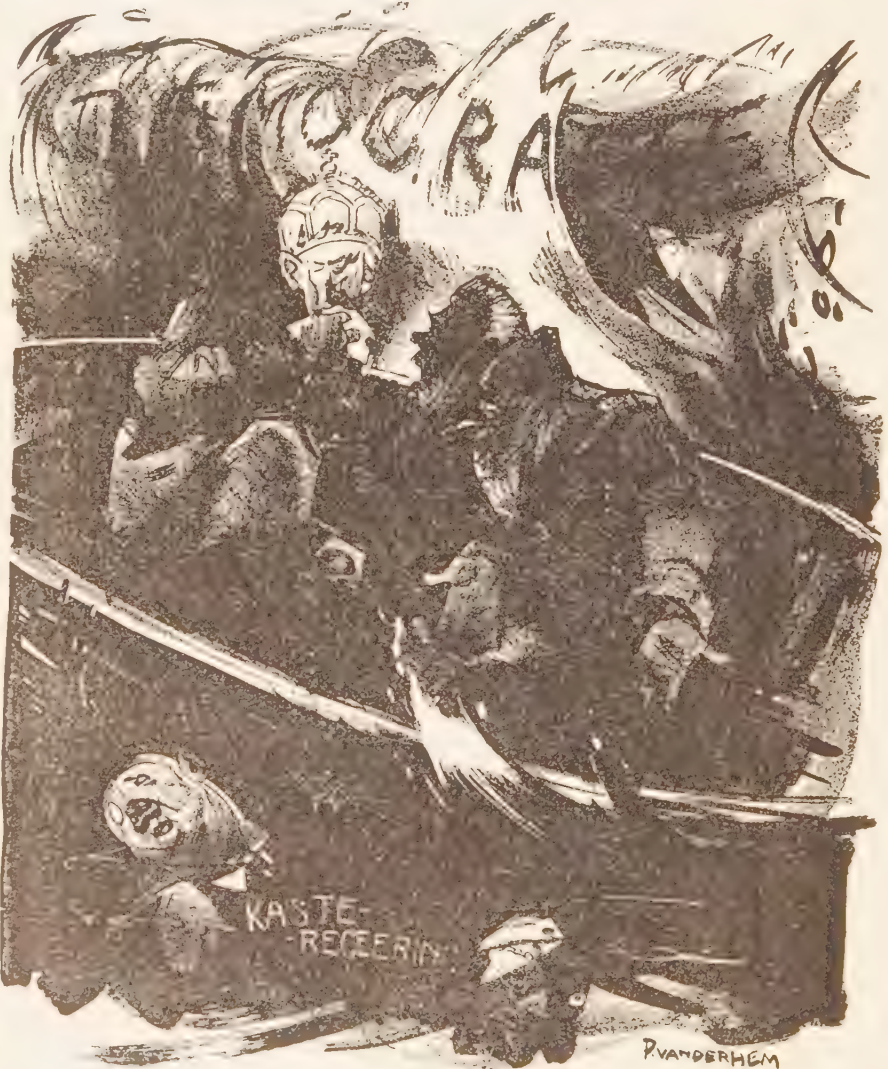


—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

The U-boat is doomed! China's invincible fleet is going to eat it up.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Lightening the Load



—From the *Nieuwe Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

VON BETHMANN (casting class privilege overboard): "It must go, Majesty, or it will cost you your crown."

[American Cartoons]

Reading the Stars



—Manchester Union.

He Wants an "Honorable Peace!"



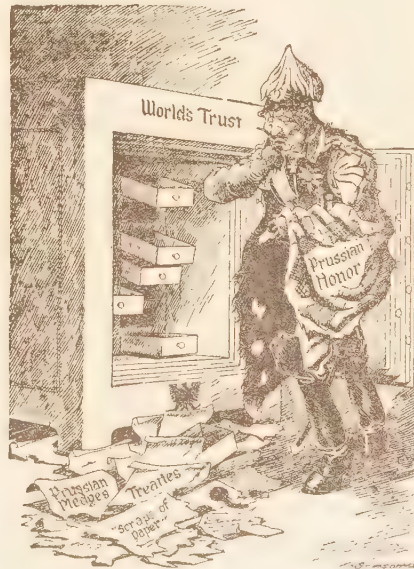
—Manchester Union.

The Cross Bearer



—Los Angeles Times.

The Bankrupt



—Dayton News.

William: "Shake and I'll Forgive All"



—Baltimore American.

She Will Not Trust Him



—Baltimore American.

The Bird Will Not Be Fooled



—Baltimore American.

WILLIAM: "See, I prepare the way with my cloak!"
PEACE: "Yes, that's all it is!"

The Italian Renaissance



—Baltimore American.

[Russian Cartoon]

Labor and Capital in Russia

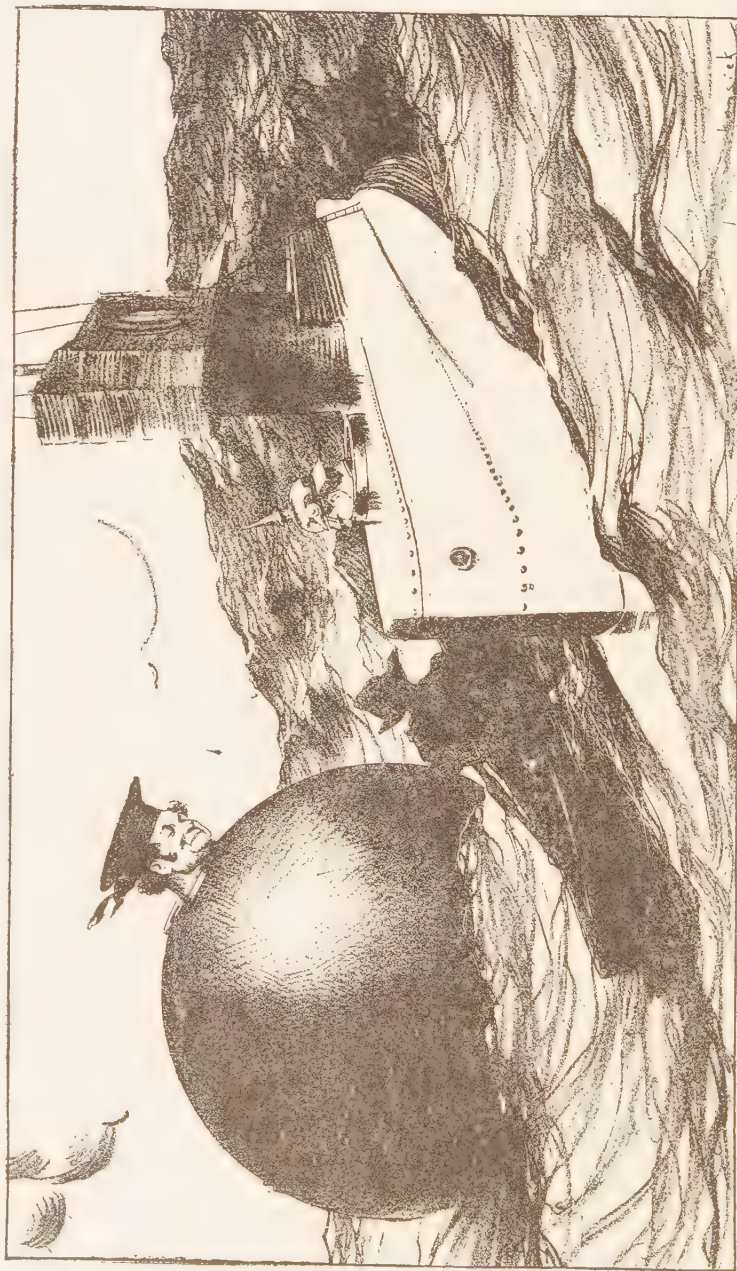


—From *Novy Satirikon*, Petrograd.

LABOR: "I used to dream of shedding the blood of the bourgeois. I now delight in making him shed something else."

[Dutch Cartoon]

Holland Shut Out From Commerce by England and Germany



—From *De Amsterdamer*, Amsterdam.

“Our relations with all foreign powers remain friendly.”

[Speech from the Dutch Throne.]

THE SECOND LIBERTY LOAN

“Shall we be more
tender with our
dollars than with
the **lives of our sons**”
Woodrow Wilson
Secretary of the Treasury

Buy a United States Government Bond of the
2nd LIBERTY LOAN
of 1917

J.W. GILVER
DESIGNED

(Photo Harris & Ewing)

One of the Posters Used to Advertise the Second Issue of United States War Bonds.

TWO OF AMERICA'S MILITARY CHIEFS



(© Underwood & Underwood)

General Fred C. Dyer, Vice Chief of Staff in the United States Army, (left), and Major Gen. Hugh L. Scott, His Predecessor, (at right.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VII. } No. 2
Part I }

November, 1917

25 Cents a Copy
\$3.00 a Year

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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 19, 1917]

THE MONTH'S CHIEF DEVELOPMENTS

OCTOBER, 1917, witnessed a series of furious British drives in Flanders almost without a parallel in history. The result was a gain of a sector on the more elevated land lying east of Ypres. This gave the allied troops a strategic advantage in the disposition of their forces, which will be of great value in further thrusts; these are clearly in contemplation throughout the Winter. The French gave important assistance on the left flank, where they hold a small sector. There was almost continuous fighting along the Meuse, in the Verdun sector, without any material change in the lines. On the Austro-Italian front in the Julian Alps the gains made by the Italians on the Bainsizza Plateau were held; toward the end of October it was reported that forty new divisions of Germans and Austrians were being moved from the Russian front to resist the Italians. The Russians suffered a severe disaster by the loss of important islands in the Baltic, which gave the Germans control of that sea, to the imminent peril of the naval bases of Reval, Viborg, and Kronstadt, and with a serious possibility of a naval offensive against Petrograd itself. It was announced on Oct. 19 that on account of the imminence of German control of the Gulf of Riga the Russian Government was preparing to transfer the capital from Petrograd to Moscow. The British scored an important success in Mesopotamia by the capture of a small Turkish army northwest of Bagdad, making secure their occupation of that city.

The political situation developed important phases during the month. Exposures of the treachery of German diplomats in the United States and in Argentina brought several Latin-American States to the side of the Allies. The internal situation in Germany was profoundly disturbed by a growing opposition to the new Chancellor, the disclosure of a mutinous feeling in the German Navy, and the grave shortage in food and

fuel, which was becoming more acute on account of the rigid embargo on all cargoes to European neutrals.

The war preparations in the United States proceeded with almost feverish speed, on a scale of magnitude heretofore unknown in history; it was reported toward the end of October that over 100,000 American troops were already in France and that fully 500,000 would be there by Spring. The Second Liberty Loan campaign was vigorously prosecuted, and two billions had been subscribed by Oct. 20.

* * *

GOVERNMENT INSURANCE FOR SOLDIERS

THE Soldiers Insurance bill, as finally adopted, makes all officers and men and women in both branches of the service eligible; the policies range from \$1,000 to \$10,000, and the age limit is 15 to 65. The premium is based on age: a man of 30 on a \$1,000 policy pays 69 cents a month, &c. The policy is payable in monthly installments to the insured, if wholly disabled, and to the heirs at his death. The premiums are payable monthly and will be deducted from pay unless instructed to contrary; failure to pay within 31 days after a premium is due forfeits the policy, but insured may be reinstated within 6 months. The following persons may be named as beneficiaries: Husband, wife, child, both legitimate and illegitimate; adopted child, grandchild, father, mother, grandparents, step-parents, brother, sister, of the half as well as whole blood.

* * *

A HISTORIC SESSION OF CONGRESS

ONE of the most memorable sessions of the United States Congress was that which ended on Oct. 6, 1917. This, the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, began by special call on April 2, and the same evening heard President Wilson's address recommending a declaration of war. More legislation of the

most far-reaching order was passed than in any previous session, while the appropriations ran to billions of dollars. This session will be historical as definitely marking the great transformation of the Republic, with its early ideas of avoiding entangling alliances, into a mighty world power fully and frankly recognizing that its interests are as wide as humanity itself. No one has been better aware of this development of the nation than President Wilson, as can be gathered from several of his utterances before circumstances drove him to the conclusion that the United States could no longer remain a neutral. And not the least interesting feature of the session has been the extraordinary ascendancy which the President established over Congress, receiving authority for practically every war measure he demanded, and successfully resisting those he deemed inadvisable.

* * *

BELGIUM'S FIGHTING STRENGTH

THE Belgian Army on Oct. 17, 1917, consisted of the following: One hundred and twenty thousand men on the 25-mile Belgian firing line; back of the line, 100,000 more Belgian troops in training or reserve; back of these, a fully equipped munitions system and base and transport organization. In Belgian munition factories, in France or England, operated by Belgian managers and worked by Belgian women, children, and wounded men, a large part of the supplies for the army are produced. As Belgium can no longer levy taxes in her own territory, she has been financed by loans from Britain, France, and the United States, which is lending her \$7,500,000 a month. In Africa the Belgian flag waves over the Congo territory and a Belgian army of 43,000 natives, commanded by Belgian officers, has conquered from Germany 180,000 square miles. At the outbreak of the war Belgium had only 30,000 regulars and 150,000 national guardsmen.

* * *

FORMER RUSSIAN OFFICIALS IN PRISON

IN the Troubetskoi Bastion of the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul at Petrograd, where for two centuries have been immured regicides, nihilists, bomb

throwers, and victims of autocratic tyranny, are now interned eight conspicuous Russian figures, viz.: General Rennenkampff, who carries a black record for his tyranny and injustice toward the 1906 revolutionists; M. Bieletsky, former Director of Police and accomplice of agents provocateur; the reactionary former Minister of the Interior, M. Makaroff, who caused the election of a burglar to the Duma to act as a spy; former Minister of Justice J. Tscheglovitoff, whom the late Count Witte characterized as the "most clever, most corrupt man in Europe"; Prince Alexander Dolgorukoff, the cavalry commander seized last month as a supporter of General Korniloff; General Voyeikoff, the former Emperor's palace commandant, and, finally, Alexander Protopopoff, once classed as a patriotic member of the Duma, next an oppressive Minister of the Interior, and last the ally and slave of Rasputin.

* * *

BRITAIN'S RELIANCE UPON THE UNITED STATES

AT a dinner tendered to Congressman Medill McCormick in London, Sept. 12, Mr. Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, acting as representative of the Prime Minister, referred to the entrance of the United States into the war in these words:

I see it constantly stated in German newspapers that that is the last hope of the Allies. We do rely upon the Americans, and with good reason, for I, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, am ready to say now what I should have been very sorry to admit six months ago, that without the aid of the United States the financial position of the Allies would have been in a very disastrous situation today. We have reason to be grateful for the readiness of the help which has been given by our allies on the other side of the water in this respect. But, though we rely upon the United States, that does not mean that we are ceasing our own efforts.

Nothing that has been said by Mr. McCormick in his very eloquent speech gave me so much pleasure as the statement coming from an observer from the outside of what the United Kingdom has done in this war. I think that it is a record of which not only we who have seen it have reason to be proud, but a record upon which those who come after us will dwell as the brightest page in the long history

of the British Empire. I know of no previous war in which this country has been engaged where on the whole the people have supported right and left, thick and thin, the vigorous prosecution of the struggle. On all previous occasions, as, indeed, now, there were parties—there have been peace parties—but never before in our history has the voice of faction been so little heard as in the great struggle in which we now are engaged.

* * *

JAPAN'S FINANCIAL AID TO THE ALLIES

THE announcement that the Russian Provisional Government had obtained a credit of 66,667,000 yen (about \$33,333,500) in Japan through the sale of that amount of treasury bills to the Japanese Government was made in a cablegram received on Oct. 8 by Akira Den, financial commissioner of the Japanese Government in New York. The issue bears interest at 6 per cent. and runs for one year. Japan took the Russian securities at par. The proceeds will be used by Russia in paying for munitions of war bought in Japan. The willingness of Japan to grant this loan arose partly from confidence in the new régime in Russia and partly as a consequence of the United States embargo on gold exports. Japan had recently been a heavy importer of gold, much of it being used to meet Russian obligations in Japan. When the gold embargo became effective, Japan found it advantageous to grant new credits to Russia. According to official figures, Japan has loaned the allied Governments approximately 500,000,000 yen (about \$250,000,000) since the war began. A total of 221,667,000 yen in Russian Treasury bills has been sold in Japan. The British Government has sold 100,000,000 yen of Exchequer bonds to the Japanese, and a total of 76,000,000 yen of French Treasury bills has also been sold in Japan. Of these loans the British Exchequer bonds, amounting to 100,000,000 yen, were paid in American money.

* * *

SOME INSTANCES OF INTERNATIONAL TREACHERY

THE questionable activities of Bernstorff and Luxburg have had their historic parallels. Bethmann Hollweg's

was not the first "scrap of paper." A noteworthy instance is that which Bismarck brazenly related of himself, in telling how he tricked Napoleon III. into war in 1870. There was a question of putting a Hohenzollern on the throne of Spain. France protested. The French envoy at Ems had an interview with the King of Prussia, afterward Kaiser Wilhelm I. of Germany. The King's secretary telegraphed an account of the interview to Bismarck, his Prime Minister, on July 13, 1870. Moltke was with Bismarck, deeply despondent; Bismarck, talking of the German sense of honor, deliberately altered the telegram, turning it, as Moltke said, from a parley into a challenge, and gave it to the press. It instantly aroused France and brought on the war. Bismarck explains his motives: "It is important that we should be the ones attacked!" The story is told at length, with the telegram as sent, and as falsified, in "Bismarck the Man and Statesman."

A notable act of treachery was committed by Austria, one among many, at the time of the Crimean war, 1854. Nicholas I. of Russia, in part through sympathy for the oppressed Slavs in Hungary, sent an army, in 1849, to crush Kossuth's Magyar republic and save the power of the Hapsburgs. Five years later, when Russia was in danger, Austria cynically refused to help her and secretly aided Russia's enemies.

The violation of the Pragmatic Sanction is a historic case of perfidy. Prussia had consented, by that agreement, to support the succession of an Austrian Princess, Maria Theresa. But no sooner did she come to the throne, on the death of her father, Emperor Charles VI., than Frederick II. of Prussia, "Old Fritz in the Elysian Fields," as his successor recently called him, broke his oath and seized the Austrian province of Silesia, thus plunging the world into war. In the matter of the Danish Duchies, Schleswig and Holstein, Bismarck was guilty of signal treachery toward both Denmark and Austria, for, while both Austria and Denmark had certain claims to the Duchies, Prussia, which seized them after two predatory wars, had no real rights there.

OESSEL AND DAGÖ ISLANDS

ON Oct. 15 it was announced from Petrograd that German forces had two days previously landed on Oesel and Dagö Islands, at the northeast end of the Gulf of Riga, after bombarding the land forts, and had silenced the Russian batteries and occupied Arensburg, the capital of Oesel. This action really put Oesel and Dagö on the map, bringing them into prominence for the first time since the twenty years' war between Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter the Great, the maker of modern Russia. This long war, in which Peter deliberately set himself to learn Charles's strategy by being beaten by him, was closed by the Treaty of Nystad, on Sept. 10, 1721, which gave the two islands, with the contiguous mainland, to Russia. They had belonged to Sweden since 1645; for nearly a century before that date, namely, since 1559, they had belonged to Denmark.

Russia is so large, and the maps of Russia are consequently on so small a scale, that these two islands are almost invisible on a general map of the Russian Empire. But Oesel is of considerable size, about 1,000 square miles, or as large as the State of Rhode Island; Dagö is one-third as large, or 364 square miles. Their distance from Petrograd is about equal to the distance from New York to Washington. Arensburg, famous for its sea bathing, has monuments of both the Swedish and the Russian occupations, and also a large Lutheran church. It has 5,000 inhabitants, Oesel having in all about 62,000 inhabitants, while Dagö has 16,000. Both islands are flat, formed—like Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard—largely of glacial drift dotted with erratic boulders and glacial lakes; but Oesel has high chalk cliffs on the northern coast. Large areas of both islands are covered by pine forests, but considerable areas bear good crops of grain, flax, hemp, and roots. Oesel is also famous for a breed of small, very hardy horses.

The population in both islands is predominantly Esthonian, akin to the Finns, and many of the old national customs and traditions of the Esthonians, with their national dress, are preserved, untouched by Swedish or Russian influence. The climate of the islands is healthy, and

milder than the mainland, and Arensburg, on the south shore of Oesel, is a Summer resort for the people of Riga.

* * *

THE CAUSES OF HOLLAND'S NEUTRALITY

HOLLAND is ostensibly neutral, because she has so much to fear from both sides. She refrains from hostility to Germany for three reasons: sympathy, pecuniary advantage, and the dread of a German invasion. The Court is strongly pro-German; Queen Wilhelmina, whose mother was a Princess of Waldeck, married, in 1901, Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. They have one daughter, Princess Juliana Louise Emma Marie Wilhelmina, the heir to the crown of the Netherlands. Self-interest further holds Holland to Germany; she has made immense sums by selling food to the German army and civil population, creating a new class, nicknamed "goulash barons." She is further in dread of German invasion; it has been notorious for many months that Germany has strong forces on the Dutch frontier, ready to strike; and, while the Dutch army is mobilized, there are no strong fortresses, though Holland could defend a part of her territory by cutting the dikes and flooding a large area, leaving North and South Holland, with parts of Zeeland and Utrecht, practically impregnable. But this would mean the ruin and desolation of a great part of her territory.

Holland has equally strong reasons for not declaring war on the Entente. Her immense colonies, in both the Eastern and the Western Hemisphere, lie open to attack by the English fleet. These colonies amount to about 740,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 50,000,000 in the Dutch East Indies; with Dutch Guiana, or Surinam, in South America, in area 46,000 square miles, but very sparsely populated, having about two inhabitants to the square mile. Dutch Guiana has already been twice in English hands—during the Napoleonic wars—but most of it was restored to Holland in 1814 and 1815. There are also the islands of which Curaçao is the chief, in area 400 square miles, with a dense population of 56,000. During the Napoleonic wars, England's sea power completely dominat-

ed the then immense colonial empire of Holland. British Guiana, South Africa, and the Dutch East Indies were all taken by England at that time, though the greater part of the East Indies was later restored to Holland; England, however, holding the Straits Settlements, with Singapore.

The fear of losing the still vast remnant of a much vaster colonial empire effectually prevents Holland from making common cause with Germany and declaring war against England and her allies. There is also the deep-rooted patriotism of the Netherlands, who know that, once on Germany's side, they would practically cease to be an independent nation.

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POLAND'S NEW CONSTITUTION

BY a decree issued Sept. 15, 1917, that part of Poland which was taken from Russia has been granted by the Emperors of Germany and Austria a new Constitution. This new Constitution is distinguished from the former by two things: 1. It gives part of Poland a full State apparatus—a Council of Regency of three Persons to fulfill the functions of a King, a Ministry, and a Council of State. 2. It gives also this new Polish Government certain legislative powers. The former Council of State was merely a consultative body.

The legislative powers of the new body can only make laws within the restricted domain assigned to it by the German and Austrian Governments, and even within this domain the Governor General has the right of veto if he protests within fourteen days. This Government is not allowed to have any voice whatever in foreign affairs. The most important State functions are kept in the hands of the German authorities.

The new Government does not have national sovereignty, as it is nominated by Germany and Austria, and it can exercise only local self-government.

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ALSACE AND LORRAINE IN THE WAR

IT is stated on good authority that more than 30,000 men of Alsace and Lorraine have fought under the French flag; five Generals from the lost prov-

inces have been killed in action while fighting for France, to wit: Generals Sibille, Dupuy, Dion, Trumelet-Faber, and Stirn. Since the beginning of hostilities German courts-martial sitting in the annexed provinces have inflicted sentences totaling five thousand years' imprisonment on citizens of Alsace and Lorraine, whose offense has been the expression of opinions favorable to France.

Since Alsace and Lorraine were annexed by Germany in 1871 until the outbreak of the war in 1914 no fewer than 500,000 of the inhabitants of the provinces, according to official figures, have migrated to France. Immediately after the declaration of war, three years ago, every one of real Alsatian or Lorraine origin who could find a way to do so made a hurried departure over the frontier line. Hundreds of those remaining, owing to their inability to leave in time, were at once seized as suspects and sent to prison or internment camps, where they have been kept in confinement for three years.

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SOUTH AMERICA IN TWO WORLD WARS

THE general alignment of the South American nations against Germany in the present world war brings to mind that it was the last world war, a century ago, which brought these Latin republics into existence. The beginning was made when Napoleon's invasion of Spain and Portugal drove the Portuguese royal house to its great colony in Brazil, in 1807; there its members continued to reign, though as an independent empire, until Nov. 15, 1889, when Dom Pedro II. was compelled to abdicate. The second step was taken when Simon Bolivar, who had studied Spanish tyranny in Madrid, revolution in Paris, and democracy in the United States, joined the insurrection at Caracas in April, 1810. On May 25, 1810, the people of the Argentine rose against Spanish rule, declaring their independence on July 9, 1816. Chile declared its independence in September, 1810. Paraguay followed in 1811. In the House of Commons Canning took up the cause of the new republics, declaring that he "had called a new world into existence, to redress the balance of the

old"; that "France may get Spain, but she will not get the Spanish colonies." Great Britain then formally recognized the Empire of Brazil and the republics of Mexico and Colombia. In 1832, after civil war, Colombia was divided into three independent States — Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Peru became independent in 1821, and on Dec. 2, 1823, Monroe made the celebrated declaration which completed the work of recognition begun by Canning. In 1825 Bolivia and Uruguay came into separate existence; the latter had belonged to Brazil. Thus it was the French invasion of the peninsula, with the consequent weakening of the Spanish monarchy, which gave the South American nations their chance to spring into independent life. England first recognized and supported them, as an act of hostility to Napoleon. The United States, thirteen years later, confirmed and completed that recognition.

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SWEDISH PRO-GERMANISM AND BERNADOTTE

THE marked German sympathies of the Swedish Court are a legitimate heritage from the founder of the present dynasty, Marshal Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's most famous warriors, who deserted him and went over to Prussia. Bernadotte had been jealous of Bonaparte from the beginning; and when the great Corsican was named First Consul, Bernadotte, the ambitious son of a Pau lawyer, became openly hostile, and took part in a plot to overthrow the dictator. This was in 1802.

After the French Nation, by an almost unanimous plébescite, had confirmed Napoleon in power, an outward reconciliation took place between the two men, and Bernadotte was given the command of considerable armies. In 1809 he was in command of a mixed force in Jutland. At that time, Gustavus IV. of Sweden, who, a few months earlier, had ceded Finland to Alexander I. of Russia, had made himself so unpopular that he was compelled to abdicate, being succeeded by the aged and childless Charles XIII. The leaders of Sweden offered the succession of the throne, with the title of Crown Prince, to

Bernadotte, who went through the form of asking Napoleon's consent.

This renewed the old quarrel between them, and when the retreat from Moscow laid Napoleon open to attack, the new Crown Prince of Sweden was found among the enemies of the French Emperor. He fought on the Prussian side against Napoleon at Dennewitz and Leipzig, and hoped to be named King of France on Napoleon's first abdication and exile to Elba. He was disappointed, but five years later, in 1818, the aged Charles XIII. died, and Bernadotte succeeded to the crown of Sweden, living until 1844, when he died at the age of eighty. He reigned under the title of Charles XIV., and King Gustav V., the present King of Sweden, is his great-grandson, the dynasty being called the House of Ponte Corvo, from the Duchy conferred upon Bernadotte by Napoleon.

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THE PROBLEM OF MODERN CHINA

EVER since the great epoch of State Socialism in the Sung dynasty, China has been the weakest of great nations. So completely was the Middle Kingdom enfeebled by the pacifism of that Socialist period, that for the greater part of the intervening period, the Chinese have been ruled by foreign conquerors, first the Mongols and later the Manchus, with the native dynasty of the Mings between. Ever since the conquest by the Manchus, in 1644, China has been a land of contradictions, at once the most democratic and the most autocratic country in the world. The saying that "the voice of the people is the voice of God" has existed in China for 3,000 years. There is no hereditary nobility, if we except the descendants of the sage, Confucius, who are held in especial honor. All Government posts are filled, and have for many centuries been filled, by open examinations, based on a study of the national literature, and no Government official has ever had the power to pass his position on to his children. The sense of equality is, perhaps, greater and has always been greater in China than in any other land. Yet, for all their democracy of feeling, the Chinese have been governed by an absolute autocracy, the mili-

tary autocracy of the conquering Manchus, whose fighting men have garrisoned all the fortified cities of China. So, while China has had an army it has been, since 1644, a foreign army; the Chinese themselves have not been trained to arms. In all probability the desire to remedy this age-long weakness, to give China a strong national army, has been one of the controlling motives which have decided China to enter the world war; for a strong national army would mean a new lease of life to the oldest and most numerous of nations, a nation which has survived from the days of the ancient Chaldeans and the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

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MOTHERLAND VS. DOMINIONS

THE British Government refutes the story that large numbers of trained soldiers fit for service are kept in idleness in the United Kingdom while the troops from the Dominions are at the front. In an official statement it is explained that of every six British soldiers fighting at the front, at least five were recruited in the United Kingdom. With reference to casualties, the statistics show that the percentage has been higher among the troops from the United Kingdom than among the Dominion troops. The figures in the four series of battles on the Somme, around Arras, Ypres and at Messines Ridge are as follows:

DIVISIONS ENGAGED

	Motherland.		Dominions.	
Somme	5	to	1	
Arras	3½	to	1	
Ypres	7	to	1	
Messines	2	to	1	

CASUALTIES PER DIVISION

	Motherland.		Dominions.	
Somme	5	to	4	
Arras	7	to	6	
Ypres	5	to	1	
Messines	11	to	13	

* * *

WHAT ITALY HAS DONE

GENERAL GIARDINO, Italian Minister of War, reviews Italy's efforts in part as follows:

With regard to the theatre of war, our front, which measures four hundred and six miles, is about equal to those of the French, English, and Belgian armies combined, and, even if a large part of this is

mountainous, that does not permit of greatly decreasing the density of the troops in consequence of the outline of the frontier and the immediate neighborhood of regions of capital importance for us, rendering it absolutely indispensable for us to be everywhere perfectly secure.

Indeed, the frontier line among the high mountains has required greater labors for the construction of roads, lodgings for the troops, fortifications, &c., and has called for a greater intensification of services than would have been needed in the plains.

Altitudes of over 10,000 feet have been reached not only by mountain artillery but also by field guns, and even by numerous siege batteries, so it will be obvious what an enormous expenditure of labor is required for the construction of roads and shelters under such conditions and for supplying the tens of thousands of quadrupeds needed, and for the transport on men's shoulders of all that is essential in order to live and fight at heights which cannot be reached even by mules.

For all this admirable effort Italy has mobilized twenty-six classes, that is to say, over 4,200,000 men, who have been almost entirely employed as fighting units to keep up the numbers required and replace losses. In the last splendid action she succeeded in breaking through the enemy's line in a section of capital strategic importance despite the Austrians' more favorable position, and thus striking a blow the vigor of which is proved by its repercussion on the entire group of enemy nations.

* * *

FAMOUS COMMANDERS TRIED FOR TREASON

THE trial and sentence of General Soukhomlinoff, who was Minister of War in Russia when the great war broke out, bears many resemblances to the trials of two famous commanders—the Englishman, Admiral Byng, and the Frenchman, Marshal Bazaine. When Frederick the Great of Prussia, turning the Pragmatic Sanction into a scrap of paper, robbed Maria Theresa of a part of her inheritance, England and France took opposite sides in the quarrel, which developed into the Seven Years' War, and thus led to the great struggle between France and England, in America and India. Admiral Byng was, in 1756, in command of the English Channel Fleet. Minorca was threatened by a French force from Toulon, and Byng was sent to drive back the French and relieve the garrison of Fort St. Philip, the chief stronghold in Minorca. He sailed, ex-

pecting defeat and already determined to give up the attempt, if there was any considerable resistance. He fought a losing battle against the French, and sailed home after only four days. Public opinion in England universally condemned him. He was tried for treason and shot on March 14, 1757, within a few weeks of Clive's great victory at Plassey, in Bengal.

The distinguished French General, Marshal Bazaine, had commanded the French forces of Napoleon in Mexico, during the short and tragic reign of Emperor Maximilian, younger brother of the late Francis Joseph of Austria; in Mexico, Bazaine had been involved in many intrigues, and was even accused of trying to gain the crown of Mexico, largely to please his young Mexican wife. On his return to France he was given high command by Napoleon III., and led a French army of 140,000 at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war. His movements were incredibly slow and indecisive, and he finally took refuge in the fortress of Metz, where he began a treasonable correspondence with the Prussians, many details of which have never been completely cleared up. To Bismarck he proposed "to save France from herself." Marshal MacMahon was on his way to relieve Metz when he was surrounded and disastrously beaten at Sedan, and shortly after Bazaine surrendered with his whole army. It is said that, had he held out only a week longer, the French could have defeated the weak German force on the Loire and marched to the relief of Paris. Bazaine returned from Prussian captivity, and in 1873 was put on trial, condemned, first to death, and later to exile for life. He was sent to the Island of Sainte Marguerite, close to Cannes, but escaped, first to Italy and later to Madrid, where Alfonso XII. of Spain welcomed and honored him. Marshal Bazaine died in 1888.

Concerning Soukhomlinoff, while it seems certain that he was guilty of grave dereliction of duty in the matter of military secrecy, his friends assert that in many ways he was a model War

Minister. Bark, the Russian Minister of Finance, testified, in the *Petit Parisien*, that the Russian mobilization at the beginning of August, 1914, "went off with a regularity which surpassed all expectation," and many critics defend the view of Soukhomlinoff, that modern fortresses are an element of weakness rather than of strength, being effectively superseded by temporary trenches.

* * *

STATISTICS furnished by the French and British authorities to the American-British-French-Belgian Permanent Blind Relief War Fund show that there are in England, France, and Belgium more than 3,000 soldiers who have been totally blinded in the war and nearly 25,000 blinded in one eye, a large proportion of whom will eventually lose the sight of the other as the result of shock or of the wounds themselves. In addition, there are in France alone nearly 200 who, besides losing both eyes, have also suffered, by explosions or amputation, the loss of both arms or both legs, or a leg and a hand, and in many cases have been rendered stone deaf.

* * *

KUHARA FUSANOSUKE, head of the Kuhara Mining Company, one of the richest men of Japan, will erect a gigantic shipbuilding enterprise, to rival the great industrial City of Essen. He will acquire 1,500,000 tsubo of land, and there establish an industrial city, with a population of 200,000. Over thirty separate workshops are to be built, and nearly 35,000 workmen will be employed.

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IN the six months ended Sept. 30, 1917, the revenue income of the United Kingdom was \$1,276,110,200, an increase over the corresponding six months of 1916 of about \$500,000,000, of which \$280,000,000 was excess profits tax, \$75,000,000 property and income tax. The total annual revenue of the United Kingdom is now over \$2,600,000,000; the expenditure chargeable against revenue is at the rate of \$12,000,000,000 per annum.

Military Events of the Month

From September 18 to October 18, 1917

By Walter Littlefield

The Battle of Flanders

AFTER a pause of more than a month the battle of Flanders, which is rapidly losing its designation as the third battle of Ypres, has been renewed by the Allies with redoubled fury. Meanwhile, they had evidently solved to their satisfaction the problem set them by the Germans early in September, when the civil population of several towns of the Flanders plain were ordered to leave their homes. Between the 20th of September and the middle of October the periodic assaults made on the front southeast, east, and northeast of Ypres forced into the enemy's lines a new salient of far greater proportions than that eliminated last Summer.

German military critics believe that it reveals a desire on the part of the Allies to gain the coast, where the submarine bases of Ostend and Zeebrugge are in operation, and where intervening dunes conceal the aerodromes whence attacks are made upon England. English and French critics rather favor the idea of an encircling movement of Lille from the north. According to the military results themselves, either objective—or both—would be logical. The complete occupation of the high ground, the so-called Passchendaele Ridge, which runs like a series of mounds northeast, would command the lowlands to the coast, almost parallel to it, twenty-odd miles away. The possession of the road to Menin with the town itself would seriously threaten Lille or at least deprive it of one of its most important railway connections.

In detail the engagements of the month have been characterized by the "tank" vs. the concrete "pill box," and by counterattacks broken up by the low-altitude fire of swarms of Anglo-French aviators. The losses to the enemy are known to have been prodigious, while those of the

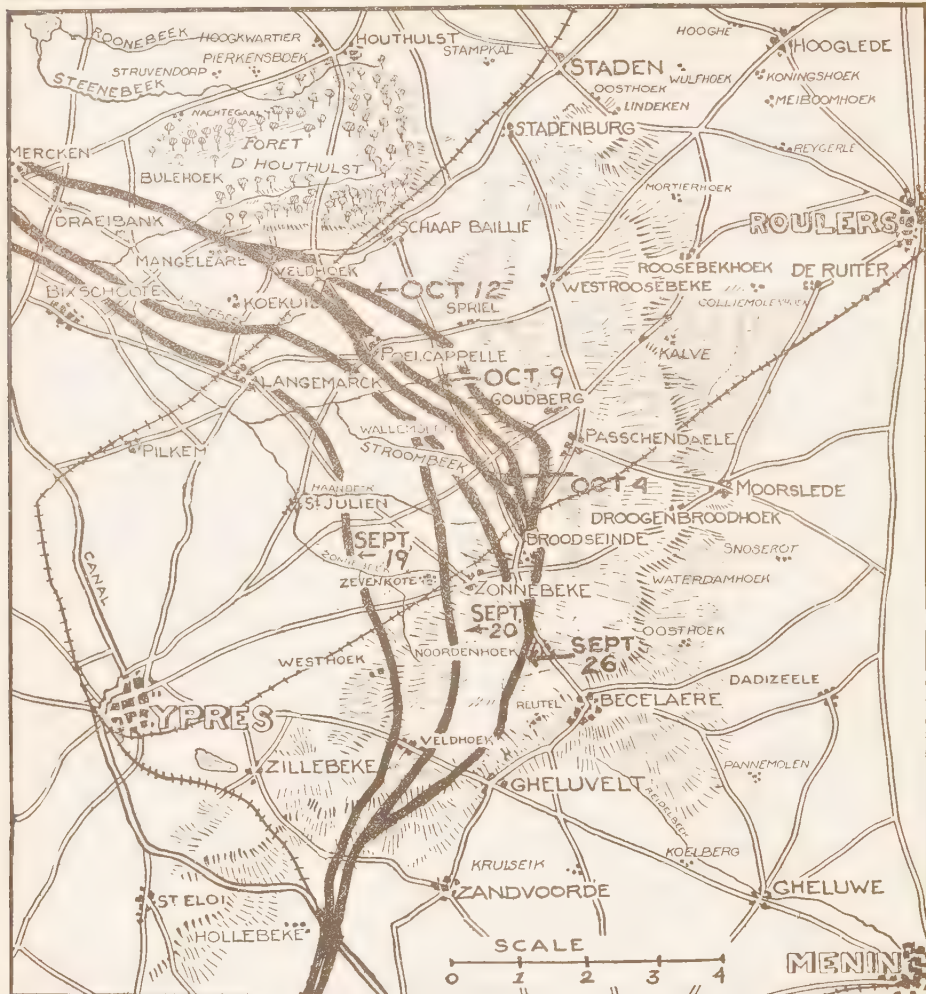
Allies have been comparatively light—demonstrating the thorough artillery preparation before attack, and the varied and ingenious methods of throwing back counterattacks.

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig opened the ball on Sept. 20, with many and sundry extras on Sept. 26. These efforts appeared to have for their objective the control of the Ypres-Menin road. Then came similar and well-defined operations further north along the ridge, in which he was assisted by the French of Pétain—Oct. 4, 9, and 12. Most of the attacks were begun at sunrise, and before noon had usually reached their objectives, and, not infrequently, consolidated the positions won.

Meanwhile, formidable and almost daily naval and aerial attacks were being launched against Ostend and Zeebrugge, and aerial attacks against the aerodromes of the dunes. On Sept. 22 a German counterattack from the air over Ostend resulted in the loss of three enemy seaplanes; on the night of Sept. 27 British naval aircraft raided the Zeebrugge lock-gates, submarine docks, and the aerodromes at St. Denis-Westrem, Goutrode, and Houttave. On Sept. 30 the photographs of a similar raid revealed well-defined loss to the enemy. All these raids seemingly lend color to the dictum of the German critics that the coast is the main objective of the battle of Flanders.

Fighting for Polygon Wood

The attack of Sept. 20 began precisely at 5:40 A. M. on an eight-mile front, between the Ypres-Comines Canal and the Ypres-Staden Railway. The North Country regiments carried Inverness Copse; the Australians, Glencorse Wood and Nonne Boshen; the Scottish and South African brigades, Potsdam,



MAP SHOWING BRITISH GAINS IN FLANDERS. STROKE BY STROKE, GIVING THEM CONTROL OF THE HIGH GROUND KNOWN AS PASSCHENDAELE RIDGE

Vampir, and Borry Farms; the West Lancashire Territorials, Iberian Farm and the concrete pile known as Gallipoli. All these points were reached in the élan of the attack. Then, on the right, the English county troops proceeded with sharply contested advance to their final objectives in the woods north of the Ypres-Comines Canal and in the neighborhood of Tower Hamlets; in the centre the North Country and Australian battalions fought on for over a mile, enveloping the southern hamlet of Veldhoek and the western portion of Polygon Wood. This was the greatest penetration. All was done according to

schedule, almost on schedule time. Before the morning was over a number of local German counterattacks had been broken up and the British troops were resting.

On the 22d strong German counterattacks were launched and repulsed, save on a small section on the right. These repulses were principally accomplished by the low-altitude firing of the British airmen, some 300 machines being engaged. Three days later the Germans won a temporary gain on Passchendaele Ridge near Polygon Wood.

Then on the 26th came the second smashing drive on a six-mile front with

from a half mile to a mile depth. South of the Ypres-Menin road the English home troops completed the capture of the Tower Hamlets Spur, and gained their objective—the German concrete works on its further slope. In the centre some companies of Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders met with a stubborn resistance, so that the assault further north was carried into the afternoon, with the Australians clearing the remainder of Polygon Wood and the English, Scottish, and Welsh battalions accomplishing their remote objective—Zonnebeke, a mile away. On the extreme left the North Midland and London Territorials reached their objectives on both sides of the Wieltje-Gravenstafel and St. Julien-Gravenstafel roads. This advance reached half a mile through a maze of fortified farms and concrete redoubts.

Almost simultaneously the Germans had launched seven heavy counterattacks, which, carried into the following day, nevertheless left the British in full possession of their objectives—with light losses to them but with heavy losses to the enemy.

British Win Main Ridge

The attack of Oct. 4 began at 10:35 on a front of over eight miles from south of Tower Hamlets to the Ypres-Staden Railway, north of Langemarck. It gave the British possession of the main ridge up to 1,000 yards north of Broodseinde. The weather prevented further advance, as it doubtless did counterattacks on the part of the enemy, although a few were attempted in the afternoon southeast of Polygon Wood. In this attack the French protected the British right. Evidently a more formidable drive had been prepared; as it was, the British losses were light, and the German heavy, including, since Sept. 20, 10,000 prisoners.

The main strength of the two subsequent attacks—Oct. 9 and Oct. 12—was also directed over the Passchendaele Ridge. Meanwhile, it was learned from prisoners that the attack of the 4th had anticipated a fierce German assault by half an hour, during which time the barrage fire of the British had unconsciously wrecked five divisions of the Germans,

massed for the advance which never took place.

On the 9th the operations extended over a front of ten miles. The French, on the north, pierced the German positions to a depth of a mile and a quarter, capturing the villages of St. Jean de Mangelaere and a northern hamlet of Veldhoek, with numerous intervening concrete redoubts. The British drove to a depth of a mile and a half, going beyond Poelcapelle. This operation put the English and French within long-range gunshot of Roulers and gave them the principal heights of the ridge commanding the plain of Flanders.

With the advance of the 9th it became geographically, if not strategically, obvious that another drive of similar magnitude would unlock the German front from Bixchoote to the sea. Such a drive, however, did not at once occur. The three hours' assault in the early morning of the 12th, succeeded by a consolidation of positions on the 13th, brought the Allies on a six-mile front to within 500 yards of the town of Passchendaele. Rain then brought operations temporarily to a standstill.

Results of Five Engagements

The foregoing five engagements have carried the Allies to the Ypres-Roulers road on the northeast, and to the neighborhood of Passchendaele, a distance of a little over three miles; they have gained nearly a mile to the southeast over the Ypres-Menin road; the area covered includes about twenty-three square miles. Their losses have been comparatively light, according to official bulletins and reports of eyewitnesses, while those of the Germans, particularly when their attempted offensives have been prematurely assailed and in their counterattacks, have been correspondingly large. Indeed, the slaughter of the Germans surprised in mass formations has been compared to their most fatal days before Verdun.

The second stage of the month's fighting in Flanders, over the commanding Passchendaele Ridge, has been compared by some critics to the decisive battle of the Marne. It is hardly that, but rather the occupation of commanding positions,

from which such a decisive battle may be developed.

The ground occupied by the Allies has revealed several interesting things, uncovered several German secrets. More and more are the Germans abandoning their patent and marvelously perfected system of trenches for purposes of defense: more and more are they relying on the concrete redoubt, called the "pill box," which is easily observed by the French and British airmen, and almost as easily blown to pieces by accuracy of their artillery fire—the survivors are left to the "tanks." Again, it has been observed that three out of five of the German shells thrown fail to explode. An examination of them has revealed poor substitutes for metal caps and priming. Many of their high explosive shells detonate without great concussion, and in a cloud of black smoke, like the burning of common gunpowder. Individual initiative on the part of officers below the rank of Colonel is becoming very rare. Small detachments group for surrender, rarely for a last stand. All this eloquently betrays the waning morale of the enemy.

Germans Control Gulf of Riga

When the Germans occupied Riga in the first week of September it was obvious that this port could be of little use to them unless they also controlled the waters of the Gulf of Riga, on the eastern shores of which troops might be disembarked for a land investment of the Russian naval base of Reval. For, although it was quite out of the question to expect Germany, with her depleted man power, to deploy through the 300-odd miles necessary to reach Petrograd, yet the same object might be attained by the Gulf of Finland if only the protected ports of the southern shore could be eliminated. Landing parties, not necessarily permanent, would be required to attack these ports from the shore side, and work along the coast under the guns of warships. But where could these detachments find a base as long as the Russians controlled the Gulf of Riga?

The Russian fleet, on account of the revolution, was believed to be at a low grade of resistance, yet weeks passed

without a move being made by the German fleet to secure the gulf. The reason is now believed to be the mutiny at Wilhelmshaven, the first news of which was revealed by Admiral von Capelle, the German Minister of Marine, in the Reichstag on Oct. 9.

From German naval refugees in Switzerland it has subsequently been learned that the mutiny was much more serious than officially reported—it embraced not only Wilhelmshaven but the Baltic base of Kiel. At both places storehouses were wrecked and supplies destroyed, and 12,000 men on board twenty-five ships were involved in an actual revolt against the Kaiser. The first outbreak began as far back as July 30; the second, principally at Kiel, was on Sept. 2—the very day on which the German advance guard rode through Riga.

Two Islands Captured

The mutiny, however, merely postponed what was both a strategic and a tactical necessity if the occupation of Riga was to be anything more than a political gesture. On Oct. 8 a strong German naval force was observed off the Danish Island of Bornholm, sailing east-by-north. Two days later German motor boats appeared in the Gulf of Riga, and were dispersed by the shore batteries. Evidently their observations were to the effect that an entrance to the gulf could not be forced through the defended waters between Oesel Island and Cape Domesnees—a mined channel twenty miles wide—for on Oct. 13 German detachments under the protection of the guns of warships were landed on the shore of the Gulf of Tagalah, a northern inlet of Oesel Island, and near the village of Serro on the southern shore of Dagö Island. By Oct. 15, Arensburg, the chief city of Oesel, was in the possession of the invaders, and the garrisons of both islands were fleeing to the mainland eastward. (The islands have together an area about equal to Rhode Island, and a population of 50,000.) On Oct. 18 the Russian Admiralty reported the loss of the battleship *Slava*, 13,516 tons, in defending the gulf.

Thus, what Germany attempted to do in August and September, 1915, when



RUSSIAN ISLANDS CAPTURED BY GERMAN FORCES, GIVING THEM CONTROL OF THE GULF OF RIGA

she landed a force on Cape Domesnees, only to be destroyed a few days later, and then fought a naval battle off Oesel, in which the Russians claimed to have sunk five light cruisers and torpedo boats and to have seriously damaged the old battleships Wittelsbach and Kaiser Friedrich, she now accomplished.

German Gains in Russia

Complementary to these engagements the Germans have made gains beyond Riga, but with severe losses. On Sept. 21 they captured Jacobstadt, on the Dvina, together with positions on a twenty-six-mile front to a depth of six miles—still, however, on the western, or left, bank of the river. Jacobstadt, according to Berlin advices, furnished the victors with rich booty. Evidently as a preparation for the naval manoeuvres, German airmen soon after raided fortified positions on the Gulf of Riga, in an attempt to ascertain the location and strength of the Russian fleet.

The German operations indicate Reval as the objective. Reval would, indeed, be a prize. It is the capital of Esthonia, and is on the Bay of Reval, an arm of the Gulf of Finland, 200 miles west-southwest of Petrograd. Just before the war, when the Czar's naval authorities discontinued their attempts to make Libau (occupied by the Germans on May 8, 1915) a naval base on account of the shifting ground of the harbor and the poor natural defenses, they had the alternative of choosing Reval or Riga. The latter was finally deemed too remote from the Baltic, and Reval was chosen, and was in a fair state of preparation when the war began. Northeast, at a distance of seventy miles, is Hanga, the most southwesterly point of Finland. A triple range of mines connects the two ports, thus forming the first line of sea defenses of both Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, and of Petrograd.

British in Asiatic Turkey

Owing to the lack of co-operation on the part of the Russians in Asia Minor and Persia, the position of Sir Edmund Allenby on the borders of Palestine and of Sir Stanley Maude in Mesopotamia had become delicate, to say the least. Meanwhile the Turks and their masters,

taking advantage of the passivity of Russia, had amassed in the Aleppo region, which commands each front, respectively by the Damascus-Medina railway extension and by the Bagdad Railway and caravan trail extension, a large number of divisions, which had been formally promised actual German support in the way of troops. The work of training proceeding at Aleppo, however, was slow. There was dissatisfaction with the German high command, and the Pashas, Enver, Talaat, and Djemal, were in disagreement with each other and with the German authority present. Food was plentiful, but the rails taken from the French Syrian lines were found insufficient to complete the Bagdad Railway, and the rolling stock had gradually rotted or rusted away under the sun of the desert or the moisture of the oases.

Three recent events have served at least to lessen the delicate position in which Maude and Allenby had been lying all Summer. The potential energy of these events, however, invites both exaggeration and disparagement—exaggeration on account of the geographical situation, disparagement because the control of Turkey in Asia forms, for both Wilhelmstrasse and Ballplatz, a most vital post-bellum asset.

Capture of Ramadie

On Sept. 30 a British official dispatch announced that the Anglo-Indian Army, under Sir Stanley Maude, operating in Mesopotamia, had captured the town of Ramadie on the Euphrates, and with it the entire army of Ahmed Bey. This achievement, preceded by a storming of Mushaid Ridge, in which Maude's superiority of artillery and of mobile cavalry manifested itself, had occurred on Sept. 29. On Oct. 5, the Russian Army Headquarters announced that the Caucasian army had taken by assault the village of Nereman, in the Kikatsh-Amadia sector.

Ahmed Bey's division at Ramadie was destined no doubt to advance down the Euphrates and thereby seriously threaten Maude's left flank, if not cut his communications below Kut-el-Amara. They waited for reinforcements from Aleppo, and their waiting was fatal. Maude, with

COMMANDERS OF NATIONAL GUARD DIVISIONS



MAJOR GEN. GEORGE BELL, JR.
Thirty-third Division at Houston, Tex.
(Photo Press Illustrated Service)



MAJOR GEN. HENRY C. HODGES
Thirty-ninth Division at Alexandria, La.
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MAJOR GEN. E. ST. J. GREBLE
Thirty-sixth Division at Forth Worth, Tex.
(Central News Photo Service)



MAJOR GEN. W. M. WRIGHT
Thirty-fifth Division at Fort Sill, Okla.
(© Harris & Ewing)

COMMANDERS OF NATIONAL ARMY DIVISIONS



MAJOR GEN. HARRY F. HODGES
Seventy-sixth Division at Ayer, Mass.
(© Harris & Ewing)



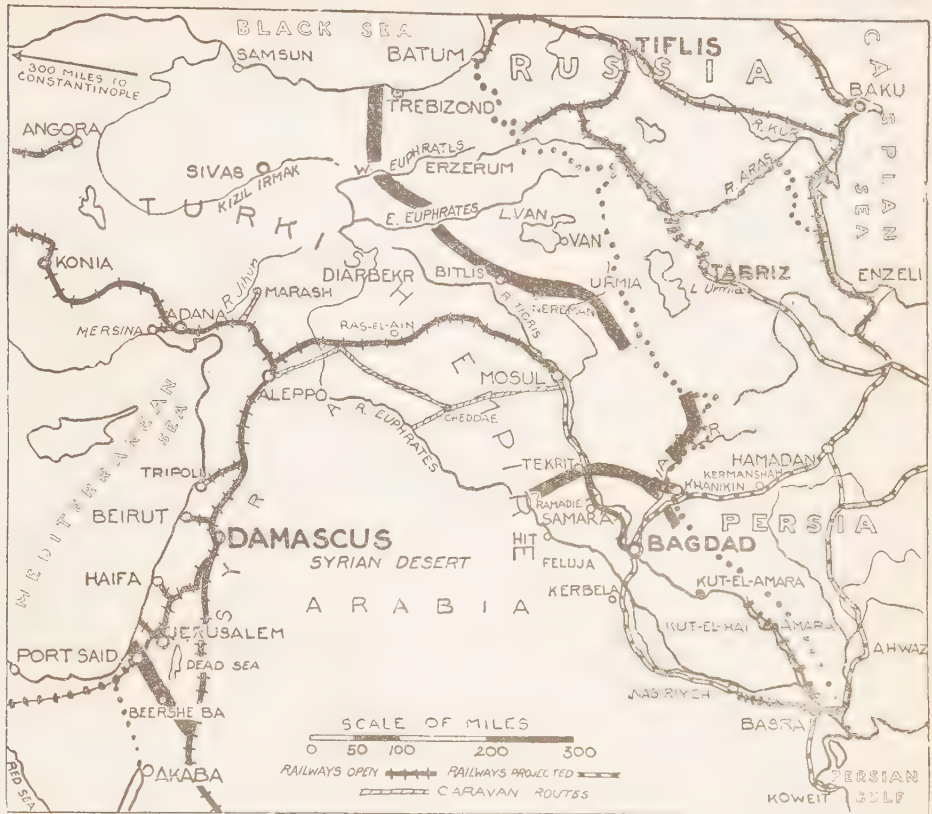
MAJOR GEN. J. E. KUHN
Seventy-ninth Division at Admiral, Md.
(© Harris & Ewing)



MAJOR GEN. ADELBERT CRONKITE
Eightieth Division at Petersburg, Va.



MAJOR GEN. C. W. KENNEDY
Seventy-eighth Division at Wrightstown, N. J.



MAP SHOWING BRITISH AND RUSSIAN POSITIONS IN ASIATIC TURKEY, OCT. 18, 1917
 [The name of Gaza, southwest of Jerusalem, omitted from map by oversight.]

the climatic conditions lifted, moved with rapidity and won a surprise. Attacking the advanced positions on Mushaid Ridge at dawn of Sept. 28, after a night march, he quickly secured them, fought a severe battle during the day, carried the main positions, and then so disposed his troops that the enemy had no avenue of escape. It was a fine, finished piece of work.

Ramadie is about 130 miles south and a little east of Mosul; Nereman is 50 miles north of Mosul; Mosul is the southern terminal of the Bagdad Railway feverishly completed by German engineers since the Spring of 1916, from Ras-el-Ain. The southern section proceeding north from Bagdad had been completed as far as Tekrit. Between Tekrit and Mosul on the Tigris there is an unfinished section of about 90 miles. Anglo-Indian detachments occupied Tekrit last April—the last act of the campaign before the

torrid season set in which made manoeuvres impossible.

Thus with the opening of the new campaign we see Mosul, the largest and most important inland city now in Turkish possession, apparently menaced, while almost simultaneously comes the news from the British-Egyptian army at Gaza, before Jerusalem, 550 miles across the Arabian Desert west of Bagdad, that it has been joined by Arab detachments coming north from the new Arabian kingdom of Hedjaz (the Red Sea littoral) over the Damascus-Medina Railway.

Facts of the Situation

Mosul is now menaced by three armies, and the presence of an Arab force at Gaza shows the restoration of the Damascus-Medina Railway as far north as that place. By this railway, therefore, the Arab reinforcements who

have long been drilled and supplied by the British authorities on the Red Sea littoral may be measurably increased, or heavy artillery may be sent via the railway south to the extreme end of the peninsula, where the British naval station at Aden has been invested by Ali Said Pasha with the Thirty-ninth Turkish Division since July, 1915. Ali is not strong enough to attack Aden by assault and has his camp just out of range of the warships in the harbor. Since the revolt of the Grand Shereef of Mecca, now the King of Hedjaz, his communication with the north has been cut off, and the Arab tribes with him are only awaiting reinforcements from Hedjaz and a cryptic summons from Sir James Bell—"The lion is hungry"—to turn against him.

Following the surrender of Kut-el-Amara by General Townshend in April, 1916, after a five months' siege, the Germans believed that the British power in Mesopotamia had been crushed and it only remained for the Turks to give it the coup de grace. They discovered their mistake when, eight months later, Major Gen. Sir Frederick Stanley Maude, with a new Anglo-Indian army, reopened the campaign from below Kut. This he recaptured on Feb. 24, 1917. He occupied Bagdad, the ancient city of the Caliphs, on March 11; annihilated the Eighteenth Turkish Army Corps at Islabulet, near Samara, on April 18, and the Thirteenth on the 30th in the gorge of Shatt-el-Adam, in the Jebel Hamrin Hills. These victories, with outposts at Tekrit, had opened the war north to Mosul when the fighting season closed.

Russians in Asia Minor

A word should be said about the Russians in this region, so that the influence of the revolution at Petrograd on them may not be misunderstood. A difference must be made between the Russian army in Persia and that operating from the Caucasian front, which has just captured Nereman. The former, composed of conscripts from the great industrial cities of Western Russia, early felt the influence of the revolution. They captured Khani-kin, on the Persian frontier, on April 4, but surrendered it on the 15th of the fol-

lowing July. They still hold the high ground on the left bank of the Diala, but their ambitious dream of reaching Bagdad before the British has been reduced to a protection of Sir Stanley Maude's right flank. They also have to keep order in the Russian sphere of influence in Persia.

It is different with the Army of the Caucasus. This is composed of Kuban and Terek Cossacks and native Caucasians, who have hated the Turk for generations, who have never forgotten the surrender of hard-won Erzerum in 1878, and who regard the revolution merely as a means better to reinforce their campaign. They have vast stores of supplies at reconquered Erzerum, at Trebizond, and at Bitlis, and the propaganda of political agitators for peace has no influence among them.

In the race between the Russian Persian army and the Anglo-Indian army for Bagdad the latter won, but with the Army of the Caucasus as his rival for Mosul Sir Stanley Maude has a more formidable and persistent antagonist.

Many interesting things are certain to unfold themselves in the next few months in Asiatic Turkey, but before taking the defeat of the Turkish armies there as a foregone conclusion it should not be forgotten that the German Kaiser paid a visit to Constantinople in the middle of October, and with him came Field Marshal von Falkenhayn and several score of German officers. One may be sure that the All-Highest will not see his long-cherished dream for Egypt and the Berlin-Bagdad route to the Persian Gulf vanish without a prodigious effort to have it realized.

Events on Other Fronts

The Italians, as the month closes, are still slowly but surely pushing the Austrians from the remaining slopes of Monte San Gabriele, repelling counter-attacks there, on the Carso, and along the rapidly freezing defiles of the Trentino. On Sept. 28-29 the troops of General Cappello, by a sudden drive, captured two elevated positions south of Podlaca and southeast of Madoni on the Bainsizza Plateau—possibly as the first step to-

ward entering the Chiapovano Valley behind Monte San Gabriele and San Daniele.

In the Verdun sector, on the western front, the Germans have been making prodigious efforts to keep the French from gaining more ground—efforts which have every appearance of possessing a potential offensive were they not broken up by well-directed artillery fire. This was the case north of the Bois de Chaume on Sept. 24, and again at the same place on Oct. 10.

The same story might be told of the sectors further west—on the Aisne and in Champagne—where the German Crown Prince's heavy artillery preparations for assault invariably turn into duels in which his own guns are silenced and his subsequent advance of infantry shattered with a loss of men that is rapidly reaching the number he sacrificed at Verdun. Further west still, the concrete citadel of Lens, with its subterranean nests, continues to withstand the pressure of the Scots, Canadians, and Welsh.

Haig's Hammer Strokes in Flanders

Vivid Description of Some of the Historic Battles During September and October, 1917

By Philip Gibbs

[CABLED TO THE NEW YORK TIMES. COPYRIGHTED.]

The British offensive in Flanders, which began on July 31, 1917, continued intermittently all through August, September, and October. On Oct. 16 Premier Lloyd George sent the following telegram of appreciation to Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig:

The War Cabinet desires to congratulate you and the troops under your command upon the achievements of the British armies in Flanders in the great battle which has been raging since July 31. Starting from a position in which every advantage rested with the enemy and hampered and delayed from time to time by the most unfavorable weather, you and your men have nevertheless continuously driven the enemy back with such skill, courage, and pertinacity as have commanded the grateful admiration of the peoples of the British Empire and filled the enemy with alarm. I am personally glad to be the means of transmitting this message to you and your gallant troops, and I desire to take this opportunity of renewing my assurance of confidence in your leadership and in the devotion of those whom you command.

Battle for the High Woodlands

[SEPTEMBER 20]

THE ground over which the British swept this morning [Sept. 20] was assaulted again and again by troops who ignored their losses and attacked with the most desperate and glorious courage, yet failed to hold what they had gained for a time, because their final goal was attained with weakened forces, after most fierce and bloody fighting. The empire knows who those men were—old English county regiments, who never fought more gallantly; Scots, who only let go of their forward positions under overwhelming pressure and annihilating fire; Irish divisions, who suffered the supreme ordeal and earned new and

undying honors, by the way they endured the fire of many guns for many days.

As long as history lasts the name of these woods, from which most of the trees have been swept, and of these bogs and marshes which lie about them will be linked with the memory of those brave battalions who fought through them again and again. They are not less to be honored than those who, with the same courage, just as splendidly fought through them again over the same tracks, past the same deathtraps, and achieved success by different methods, by learning from what the first men had suffered.

Abandoning the old trench system,

which we could knock to pieces with artillery, the enemy made his forward positions without any definite line and built a great number of concrete blockhouses so arranged in depth that they defended one another by enfilading fire, and so strong that nothing but a direct hit from one of our heavier shells would damage them; and a direct hit is very difficult to make on a small mark like one of those concrete houses, holding about ten to twenty men at a minimum and fifty to sixty in their largest.

These little garrisons were mostly machine gunners and picked men, especially trained for outpost work, and could inflict great damage on an advancing battalion, so that the forward lines passing through and beyond them would be spent and weak. Then behind, in reserve, lay the German shock troops, specially trained also for the counterattacks which were launched with strong striking forces against our advanced lines after all their struggle and loss.

The Formidable Blockhouses

Those blockhouses proved formidable things—hard nuts to crack, as the soldiers said who came up against them. There were scores of them, whose names will be remembered through a lifetime by the men of many battalions, and they cost the lives of many brave men.

Beck House and Bairy Farm belong to Irish history. Wurst Farm and Winnipeg, Bremen Redoubt, and Gallipoli, the Iberian and Delta Farms, are strongholds around which many desperate little battles, led by young subalterns or sergeants, took place on the last day of July and on many days since.

English and Scots have taken turns in attacking and defending such places as Fitz Clarence Farm, Northampton Farm, and Black Watch Corner, in the dreadful region in Inverness Copse, and Glencorse Wood. Today the hard nut of the concrete blockhouse has been cracked by a new method of attack and by a new assault planned with great forethought and achieved so far with high success.

All through the night the British heavy guns were slogging, and through the dark, wet mist there was the blurred light of their flashes. Before dawn a

high wind was raging at thirty miles an hour across Flanders, and the heaving, water-clogged clouds were only 400 feet above the earth. How could the airmen see? When the attack began they could not see. Even when they flew as low as 200 feet they could see nothing but the smoke, which clung low to the battlefield, and could only guess the whereabouts of the German batteries.

Swarm of British Aircraft

The sky over the salient was a strange vision, and I have seen nothing like it since the war began. It was filled with little black specks like midges, but each midge was a British airplane flying over the German lines. The Germans tried to clear the air of them, and the anti-aircraft guns were firing wildly, so that all about them were puffs of black shrapnel. Behind, closely clustered, were the British kite balloons, like snow clouds where they were caught by the light staring down over the battle and in wide semicircles about the salient.

The British heavy guns were firing hammer strokes, followed by the shrill cry of traveling shells, making a barrage before the troops and having blockhouses for their targets, and building walls of flying steel between the Germans and the attacking troops.

In the near distance were the strafed woods of old battlegrounds, like Wychtshaete Ridge and Messines, with their naked gallows trees all blurred in the mist.

The troops had lain out all night in the rain before the attack at something before 6 o'clock. They were wet through to the skin, but it is curious that some of them, whom I saw today, were surprised to hear that it had been raining hard; they had other things to think about. But some of them did not think at all. Tired out in mind and body under the big nervous strain which is there, though they may be unconscious of it, they slept.

Appalling Barrage Fire

The barrage ahead of our men was terrific, the most appalling fence of shells that had ever been placed before advancing troops in this war. All the men describe it as wonderful. "Beautiful" is

a word they use, too, because they know what it means in safety to them.

In the direction of the Polygon Wood the plan of attack seems to have worked like clockwork. The assaulting troops moved forward behind the barrage, stage by stage, through Westhoek and Nonneboschen and across Hannebeke stream on their left with hardly a check, in spite of the German blockhouses scattered over this country. In those blockhouses small

garrisons of picked troops had been demoralized, as any human beings would be by the enormous shellfire which had been flung around them. Some, but not all, it seems, of the blockhouses had been smashed, and in those still standing the German machine gunners got their weapons to work with a burst or two of fire, but then, seeing the British troops on them, they were seized with fear and made signs of surrender.

The Battle About Cameron House

[SEPTEMBER 25]

Increasing their barrage fire to great intensity yesterday, [Sept. 25,] the Germans flung it down in Glencorse Wood and Inverness Copse, fired large numbers of heavy, long-range shells over Westhoek Ridge, Observatory Ridge, and Hooge, and concentrated most fiercely on the ground about Cameron House, Black Watch Corner, and Tower Hamlets.

At 6 o'clock in the morning, supported by this terrific fire, they launched their first attack on the British troops around Cameron House, and, owing to their losses, the British were obliged to fall back some little way in order to reorganize for an assault to recapture their positions. These fought through some awful hours, and several of their units did heroic things to safeguard their lines, which for a time were threatened.

While they were fighting in this way, the Australians, on the high ground this side of Polygon Wood race track and the mound which is called the Butte, also had to repel some fierce attacks which opened on them soon after 8 o'clock in the morning. The enemy was unable to pierce their line and fell back from this first attempt with great losses in dead and wounded. This attack was followed by a second thrust at midday, which met the same fate. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Australians sent some men to help the troops on their right, who were passing through a greater ordeal owing to the storm of fire over them and the continued pressure of the enemy's storm troops, who were persistent, throughout the afternoon, in spite of the trails of dead left in their tracks.

It was a serious anxiety on the eve of a new battle, but it failed to frustrate the British attack. All the area through which the enemy was trying to bring up his troops was made hideous by artillery fire and the work of the Royal Flying Corps. It was a clear, moonlight night, with hardly a breath of air blowing, and all the countryside was made visible by the moon's rays, which silvered the roofs of all the villages and made every road like a white tape. The British planes went out over the enemy's lines, laden with bombs, and patrolled up and down the tracks and made some thirty attacks upon the enemy's transport and his marching columns. All his lines of approach were kept under continual fire by guns of heavy calibre, and for miles around shells swept the points which marching men would have to pass, so that their way was hellish.

The British aircraft went out and flew very low and dropped bombs wherever the observers saw men moving through the luminous mists of night. Behind the British lines air patrols guarded the countryside. On the battlefield there was no unusual gunfire for several hours after dark. The guns on both sides kept up the usual night bombardment in slow, sullen strokes, but, at least on the Australian front, it was not until about 4:45 o'clock in the morning that the enemy opened a heavy barrage on Glencorse Wood. The Australian troops were already massed beyond that ground for the attack which was due soon.

Our new form of barrage is the most frightful combination of high explosives

and shrapnel that has yet appeared in the war, and it rolled backward and forward about them so that the garrisons huddled inside until our men slipped behind them and thrust rifles or bombs through the machine-gun loopholes, if the Germans had not previously escaped to the shell craters around where they might have more chance.

Here I might say that the Germans have already modified their methods of holding blockhouses. While only a few men remain inside, the rest of the garrison is distributed in shell holes on each side, with machine guns in organized craters. Some of these Germans were found by our men, and though many of them had been killed by our gunfire,

others remained shooting and sniping until they were routed out.

The worst part of the ground on this line of attack was around the blockhouse called Boston Farm, where there is a swamp so impassable that some British soldiers who tried to make their way through it had to work around and up toward Hill 40. Here they came under machine-gun fire, and although some of them forced their way up the slope of the knoll on which the inn had stood, they did not quite reach the crest. Meanwhile some of our other troops, attacking around about Zonnebeke, where the ground was swept by machine-gun bullets, seized the ruins of the church and the outskirts of the station yard.

The Shambles About Inverness Copse

[SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 2]

When I went over the ground of Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood a few days ago there were more dead than I had ever seen before on one battleground. They were strewn around blockhouses, lying in the foul water of swamps and shell holes, in dugouts broken by the British fire and half buried in the heaved earth. It is like that over a wide stretch of country, and behind that ground which the British have taken and hold there is other ground, miles back, over which the German dead are scattered like Autumn leaves. For the British gunners have no limit to their ammunition now, and their shells go in ceaseless flights over the enemy's lines to smash their human targets.

This morning again the German infantry was assembled three times and sent forward into the shambles—three times for attacks on each side of that Ypres-Menin road which strikes through this country of death. Polygon Heights was their goal, but the men up there are ready and strong for any hostile advance. With machine-gun and rifle fire and the pounding of "heavies" these morning attacks have been beaten off.

Imagination fails to picture the scenes out there behind the German lines—the agony of those men who, like the Poles among them, have no desire to fight, and

only terror of the fury of shellfire into which they are ordered like poor beasts for slaughter and sacrifice. Lines scribbled in German notebooks and found on the battlefield give glimpses of this human anguish and of the blood and filth through which these men move. Here is one such note by an unknown German officer:

If it were not for the men who have been spared me on this fierce day and are lying around me and looking at me timidly, I should shed hot and bitter tears over the terrors that have menaced me during these hours. On the morning of Sept. 18 a dugout containing seventeen men was shot to pieces over our heads. I am the only one who withstood the maddening bombardment of three days and still survives. You cannot imagine the frightful mental torments I underwent in those few hours. After crawling out through the bleeding remnants of my comrades and the smoke and débris and wandering and fleeing in the midst of raging artillery fire in search of refuge, I am now awaiting death at any moment. You do not know what Flanders means. Flanders means endless endurance; Flanders means blood and scraps of human bodies; Flanders means heroic courage and faithfulness even unto death.

Fight For Polygon Wood

"I was on the last position three-quarters of an hour before the barrage passed," said a young officer. He spoke the

words as if telling something rather commonplace, but he knew I knew the meaning of what he said—a frightful and extraordinary thing; for with his platoon he had gone ahead of the storm of fire and had to wait until it reached and then passed them. Some of their losses were because of that, and yet they might have been greater if they had been slower, because the enemy was caught before he could guess they were near.

Some ran toward their own lines with their hands up, shouting "Kamerad!" believing that they were running toward the British. They were so unready for the attack that the snipers had the safety clips on their rifle barrels, and others were without ammunition.

The way to the last objective was easy, on the whole, and the Germans were on the run with the British after them. The hardest time came afterward, as it nearly always comes, when the ground gained had to be held for three more days and nights without the excitement of attack and under heavy fire. That is when the courage of the men is most tried, as this battalion found. The enemy had time to pull themselves together, the German

gunners adapted their range to the new positions and shelled fiercely across the ways of approach and scattered 5.9s everywhere.

It was riflefire for the British men all the time. They had not troubled to bring up a great many bombs, for the rifle has come into its own again, now that the old trench warfare is gone for a time or for all time. So, with rifle and machine-gun fire they broke down the German counterattacks and caught parties of Germans, who showed themselves on the slopes of Passchendaele Ridge, and sniped incessantly. They used up a prodigious quantity of small-arms ammunition, and the carriers risked their lives every step of the way to get it up to them. They fired 30,000 rounds and then 16,000 more.

There was one officer who spent all his time sniping from a little patch of ground that had once been a garden. He lay behind the heaped ruin and used his field-glasses to watch the slopes of rising ground on his left where human ants were crawling. Every now and then he fired and picked off an ant until his score reached fifty.

The Capture of Passchendaele Ridge

[OCTOBER 4]

It has been a strange and terrible battle—terrible, I mean, in its great conflict of guns and men—and the enemy, if all goes as well with the British as it is now going, may have to remember it as a turning point in the history of this war—a point that has turned against him with a sharp and deadly edge. For realizing his great peril if the British strengthened their hold on Passchendaele Ridge, and knowing that they intended to do so, (all the signs showed him that, and all our pressure on these positions,) he prepared an attack against them in great strength in order to regain the ground he lost on Sept. 26, or, if not that, then so to damage them that their advance would be checked until the weather choked them in mud again.

His small counterattacks, or rather his local counterattacks—for they were not weak—had failed; even his persistent

hammering at the right wing by Cameron House, below Polygon Wood, had failed to bite deeply into the British line, though for a time, on Sept. 25, it had been a cause of anxiety to them and made the battle next day more difficult and critical. But these attacks had failed in their purpose, and now the German high command decided for a big blow, which was to be delivered at 7 o'clock this morning.

It was a day and an hour too late. The British battle was fixed for an hour before his, and so it happened that the British troops, in order to follow their own barrage, had to pass through that of the Germans, which fell upon them before they leaped up to the assault; and it happened also, most terribly for the enemy, that the British were not stopped, but went through that zone of shells without disorder, and on the other side, behind their own barrage, swept over the Ger-

man assault troops and annihilated their plan of attack.

The Germans did not attack. Their defense even was broken. As the British lines of fire crept forward they reached and broke the second and third waves of men who had been ordered to attack and caught them in their support and reserve positions. One can only guess what the slaughter has been. Five German divisions were involved in it.

Scene Behind the Lines

Preparations on a big scale were started as soon as the last battle was fought and won. No words of mine can give more than a hint of what those preparations meant in the scene of war. Everywhere there has been a fever of work—Tommies, Chinkies, and colored men piling up mountains of ammunition to feed the guns. Under shellfire bracketing the loads on which they worked, the engineers carried on.

Tracks were put down, new lengths of "duckboard" laid, and new rails. The enemy's shells came howling over to search out all this work, which had been observed by airplanes, and at night flocks of the latter came out in the light of the moon to drop bombs on the men and the works. Now and again they made lucky hits—got a dump and sent it flaming up in a great torch, killed horses in the wagon lines laboring up with transport laid out a group of men, smashed a train or truck—but the work went on, never checked, never stopping in its steady flow of energy up to the lines, and the valor of all these laborers was great and steady in preparing for today. Knowing the purpose of it all filled one with a kind of fear—it was so prodigious, so vastly schemed.

I passed a dump yesterday, and again today, in the waste ground on the old battlefield near Ypres, and saw the shells for the field batteries being unloaded. There were thousands of them, brand new from the British factories, all bright and glistening and laid out in piles. The guns were greedy; here was food for their monstrous appetite.

This morning, when the men rose from the shell holes and battered trenches and fields of upheaved earth to make this

great attack, the rain fell still, but softly, so that the ground was only sticky and sludgy, but not a bog. Rain was glistening on their steel helmets, and the faces of the fighting men were wet when they went forward. They had passed already through a great ordeal, and some of them—a few here and there—could not rise to go with their comrades, they lay dead on the ground.

Germans Try New Tactics

Along the lines of these thousands of men the stretcher bearers were already busy in the dark, because the enemy put over a heavy barrage at 5:30, and elsewhere later—the prelude to the attack he had planned. His old methods of defense and counterattack had broken down in two battles. The spell of the "pill box," which had worked well for a time, was broken so utterly that those concrete blockhouses were feared as deathtraps by the men who had held them.

The German high command hurried to prepare a new plan, guessing that of the British, and moved their guns to be ready for the next attack, registered on their own trenches, which they knew they might lose. The barrage which the Germans sent over was the beginning of a new plan. It failed because of the great courage of the British troops, first of all, and because the German infantry attack was timed an hour too late. If it had come two hours earlier it might have led to the undoing of Haig's men—might, at least, have prevented anything like a real victory today; but the fortune of war was on the side of the British, and the wheel turned around to crush the enemy.

The main force of his attack, which was to have been made by the Fourth Guards Division, with two others, I am told, in support, was ready to assault the centre of the British battle front in the direction of Polygon Wood and down from Broodseinde Crossroads. It was the British, however, who fought the German assault divisions at Broodseinde Crossroads and took many prisoners from them before they had time to advance very far. The enemy's shelling had been heavy about the ground of Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood,

where a week or so ago I saw frightful heaps of German dead, and spread over a wide area of the British line of battle along Polygon Wood Heights and the low ground in front of Zonnebeke. The men tell me that it did not do them as much harm as they expected. The shells plunged deep in the soft ground, bursting upward in tall columns, and their killing effect was not widespread. Many of them also missed the British waves altogether.

So, half an hour later, the British attacking troops went away behind their own barrage, which was enormous and annihilating. Wet mist lay heavily over the field, and it was almost dark except for a pale glimmer behind the rain clouds, which brightened as each quarter hour passed, with the men tramping forward slowly to their first objective.

Terrible Battle Picture

The shell craters on the German side were linked together here and there to form a kind of trench system, but many of these had been blown out by other shellbursts, and German soldiers lay dead in them. From others men and boys—many boys of 18—rose with arms upstretched, as white in the face as dead men, but living and afraid. Across these frightful fields men came running toward the British line. They did not come to fight, but to escape from the shellfire which tossed up the earth about them, and to surrender. Many of them were streaming with blood, wounded about the head and face, or with broken and bleeding arms. So I saw them early this morning when they came down the tracks which led away from that long line of flaming gunfire.

The scene of the battle in those early hours was a great and terrible picture. It will be etched as long as life lasts on the minds of the men who saw it. The ruins of Ypres were vague and blurred in the mist as I passed them on the way up, but as the moments passed the ragged stump of the Cloth Hall, the wild wreckage of the asylum, and the fretted outline of all this chaos of masonry which was so fair a city once crept out in the light which flashed redly and passed.

So it was all the long way to the old German lines. Bits of villages still stand, enough to show that buildings were once there, and isolated ruins of barns and farmhouses lie in heaps of timber and brickwork about great piles of greenish sandbags and battered earthworks.

Hundreds of Guns Volleying

The British guns were everywhere in the low, concealing mist, so that one could not walk anywhere to avoid the blast of their fire. They made a fury of fire. Flashes leaped from them, with only a pause of a second or two while they were reloaded. There was never a moment within my own range of vision when hundreds of great guns were not firing together. They were eating up the shells which I had seen going up to them, and the roads and fields across which I walked were littered with shells. The wet mist was like one great damp fire with ten miles or more of smoke rising in white vapor, through which tongues of flame leaped up stirred by some fierce wind.

The noise was terrifying in its violence. Passing one of those big-bellied howitzers was to me an agony. It rose like a beast stretching out its neck, and there came from it a roar which almost split one's eardrums and shook one's body with the long tremor of the concussion. These things were all firing at their hardest pace, and the earth was shaken with their blasts of fire. The enemy was answering, but with no great threat to the British guns. His shells came whining and howling through all this greater noise and burst with a crash on either side of the mule tracks and over the bits of ruin near by and in the fields on each side of the paths down which German prisoners came staggering with their wounded.

Fresh shell holes, enormously deep and thickly grouped, showed that the German guns had plastered this ground fiercely, but later in the morning their shelling eased off, and the guns had other work to do over there, where the British infantry was advancing—other work, unless the guns lay smashed with their teams lying dead around them, killed by the British counterbattery work with

high explosives and gas; for in the night the British smothered the Germans with gas and tried to keep them quiet for this battle and all others.

Like a Ridge of Volcanoes

We went eastward and mounted a pile of rubbish and timber, all blown into shapelessness and reeking with foul odors, and from that shelter looked across to Passchendaele Ridge and Hill 40, on the west of Zonnebeke and the line of the ridge that goes round to Polygon Wood. It was all blurred, but clearly through the gloom were seen the white and yellow cloudbursts of the British shellfire and the flame of the shellbursts.

It was the most terrible bombardment I had ever seen, and I saw the fire of the Somme and of Vimy and Arras and Messines. Those were not like this, great as they were in frightfulness. The whole of Passchendaele crest was like a series of volcanoes belching up pillars of earth and fire.

"It seemed to us," said man after man who came down from those slopes, "as if no mortal man could live in it. Yet there were many who lived, despite all the dead."

I saw the living men. Below the big pile of timber and muck on which I stood was a winding path, with other tracks on each side of it between deep shell craters, and down those ways came batches of prisoners and the trail of the British walking wounded. It was a tragic sight, in spite of its proof of the victory and valor of the British and the spirit of the British wounded, who bore pain with stoic patience and said, when I spoke to them, "It's been a good day; we're doing fine, I think."

The Procession of Wounded

The Germans were haggard and white-faced men, thin and worn, and weary and frightened, many of them. The greater number were wounded. Some of them had masks of dry blood on their faces and some of them wet blood all down their tunics. They held broken arms, from which the sleeves had been cut away, and hobbled painfully on wounded legs.

It was a procession down that winding path which a painter should have seen, to

put down a true picture of one side of war. Shoulder-high, the stretcher bearers, swaying a little to the swing of the stretchers, carried the German and British wounded. I saw a German officer on one of the stretchers. He had a cloak over him and his head drooped over the side of the pole. I think he was already dead. Another man died as they carried him. His head flopped first to one side and then to the other, and then his body was shaken with a great rigor and he lay still. A young soldier had been blinded. All the top of his face was covered with a bloody rag, and he walked stiffly, with an Englishman on either side of him, guiding his footsteps over the rough ground. They passed and passed, these men—platoons of Germans marching together with one or two British soldiers with fixed bayonets beside them, and single figures, not guarded at all, but making their way slowly and painfully across the fields in the same direction as the British wounded. There were many boys among them—boys with shaven heads, without caps or helmets; wizened white-faced boys, whose shrapnel helmets were like extinguishers, and lazy boys, with great spectacles on their noses.

But they were not in the majority. Most of the men I saw—and I saw hundreds of them—were men between 20 and 30, and big, strong, and tough. After this battle their skin was gray, and their eyes stared out of deep sockets. They shrank when some of their own shells came overhead and burst near them on the way down to safety, and they looked with dazed eyes at the English soldiers and at the ambulances and wagons further on. It had been a great defeat for them, and they did not hide their despair. They did not fight stubbornly for the most part, but ran one way or the other as soon as the British barrage passed and revealed their assailants. The British gunfire had overwhelmed them.

In the blockhouses were groups of men who gasped out words of surrender. Here and there they refused to come out till bombs burst outside their steel doors, and here and there they got machine guns to work and checked the British advance

for a time, as at Joist Farm, on the right of the attack, and at a château near Polderhoek, where there had been severe fighting. There was heavy machine-gun fire from a fortified ruined farm to the north of Broodseinde, and again from Kronprinz Farm, on the extreme left. The enemy also put down a heavy machine-gun barrage from positions around

Passchendaele, but nothing has stopped the British seriously so far. They swept up and beyond Cravenstavel and Abraham Heights, went through and past the ruins of Zonnebeke Village, and with great heroism gained the high ground about Broodseinde, a dominating position giving observation of all the enemy country.

The Desolation Around Ypres

[OCTOBER 7]

It rained hard yesterday, giving an unforgettable demonstration of the nature of the difficulties which the British troops have encountered in many of their recent operations. Within a few hours the entire country had been turned into a mass of deep, clinging mud, through which one made his way with the greatest effort. A stream known as Honnebeke, which is one of the many little waterways that cover not only this section but most of the battle zone, was surrounded by a veritable morass. It would be impossible to cross it at many places.

Shell holes had rapidly filled with water, and ponds were to be seen in which a score of men might easily drown if they were unfortunate enough to fall down the slippery sides. Often a small pool of water covered a considerable shell hole.

A wounded man was being brought back from Broodseinde Ridge. It took four sturdy stretcher bearers to carry him, and they were floundering miserably at every step. It must have taken them several hours to negotiate their journey.

It seemed inconceivable that men could work, much less fight, over such filthy ground; yet the British soldiers and officers were carrying on steadily yester-

day their operations. And in recent days they have often fought over just such territory as this.

Nowhere on the western front has the war printed more cruel marks of devastation than in the wide zone east of Ypres, where such fierce and sanguinary fighting has been proceeding at intervals since the British launched their initial attack.

This whole region, much of which in peace times was prosperous farming country, has been turned by the artillery fire into a desolate waste of vast and deep shell craters, which are so close together that in innumerable cases they interlock. Farmhouses have been pulverized and plowed under in the ruthless sweep of the shells, and village sites are marked by little portions of walls where churches or other big buildings once stood.

Cottages are buried beneath heaps of turned-up earth, and there is scarcely a vestige of grass or other green thing to be seen in miles of tramping. Trees have been smashed into matchwood, and their roots turned up in grotesque shapes to add to the sinister aspect of the country. Here and there, where little forests stood, the hardier trees have clung to their birthright, but their branches have been shorn from their trunks.

The Battle for Houltulst Wood

[OCTOBER 9]

The French yesterday gained about 1,200 yards of ground in two strides, captured hundreds of prisoners, many machine guns and two field guns, and killed large numbers of the enemy in

this attack and in the bombardments which preceded it.

The allied troops are within a few hundred yards of that forest of which Marlborough spoke when he said, "Who-

ever holds Houltulst Forest holds Flanders," and have gone forward about 1,500 yards in depth along a line beyond Poelcapelle, across the Ypres-Cheluvelt road.

The enemy again suffered great losses. Two new divisions, which had just been brought into line, the 227th, straight from Rheims, getting into line at 3 o'clock this morning, while the 195th arrived from Russia, have received a fearful baptism of fire, and at least three other divisions have been hard hit and have given many prisoners from their raids into British hands.

It was a black and dreadful night. The wind howled and raged across Flanders with long, sinister wailings as it gathered speed and raced over the fields. The heavy stormclouds, hiding the moon and stars, broke and a deluge came down, drenching the British soldiers who marched along the roads and tracks, making ponds about them where they stood. It was cold, with the coldness cutting the men with the sharp sword of the wind, and there was no glimmer of light in the darkness.

To those who know the craterland of battlefields and with light kit or no kit have gone stumbling through it, picking their way between shell holes in the daylight, taking hours to travel a mile or two, it might have seemed impossible that great bodies of troops could go forward in an assault over such a country and win success in such conditions. That they did so is one more proof that the British troops have in them the heroic spirit which is above the normal laws of life. This battle seems to me as wonderful as anything the British have done since the Highlanders and the naval division captured Beaumont Hamel in the mud and fog. It was more wonderful even than that, because on a greater scale and in more foul weather.

Men Plastered with Clay

This morning I have been among men who lay out last night before the attack which followed the first gleams of dawn today, and who staggered and stumbled up to take part in the attack. These men I met had come back wounded. Only in the worst days of the Somme have I seen such figures. They were plastered from

head to foot in wet mud, their hands and faces being covered with clay like the hands and faces of dead men.

They had tied bits of sacking round their legs, and this was stuck on them with clots of mud. Their belts and tunics were covered with thick wet slime. They were soaked to the skin and their hair was stiff with clay.

They looked to me like men who had been buried alive and had been dug out again. And when I spoke to them I found that some of them had been buried alive and unburied while they still had life. They told me this simply as if it were the normal thing. Others, without being flung down by a shellburst or buried in a crater, fell up to their waists in shell holes and up to their armpits and sank in water and mud.

A little group of men whom I knew had to make their way up to join in their unit's attack in the dawn. It was at dusk that this handful of men set out on the way up to the battle line, and it was only a few miles they had to go, but it took them eleven hours to go that distance, and they did not get to the journey's end until half an hour before they had to attack. * * * They had no food all that time. "I would have given my left arm for a drop of hot drink," said one of them. "I was 'fair perished' with the cold."

They went over to the attack, these troops who were cold and hungry and exhausted after a dreadful night, and they gained their objective and routed the enemy and sent back many prisoners.

There were a number of German blockhouses in front of them beyond Abraham Heights and Gravenstafel. On their left there was a blockhouse called Peter Pan, though no little Mother Wendy would tell stories to her boys there.

German Troops Heavily Massed

Beyond that little house of death were Wolf Copse and Wolf Farm, from which the fire of German machine guns came swishing in streams of bullets. There was no yard of ground without a shell hole, they were linked together like the holes in honeycomb, and German troops were very thick because of their new methods of defense—very dense in the

support lines, though the front line was more lightly held, the men being scattered about in these craters.

Large numbers were killed and wounded when the British barrage stormed over them, but numbers crouching in the old craters were left alive, and as the barrage passed they rose and came streaming over in small batches with their hands high. They came to meet the British, hoping for mercy.

Many prisoners were made before the first objective was reached, and after that by harder fighting some of the men in the shell holes, wet like the British and cold like them, decided to keep fighting and fired rifles as the British struggled forward. Not all the prisoners who were taken came down behind the British lines. The enemy was barraging the ground heavily, and many of their own men were killed and some of the British stretcher bearers as they came down with the wounded.

Up in the leafless and shattered trees on the battlefield were Germans with machine guns and German riflemen, who sniped the British as they passed. Many of these were shot up in trees and came crashing down.

Up on the left of the attack, where the British linked up with the French, Germans were taken prisoner in great numbers, officers as well as men. The hostile bombardment was not so heavy as on the right, so that the casualties seem to have been light there.

In spite of the frightful ground, all the objectives were taken, so that the allied line was drawn close to Houltulst Forest.

Heroic Work of Lancashires

The brunt of the fighting fell in the centre upon the troops of the North Country, the hard, tough men of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and it was the Lancashires' day especially, because of these third-line territorial battalions of Manchesters and East Lancashires and the Lancashire Fusiliers, with other Lancashire comrades. There were some among them who went over the bags, as they call it, for the first time, and who fought in one of the hardest battles that has ever been faced by British troops.

The night march of some of these men who went up to attack at dawn seems to me, who have written many records of brave acts during three years of war, one of the most heroic episodes in all this time. It was a march which in dry, fine weather would have been done easily enough in less than three hours by men as good as these, but it took eleven hours for these Lancashire men to get up their support line; and then, worn out by fatigue that was physical pain, wet to the skin, cold as death, hungry and all clotted about with mud, they lay in the water of the shell holes for a little while until their officers said: "Turn out, boys!" And they went forward through heavy fire and over the same kind of ground and fought the enemy with his machine guns and beat him—until they lay outside their last objective and kept off counterattacks by the few machine guns that still remained unclogged and the rifles that somehow they had kept dry. Nothing better than that has been done, and Lancashire should thrill to the tale of it, because her sons were its heroes.

At night the lightly wounded men who tried to get back had a desperate time trying to find their way. Some of them walked away to the German lines and were up to the barbed wire before they found out their mistake. It was difficult to get any sense of direction in the darkness, but the German flares helped them. They rose with a very bright light flooding the swamps of No Man's Land with a white glare and revealing the tragedy of the battlefield, where many bodies lay still in the bogs, for many Germans had been killed.

Before the darkness the German airplanes came over, as it were, in dense flocks. One Lancashire boy declared that he counted thirty-seven as he lay looking up to the sky from a shell hole, and they flew low to see where the British had made their line.

For many days splendid and chivalrous work has been done on this part of the ground by the stretcher bearers. Out of 250 laboring in these fields over 100 were hit, and all of them took the utmost risk to rescue their fallen comrades in the

fighting lines. The sappers and pioneers, the transport men and gunners, fought not against an enemy from Germany, but against one more difficult to defeat, and that was the mud, which made all their work misery and hampered them over

every yard of ground; but for many hours, in light and darkness, they worked their way forward, making new tracks, struggling up with wagons and mules, keeping communications open with the front line and the troops in support.

The Battle in the Mud

[OCTOBER 12]

The British troops went forward again today, further up the slopes of Passchendaele Ridge, striking northeast toward the village of Passchendaele itself, which I saw this morning looming through the mist and white smoke of shellfire, with its ruins like the battlements of a mediaeval castle perched high on the crest.

A clear line was made for the barrage which would be fired by the British guns this morning, but some troops had still to go up, and some men had to march through the night as those Lancashire men had marched up three nights before. They had the same grim adventure; they, too, fell into shell holes, groped their way forward blindly in the wild down-pour of rain, lugged each other out of bogs, floundered through mud and shell-fire from 5 in the evening until a few minutes only before it was time to attack.

The enemy was busy with his guns all night to catch any of the British who might be on the move. He flung down a heavy barrage round about Zonnebeke, but by good chance it missed one group of men thereabout and scarcely touched any of the others in that neighborhood. But his heavy shells were scattered over a wide area and came howling through the darkness and exploding with great upheavals of wet earth. Small parties of men dodged them as best they could and pitched into shell holes five feet deep in water when they threatened instant death.

Then gas shells came whining, with their queer little puffs, unlike the exploding roar of the bigger shells, and the wet wind was filled with poisonous vapor, smarting to the eyes and skin, so that some of the men had to put on gas masks.

The march up to the battle line might have shaken the nerves of most men, might even have unmanned and weakened them, by the fainting sickness of fear, but it only made the British angry to the point of wild rage.

"To hell with them!" said some of them. "We won't spare them when we go over; we will make them pay for this night."

They used savage and flaming words, cursing the enemy, the weather, the shell-fire, and the foulness of it all. I know the state of the ground, for I went over this crater land this morning to look at the flame of fire below Passchendaele spur.

I had no heavy kit, like the fighting men, but I fell on the greasy "duck-boards," as they fell, and rolled into the slime, as they had rolled.

The rain beat a tattoo on one's steel helmet. Every shell hole was brimful of brown or greenish water. Moisture rose from the earth in a fog. The British guns were firing everywhere through the mist and thrust sharp little swords of flame through its darkness, and all the battlefields bellowed with the noise of the guns.

I walked through battery positions; past enormous howitzers which at twenty paces' distance shook one's bones with the concussion of their blasts; past long-muzzled high-velocities whose shells, after the first sharp hammer stroke, went whinnying away with the high, fluttering note of death; past big-bellied 4.2s and monsters firing lyddite shells in clouds of yellow smoke.

A Grim Picture

Before me, stretching away round Houthulst Forest, big and dark and grim with its close-growing trees, was Pass-

chendaale Ridge, the long, hummocky slopes for which the British were fighting, and their barrage fire crept up it, and the infernal shellfire rising in white columns was on top of it, hiding the broken houses there until later in the morning, when the rain ceased a little and the sky was streaked with blue, and out of the wet gloom Passchendaale appeared with its houses still standing, though all in ruins.

There were queer effects when the sun broke through. Its rays ran down the wet trunks and forked naked branches

of dead trees with a curious, dazzling whiteness, and all the swamps were glinting with light on their foul waters; and the pack mules, winding along the tracks, slithering and staggering through the slime, had four golden bars on either side of them when the sun shone on their 18-pounder shells.

There was something more ghastly in this flood of white light over the dead ground of the battlefields, revealing all the litter of human conflict around the captured German "pill boxes," than when it was all under black stormclouds.

The Nations at War

BY the action of Peru and Uruguay in breaking off relations with Germany, the number of nations now in that stage of belligerency is seven, while eighteen others are now at war with Germany and her allies. The following summary and dates are from the Official Bulletin:

At war with Germany or her allies:

Serbia, Russia, France, Great Britain, Montenegro, Japan, Belgium, Italy, San Marino, Portugal, Rumania, Greece, Cuba, Panama, Siam, Liberia, China, and the United States.

Diplomatic relations broken with Germany:

Brazil, Bolivia, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay.

Declarations of war made:

Austria vs. Belgium, Aug. 28, 1914.
Austria vs. Montenegro, Aug. 9, 1914.
Austria vs. Russia, Aug. 6, 1914.
Austria vs. Serbia, July 28, 1914.
Bulgaria vs. Serbia, Oct. 14, 1915.
China vs. Austria, Aug. 14, 1917.
China vs. Germany, Aug. 14, 1917.
Cuba vs. Germany, April 7, 1917.

France vs. Austria, Aug. 12, 1914.
France vs. Bulgaria, Oct. 18, 1915.
France vs. Germany, Aug. 3, 1914.
Germany vs. France, Aug. 3, 1914.
Germany vs. Portugal, March 9, 1916.
Germany vs. Russia, Aug. 1, 1914.
Great Britain vs. Bulgaria, Oct. 16, 1915.
Great Britain vs. Austria, Aug. 12, 1914.
Great Britain vs. Germany, Aug. 5, 1914.
Great Britain vs. Turkey, Nov. 5, 1914.
Greece (Provisional Government) vs. Bulgaria, Nov. 28, 1916.
Greece (Provisional Government) vs. Germany, Nov. 28, 1916.
Greece vs. Bulgaria, July 2, 1917.
Greece vs. Germany, July 2, 1917.
Italy vs. Austria, Aug. 21, 1915.
Italy vs. Bulgaria, Oct. 19, 1914.
Italy vs. Germany, Aug. 28, 1916.
Japan vs. Germany, Aug. 23, 1914.
Liberia vs. Germany, Aug. 4, 1917.
Montenegro vs. Austria, Aug. 10, 1914.
Panama vs. Germany, April 7, 1917.
Rumania vs. Austria, Aug. 27, 1916.
Serbia vs. Turkey, Dec. 2, 1914.
Siam vs. Austria, July 21, 1917.
Siam vs. Germany, July 21, 1917.
Turkey vs. Allies, Nov. 23, 1914.
Turkey vs. Rumania, Aug. 29, 1916.
United States vs. Germany, April 6, 1917.



Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From September 19 Up to and Including October 18, 1917

UNITED STATES

Congress adjourned on Oct. 6, after passing measures appropriating \$21,000,000,000 for war purposes, and enacting the War Revenue bill, which provided for the raising of \$2,700,000,000 by taxation.

The campaign for the second Liberty Loan—an issue of \$3,000,000,000—opened Oct. 1. President Wilson appointed Oct. 24 Liberty Loan Day.

Colonel Edward M. House was appointed by the President to gather data that would be needed by American envoys to the peace conference.

A proclamation governing the distribution and licensing of foodstuffs was issued by the President on Oct. 10.

The Trading with the Enemy act, which was passed by Congress, was put into effect by an order issued by President Wilson on Oct. 14. It provided for the supervision of all exports and imports, for the use of enemy patents, for a strict censorship of news, and for licensing of foreign-language publications. The Exports Administrative Board was replaced by the War Trade Board.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamships Lewis Luckenbach and Platuria were sunk. An American destroyer was torpedoed by a German submarine in European waters on Oct. 16. A petty officer was killed and five men were injured. The vessel was disabled, but managed to reach port.

England's losses for the week ended Sept. 23 included thirteen vessels of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended Sept. 30, eleven; for the week ended Oct. 7, fourteen, and for the week ended Oct. 14, eighteen. A British destroyer was sunk at the entrance to the English Channel on Sept. 23. The cruiser Drake was destroyed, and an officer and eighteen men were killed. Fifty-six lives were lost when the cruiser Champagne was sunk.

French and Italian losses averaged two or three vessels of over 1,600 tons each week. The French munitions steamer Medie was torpedoed in the Mediterranean on Sept. 23, and 250 lives were lost.

Norway lost nineteen ships in September.

The Chinese ship Glenogie was sunk.

The Argentine Senate voted for a break with Germany on Sept. 19, and on Sept. 22 the Government sent an ultimatum to Berlin demanding an explanation of the behavior of Count Luxburg and a repetition of the promise made

concerning Argentine shipping. On Sept. 23, just as the Chamber of Deputies was preparing to vote for a break in relations, a message was received from Berlin repudiating Luxburg. The Chamber voted on Sept. 25 to sever relations, but President Irigoyen refused to act.

Costa Rica severed relations with Germany. Peru sent an ultimatum to Germany on Sept.

26, demanding that satisfaction be given for the sinking of the bark Lorton. On Oct. 5 the Senate and Chamber voted to sever diplomatic relations, and the German Minister was given his passports on Oct. 6. Ecuador announced that Dr. Perl, the German Minister to Peru and Ecuador, would not be received by the Ecuadorian Government.

Uruguay severed relations with Germany Oct. 7, and waived her neutrality rules in favor of the Allies.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Sept. 22—Germans capture Jacobstadt, together with positions on a front of 26 miles, six miles deep, on the west bank of the Dvina River.

Sept. 24—Russians occupy German positions in the Silzeme sector.

Sept. 25—Russians repulse attacks on positions south of the Pskov-Riga highroad.

Oct. 1—Russians advance in the Riga region, pushing the foe back in the Spitals Farm sector.

Oct. 13—Germans land troops on the coast of the Gulf of Tagalab, and on Oesel and Dagö Islands; garrison of Oesel fights the invaders.

Oct. 14—Germans occupy the whole northern and eastern part of Oesel Island, but fail in attempt to seize Moon Island.

Oct. 15—German forces occupy Orensburg on Oesel Island.

Oct. 16—Germans extend their gains on Oesel Island and institute an offensive against the Svorb peninsula.

Oct. 17—Germans take the entire island of Oesel and crush Russian force on Svorb peninsula; Russians frustrate their attempt to throw a bridge across the Dvina River.

Oct. 18—Germans capture Moon Island.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Sept. 20—British penetrate German line on eight-mile front along the Ypres-Menin road to a depth of more than a mile and capture the villages of Velahoeck and Zevenkote; French repulse attacks south-east of Cernay.

UNITED STATES NAVAL ENCAMPMENT AT NEWPORT



One of the United States Navy's old ones at Newport. R. I. Making it a part of the Head of the Harbor of Newport, R. I. New York City

A TYPICAL CANTONMENT OF THE NATIONAL ARMY



General View of Camp Dix, Where New Jersey's Drafted Men Are Being Trained for Service in the National Army
(© Underwood & Underwood)

Sept. 21—British thrust Germans from their last strong point northeast of Langemarck and consolidate their gains; Germans in Champagne lose heavily in unsuccessful attack on Mont Haut.

Sept. 22—German counterattacks south of the Ypres-Menin Road repulsed.

Sept. 24—French repulse German attacks north of Bezonvaux and near Beaumont.

Sept. 26—British pierce German line on a four-mile front in the Zonnebeke region.

Sept. 27-28—British repulse seven fierce counterattacks east of Ypres.

Sept. 30—British break up German offensive near Tower Hamlets.

Oct. 1-3—Germans fail in attempt to drive British from new positions east of Ypres.

Oct. 4—British advance on an eight-mile front from north of Langemarck to a point south of Tower Hamlets, winning the crest of the Passchendaele Heights.

Oct. 5—French repulse surprise attacks on the Aisne, in Champagne, and in Upper Alsace.

Oct. 9—British drive Germans from their last positions in Poelcapelle and push on for nearly two miles to the northwest; French pierce German positions to a depth of a mile and a quarter on a mile and a half front, capturing St. Jean de Mangelaers and Veldhoek.

Oct. 10—French gain more ground toward Houthulst Forest; Germans northeast of Verdun reach advanced French lines near the Bois de Chaume.

Oct. 13—British advance southwest of Passchendaele Village and take part of Houthulst Wood.

Oct. 15—Germans bombard British positions south of Broodseinde.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Sept. 23—Italians repulse Austrian attacks on the Bainsizza Plateau in the region of Kal and west of Volnik.

Sept. 24—Italians repulse Austrian counterattacks in Marmolada region.

Sept. 29—Italians gain ground by surprise attacks above Gorizia.

Sept. 30—Italians capture high ground south of Podlaca and southeast of Madoni, in new drive on the Bainsizza Plateau.

Oct. 3—Italians repulse attacks on the western slopes of San Gabriele.

Oct. 15—Heavy fighting on the Julian front; Italians make successful attack on the southern slopes of Monte Rombon.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

Sept. 28—British capture Mushaid Ridge and occupy Ramadie on the Euphrates, taking prisoner Ahmed Bey, the Turkish commander, and his staff.

Oct. 4—Arabs, in revolt against the Turks, have effected a junction with the British in southern Palestine and control the Hedjaz Railway as far north as Maan.

Oct. 5—Russians in the Kikatsh-Amadia sector of the Caucasian front take the vil-

lage of Nereman, 50 miles north of Mosul; British advance up the Tigris.

Oct. 11—Turks repulsed by Russians southwest of Erzincan.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Sept. 19—Rumanians attack Austro-German positions south of Grozechti.

Oct. 6—Russians on the Rumanian front check attack near Radautz; Bulgarians take Russian positions north of the Buzeu River, but lose them by counterattacks.

Oct. 15—Scottish troops raid Homondos on the Struma front.

AERIAL RECORD

German aviators bombarded London and the southeast coast of England on Sept. 24. Fifteen persons were killed and seventy injured. The next night another raid was made on London, and seven persons were killed and twenty-six injured. Two German machines were brought down in a raid on Sept. 29; eleven persons were killed and eighty-two injured. Nine persons were killed in a raid on Sept. 30. On Oct. 1 four squadrons of German machines made the strongest air attack yet made on coast towns; ten persons were killed and thirty-eight injured.

British naval airmen bombarded Ostend, Zeebrugge, and other Belgian coast towns, and dropped bombs on German bases back of the Flanders line.

The French raided German bases from Lorraine to Belgium, and bombarded Frankfurt-am-Main, Stuttgart, Treves, Coblenz, and Baden.

The Germans made several air raids in the Baltic, in the region of the Gulf of Riga.

NAVAL RECORD

British warships bombarded German naval works at Ostend on Sept. 22.

The presence of two German raiders in the South Pacific Ocean, manned by the crew of the German raider Seeadler, was announced by the Navy Department, and allied warships scoured the seas to find them.

The Italians captured an Austrian destroyer in the Adriatic Sea.

German warships silenced Russian batteries on Oesel and Dagö Islands as their troops landed on Oct. 13. In an engagement between Russian and German naval forces on Oct. 14, in Soeia Sound, two German torpedo-boats were sunk and two damaged. One Russian torpedo boat was sunk. On Oct. 18 the Germans seized Moon Island, trapping the Russian battleships in the Gulf of Riga, and sinking the battleship Slava.

RUSSIA

General Alexeieff resigned as Chief of the General Staff. Premier Kerensky appointed General Tcheremisoff to succeed him.

General Soukhomlinoff, former Minister of War, was sentenced to hard labor for life after conviction on the charges of high treason, abuse of confidence, and fraud. His wife was acquitted.

M. Terestchenko resigned as Foreign Minister in the Cabinet of Five.

The Congress of Non-Slav Nationalities met in Kiev and passed a resolution declaring that Russia must be a federal democratic republic.

A revolution occurred in Turkestan against the Government at Petrograd.

The Democratic Congress was held in Petrograd. It declared in favor of a coalition Government, with the bourgeois element excluded, and opposed coalition with the entire Constitutional Democratic Party.

Kerensky formed a coalition Ministry, including four Constitutional Democrats.

MISCELLANEOUS

Austria-Hungary and Germany replied to the Pope's peace proposal, accepting his offer as a basis for the beginning of negotiations, but avoiding any suggestion of definite concessions. It has been reported that Germany sent a supplementary note offering to give up Belgium for trade and military guarantees on condition that Belgium maintain administrative separation of the Flanders and Walloon districts.

France has been investigating reports of acts of treason. Louis J. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior, was accused by Leon Daudet of betraying secrets to Germany. Deputy Louis Turmel was arrested on a charge of trading with the enemy. Bolo Pasha was arrested as a spy, and revela-

tions concerning his efforts in the United States to buy control of the French press in the interests of a separate peace with Germany were made public. In this plot, former Ambassador von Bernstorff was found to be involved.

Great Britain declared an absolute embargo on the northern neutrals to stop the sending of supplies into Germany, and cut off all commercial cable communication with Holland until the Netherlands Government should place an absolute restriction on the transit of war materials through Holland from Germany to Belgium. In retaliation, Holland stopped all ships to England.

Vice Admiral Capelle announced in the German Reichstag on Oct. 9 that a plot had been discovered in the navy to paralyze the fleet so as to force the Government to make peace. A mutiny occurred on warships at Wilhelmshaven. Three men were shot and over a hundred sentenced to prison. The blame was put on the Socialists. Capelle resigned on Oct. 12. On Oct. 18 another mutiny was reported among sailors at Ostend who refused to go on board submarines, and serious mutinies occurred in the Austrian Navy at the Pola and Fiume bases because of bad food conditions and inhuman treatment by officers.

The Emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary named a Council of Regency for Poland.

The Swedish Minister at Washington asked the aid of the United States in obtaining the release of official mail held by the British Embassy in Washington.

A Homesick Soldier's Letters

A French soldier, René des Touches, tells in his "Pages of Glory and Suffering" a little story that actually happened. In his regiment at the front there was a brave little fellow who was depressed because he never received any letters. Every day the "vaguemestre," or baggage officer, brought mail for others—letters from wives, sweethearts, and friends—and while the fortunate poilus retired in silence to devour the precious words from home, the lonely man endured new pangs of homesickness. But one day a letter—a real letter, delightfully long—came for this man, who had been born in one of the invaded provinces; and that was the beginning of a regular correspondence, soon, alas! cut short by his death in a gallant charge. Before dying, he had had the joy of thinking that some one back yonder, far from the front, had thought of him. The little story ends with these words: "Now, it was the good baggage officer, who, seeing the desolation in the eyes of the lonely man, had written those letters."



Mobilizing Our Industries for War

Story of the Wonderful Transformation Which the First Six Months of War Have Produced in American Industrial and Commercial Life

THE development of highly technical methods of waging war, especially as regards the vast quantities of supplies which are required for armies of millions of men, but which can be produced only by a great and efficient industrial system, has given the United States a unique opportunity of demonstrating its power and resourcefulness in the creation of what has been called "the army behind the army."

Six months have now passed since the United States entered the war, and, although there had been comparatively little preparation, a great transformation has already taken place in industry, trade, and finance. Governmental functions have been enormously extended, but there has been no interference with private enterprise such as this suggests, because the business men of the nation have voluntarily come forward to co-operate with the Government or relieve the Government of many heavy burdens by taking control themselves of the new war administration which has been brought into existence at Washington alongside the political organization we know as the United States Government.

Council of National Defense

The central body of this new war administration, the directing authority of the nation's industrial mobilization, is the Council of National Defense, which was appointed by President Wilson before the United States went to war, when he realized that sooner or later the nation would be forced to fight. The council, however, was not an entirely new creation, but the result of a development which had begun with the preparedness movement. The business men of America had seen Great Britain go through a year or more of confusion in readjusting the activities of a highly developed industrial nation to the needs of modern warfare, so that when the United States

joined the Allies there were at least the beginnings of organization. Moreover, America had already become a great munition manufacturing country, and in this respect was in a much more favorable position in April, 1917, than Great Britain in August, 1914. As the months went on and the belief grew that there was more than a possibility of the United States not being able to keep out of the war, manufacturers and business organizers awoke to the fact that military preparedness was valueless without industrial preparedness; and from the time of the sinking of the Lusitania onward the question of economic mobilization began to be studied with increasing seriousness.

The Navy Department took one of the first steps toward linking up the nation's fighting forces more closely with the industrial system. The Naval Consulting Board was established, and to it eleven engineering and other scientific societies were invited to send two representatives each. This meant that the scientists, inventors, and technical experts of the nation were now definitely enlisted to use their brains for the security of the nation. The next thing to do was to enlist the actual controllers and organizers of production.

This was done by forming a Committee on Industrial Preparedness, under the Chairmanship of Howard E. Coffin, engineer, automobile manufacturer, and one of the nation's captains of industry. The committee undertook and carried through a very remarkable piece of work by making a complete survey of the whole industrial capacity of the United States for the purposes of war. Over 29,000 factories and plants furnished full information regarding their equipment, output, the number and skill of their workmen, and an estimate of what they could produce in the way of munitions or other warlike material if called upon to do so.

The information thus obtained was collated in proper form, and from that time onward the Committee on Industrial Preparedness knew how to turn the industrial activities to their most effective use in case of war.

The Council of National Defense was the direct result of the Committee on Industrial Preparedness, and was appointed by President Wilson to take the place of the latter when he realized that sooner or later the nation might be at war. The council was made up of the Secretaries of War, the Navy, the Interior, Commerce, and Agriculture, and an Advisory Commission of seven nonofficial citizens, namely, Howard E. Coffin, Daniel Willard, a railroad President; Julius Rosenwald, head of the nation's greatest mail-order business; Bernard Baruch, a leading figure in Wall Street; Hollis Godfrey, engineer and technicologist; Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and Franklin Martin, representing the medical profession.

Under the Council of National Defense there has gradually grown up a large number of boards and subsidiary committees, each manned by experts and business men, and each charged with some special duty in utilizing the economic resources of the nation for war purposes. In addition there are various new Governmental bodies which are responsible for the carrying out of legislative enactments or exercising powers conferred upon them by the President, such as the Food Administration Board and the Shipping Board.

War Industries Board

Originally, the most important body under the Council of National Defense was the General Munitions Board, with Frank A. Scott as Chairman. But at the end of July it was reorganized as the War Industries Board, with Mr. Scott again at the head, and consisting of only seven members, all practically selected by President Wilson himself, and all responsible to him through the Council of National Defense.

Associated with Mr. Scott on the board are Lieut. Col. Palmer E. Pierce, representing the army; Rear Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, representing the navy;

Bernard M. Baruch, Robert S. Brookings, Robert S. Lovett, and Hugh Frayne.

The change became necessary because volunteer workers in the war service of the Government were buying from themselves as producers and selling to themselves as agents of the Government. The fact that they had no power to buy or to fix prices, but only to recommend where things might be bought and to suggest prices, was generally lost sight of by those who feared the dangers of graft, but even the appearance of the possibility of graft has been done away with by the scrapping of the old Munitions Board and the creation of the new Board of War Industries. The Council of Defense, in the statement announcing the organization of the new board, said that this action "makes clear that there is a total dissociation of the industrial committees from the actual arrangement of purchases in behalf of the Government."

The War Industries Board is also an improvement in the greater power it has of recommending prices. Under the old régime it was only possible for the Munitions Board to suggest a price for a specific purchase at the request of the War or Navy Department, that suggestion having no official weight in the matter of the next purchase of the same commodity by the same department. Now the War Industries Board may suggest a price that will hold until it sees fit to modify it because of economic changes.

Under the old board there was some effort to determine priority of supplying needs of this or that department for any given necessity, but the machinery was quite inadequate. It has now been perfected by the new board. The appointment of Hugh Frayne, the labor union organizer, as one of the seven, gives the workmen of the country fuller representation in the vital war organizations. The War Industries Board may be summed up as the American equivalent of the British and French Munitions Ministers, with the difference that its head does not occupy a place in the Cabinet.

Mr. Scott, describing the functions of the War Industries Board, said:

It is absolutely essential for co-ordinating our industries and putting them behind our military forces in the most effective manner. Furthermore, it is one of the chief duties of such an organization not only to obtain the available supply on the best terms, but to develop a greater supply, for which there is present lack of producing facilities. We must foresee the military necessities for a long time to come, and see that provision is made for them in advance, for the sake of the army and navy and for the sake of normal industry.

As an illustration we will take a manufacturer with a forge who has never made gun forgings, but who has the facilities to do so. That manufacturer must be persuaded to devote his plant to serving the country's new need. And so on through all forms of industry from which war supplies are obtained.

The best example of what may be obtained for the Government and of what waste the Government may be protected from by co-ordination is offered by the tangible, simple case of buying cotton duck for the army and navy. The Quartermaster's Department of the army uses duck for tentage; the Ordnance Department uses it for haversacks and kit carriers; the Medical Department uses it for hospital cots; the Signal Corps uses duck in aviation supplies. The need of this commodity in the navy is about as widespread. In peace times each one of these sub-departments buys its own supply of duck without reference to what another department is doing or paying to get the same commodity. But with the beginning of war the needs of every one of these separate departments become so vast, not only in the matter of cotton duck, but for guns and ammunition and vehicles and raw materials and all other supplies, that their independent and separate buying would be fatal. They would bid against each other in a rapidly rising market, and an incidental evil would be that the lesser need might get supplied before the greater need. It was to prevent all this that the General Munitions Board was hurriedly put together at the outset of the war, and it is to prevent it still more effectively as well as to accomplish other things that the new board has been created.

It was announced on Oct. 8 that war service committees representing the several industries furnishing war supplies to the Government were to be organized to take the place of the subordinate advisory committees of the Council of National Defense. The new committees will have no official connection with the Council of Defense, but serve the Gov-

ernment as consulting agents after the manner of the existing committees. This arrangement abolishes the technical dual function so far exercised by several members of the Council of National Defense organization, which made it possible for them to represent the Government and their own concerns in the same transaction. "We have realized that there were "technical objections to the organization of these subordinate committees "for some time," said Walter S. Gifford, Director of the Council of National Defense. "Section 3 of the Food bill, "which expressly forbids Government officials to participate in the negotiation of contracts in which they are interested, really put into the statutes a "policy which we had been following "since the organization of these committees. In no case has one of these "committees ever reported or recommended directly to the purchasing officers of the Government. It has been "our policy to have the committee recommendations pass first through the "hands of a disinterested committee of "the council, which has in many cases "rejected the original recommendations."

From the industries represented by the committees the Defense Council will select experts to serve as advisers to the War Industries Board. These men will be required to sever their business connections that there may be no question of their eligibility to act for the Government in dealing with sellers. Twenty-two members of the advisory committees of the council, Director Gifford said, had offered their resignations out of a membership of more than 300, but in no case had these been accepted. The resigned members were continuing to serve the council in an advisory capacity.

Spending Ten Billion Dollars

The buying activities of the War Industries Board are under the supervision of a subsidiary committee, consisting of ex-Judge Robert S. Lovett, (head of the Union Pacific Railroad,) Robert S. Brookings, and Bernard M. Baruch, who, in the course of America's first year in the war, are handling orders for more than ten billion dollars. Mr. Baruch's

duty is to watch over the supply of metals and other raw materials, both for the United States and for the allied Governments. In the buying of steel he is assisted by J. Leonard Replogle, President of the American Vanadium Company, head of the Wharton Steel Company, and one of the ablest organizers in the steel business, while the copper buyer is Eugene Meyer, Jr., a well-known Stock Exchange man. Judge Lovett's work is to decide questions of priority in the distribution of orders among producers and the apportionment of deliveries. On priority matters affecting steel he has the assistance of Mr. Replogle. Mr. Brookings deals with finished products. Herbert C. Hoover, the Food Administrator, acts with the buying committee in all matters pertaining to foodstuffs.

Buying for Other Nations

Further importance attaches to the buying committee because of its co-operation with the war missions which the allied Governments have sent to the United States. Formal agreements were signed on Aug. 24, 1917, by the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, on behalf of the United States, and by Lord Northcliffe, special representative of the British Government; M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, and M. Bakhmeteff, the Russian Ambassador, for the creation of a commission, with headquarters at Washington, through which all purchases made by the allied Governments must proceed. The agreements named Messrs. Baruch, Lovett, and Brookings as the commission who were selected as members of the War Industries Board to co-ordinate the purchases of the United States with those of the allied powers. The Italian, Belgian, and Serbian diplomatic representatives at Washington subsequently signed agreements to make all purchases through the buying commission.

The necessity of making the buying commission of the War Industries Board act in a similar capacity for the Allies arose from the many disadvantages resulting from the competitive buying of belligerent countries in the United States. France, for example, has been buying copper in very large amounts in this

country at a price far in excess of that likely to be paid by the United States under existing agreements with the copper syndicate. Similar instances were also found in the matter of buying wheat and meat supplies. In some cases it was found that agents of the allied countries had combed the Western markets for grain months in advance of any efforts of American buyers and had large quantities of materials stored awaiting favorable conditions of shipment, while prices went upward in consequence of the steadily increasing scarcity of certain staples.

War Prices for the Allies

The War Industries Board and its Central Purchasing Commission began now to put into effect the policy outlined in the statement issued by the board on Aug. 8, in the course which it was said:

In the purchase of war materials in this country our allies shall be charged no more than our own Government has to pay. Guns and ammunition employed against our enemy are for our benefit as much when used by our allies as when used by our own men; and it is obviously unjust to require our allies when fighting our battles to pay our own people more than our own Government pays for the materials necessary to carry on the war. A mere statement of the proposition seems enough; and we are confident that our manufacturers, who have so patriotically responded thus far to the calls of our Government in this emergency, will readily accept this policy.

But this policy has two important limitations. First, it is to be reciprocal. The Allies must henceforth apply the same principle in dealing with their own producers and in selling to us and in selling to each other. Second, the arrangement must be limited to war materials in order to protect our own industry. We must not allow raw materials sold by our producers at prices patriotically conceded to our Government and its allies for war purposes to be diverted to industry and trade abroad which may come in competition with our own manufacturers and producers. Measures will be taken by the board for the best possible assurance that materials sold at a concession in price for war purposes shall be applied only to war purposes.

In fixing the prices to be paid by the Governments we shall allow a reasonable profit, but shall deny the extortion now exacted for many commodities of prime necessity.

The war makes enormous drafts upon many raw materials absolutely necessary

to the industrial life of the nation and to the ordinary existence of the people. This has resulted in the bidding up of prices for what is left of many materials of prime necessity in manufacture to a point obviously out of all relation to the cost of production, and involving unconscionable profits on our national resources, and the consequence is that the cost to the public of all the articles in the manufacture of which such materials enter has reached a level never before known.

The determination of production costs—and hence of prices—comes largely within the sphere of the Federal Trade Commission, which was in existence before the United States went to war. It had power to take over coal supplies, and, if necessary, resell to the consumer. But in this respect its functions were handed over to a new administrative body, to which reference will presently be made. The Federal Trade Commission has undertaken a national food survey, an investigation into flour milling conditions, and other tasks of discovering the extent of supplies and costs of production, with a view to fixing prices. President Wilson has depended largely upon the commission for information of this nature in connection with his measures to regulate prices.

Fixing Prices of Steel

An interesting example of how prices have been fixed is seen in the case of steel. When the war began in 1914 the steel producers were getting \$14 for pig iron, \$23 for steel bars, and \$22.80 for plates. Two years later these prices had risen to \$24, \$49.60, and \$56.40; but until a few weeks ago they were still higher—\$58, \$110, and \$160, that is, from four to seven times higher. The profits earned by the iron and steel producing companies eclipsed almost anything else in the industrial history of the country. In accordance with his repeated declarations against profiteering, President Wilson took steps to reduce prices of steel for the Government, for the Allies, and for the public to a more reasonable level. On Sept. 21 representatives of the big steel interests, including Judge E. H. Gary and J. A. Farrell of the United States Steel Corporation and President Grace and Charles M. Schwab of the Bethlehem Steel Company, were summoned to Wash-

ington to confer with the War Industries Board. The result was a voluntary agreement under which prices were cut one-half or more. According to an official statement the savings amounted to from 40 to 70 per cent. The agreement, as approved by the President, became effective immediately, but is subject to revision on Jan. 1, 1918. The following was the schedule of prices contained in the official statement issued on Sept. 24:

Commodity.	Basis.	Price		Am't.	P.C.
		Upon.	Recent.		
Iron ore:					
Lower Lake ports		*\$5.05	*\$5.05	....	..
Coke:					
Connellsville	+6.00	+16.00	\$10.00	62.5
Pig iron	*33.00	*58.00	25.00	43.1
Steel bars:					
Pittsb'h, Chicago.		\$2.90	\$5.50	2.60	47.3
Shapes:					
Pittsb'h, Chicago		\$3.00	\$6.00	3.00	50.0
Plates:					
Pittsb'h, Chicago		\$3.25	\$11.00	7.75	70.5

*Gross tons. †Net tons. ‡Hundredweight.

It was stipulated that there should be no reduction in the present rate of wages; that these prices should be made to the public and to the Allies as well as to the Government; and that the steel men pledged themselves to exert every effort necessary to keep up the production to the maximum of the past, so long as the war lasts.

It was stated by some who fought for radical reductions that the United States Steel Corporation could produce plates at from \$34 to \$36 a net ton. While \$65 steel will represent a large profit, much of this will enter the Government coffers by means of war taxes. It is understood that the prices contained in the agreement will not affect existing contracts, at least where war work is involved. The United States Shipping Board, through its Emergency Fleet Corporation, has been paying \$50 a ton on account for steel plates, pending the announcement of the Government price. On all its work the \$65 price for plates will be paid, and, as it involves something like 2,000,000 tons in the next year, this will mean an increase of approximately \$30,000,000 over the tentative payments agreed upon. The Navy Department has been paying, under agreement with the steel industry, \$58 a ton

for plates. This price will be maintained for the contracts already entered into, and the navy will then join the other Governmental agencies, the Allies, and the public in paying \$65 for its plates.

Private Purchasers Must Wait

Coincident with the announcement of the agreement, Judge Lovett, as Chairman of the Priority Board, issued a statement placing the distribution of iron and steel under absolute control by license. Preference is given to the War and Navy Departments and the Emergency Fleet Corporation of the United States Shipping Board. Next comes the supply for the needs of the Allies. Private interests not engaged in war work must wait until the last before obtaining supplies. It was also announced that the constitution of Judge Lovett's Priority Board was now complete, the other members appointed being Major Gen. J. B. Aleshire, George Armsby, Rear Admiral N. E. Mason, Edwin B. Parker, J. Leonard Replogle, and Rear Admiral A. V. Zane.

The price of copper has been fixed at 23½ cents a pound. Previously to this the Government carried through one of its first transactions as buyer for the Allies by purchasing 77,600,000 pounds of copper at 25 cents a pound.

Coal Prices

Coal has also been brought under the jurisdiction of the Government. President Wilson, on Aug. 23, signed an ex-

ecutive order appointing Dr. Harry A. Garfield, President of Williams College, to the position of Fuel Administrator. This was done under the authority conferred upon the President by the act of Aug. 10, which provides for the control of the distribution of food products and fuel. He had, on Aug. 21, fixed a scale of prices for bituminous coal, ranging from about \$2 to \$3 a ton, according to district and grade; and on the day he named Dr. Garfield as Fuel Administrator he fixed the prices of anthracite coal at the mine from \$4 to \$5.30 a ton, according to grade, and set forth the conditions under which jobbers would be permitted to operate. The regulation of the retail trade in both bituminous and anthracite coal was left to Dr. Garfield, with authority to use drastic means to protect the consumer from exploitation. The conditions under which the dealers are to sell coal are being formulated by the Fuel Administrator in co-operation with the Federal Trade Commission. To save the coal situation in the Northwest Dr. Garfield issued an order on Oct 1 stopping temporarily the shipment of coal into Canada from the lake ports. In this way it was hoped to divert a large quantity to the Northwest, where the need for immediate supplies was being acutely felt.

The coal prices fixed by the Government were contested by the mine operators, and a diminution of output has followed, with some disorganization of the industry.

All Railroads United in One System

The war has had a remarkable effect upon the management of the railroads. Here there has been practically no intervention by the Government, and yet, almost at a stroke, the railroads were placed under centralized control as soon as the nation was at war. The vastness of this enterprise may be appreciated when it is stated that the number of railroads thus merged into one great national system was 693, operating 262,000 miles of track, using 2,326,987 freight cars, employing 1,750,000 persons, and owned by 1,500,000 security holders.

The initiation of this great step in industrial mobilization took place at a meeting at Washington on April 11, 1917, when fifty railroad Presidents representing the transportation business of the entire country responded to the appeal of Secretary Lane and Daniel Willard, Chairman of the Advisory Commission of the National Defense Council, by deciding to co-operate and eliminate all competitive activities. The President appointed a commission of five of the most experienced railroad officers in the country, with plenary powers to establish policies

for any or all of the railroads of the country. Independent companies for the time being abdicated their independent functions and intrusted their operations to the direction of this committee, with the single purpose of obtaining for the nation a maximum of transportation efficiency.

The fundamental feature of the arrangement is that instead of the Government assuming any responsibility, as has been done in Great Britain, for the operation of the railroads under wartime conditions, that responsibility is placed upon railroad officers.

The Railroads' War Board, presided over by Daniel Willard, is part of the Council of National Defense and works through an Executive Committee, of which Fairfax Harrison is chief, with Robert S. Lovett as director of priority shipments.

Achievements of Railroad Board

In a statement issued on Sept. 9 the board reviewed its achievements during the first five months of its existence:

The voluntary act of the 693 railroads of this country in merging their competitive activities for the period of the war and uniting in one continental system has not only made the transportation problem presented by the war less cumbersome to handle, but surer of satisfactory solution.

In addition to welding into one loyal army each and every one of the 1,750,000 persons employed by the railroads, the co-ordination of the nation's carriers has made possible the most intensive use of every locomotive, every freight car, every mile of track, and every piece of railroad equipment in the country. It has also facilitated the securing of invaluable co-operation from the shippers and the general public.

Skilled and experienced railroad men have been sent to every cantonment to assist the constructing Quartermaster there in the movement of all supplies necessary to the erection and maintenance of these military cities. A trained executive has also been stationed in the Washington Headquarters of the Supervising Constructing Quartermaster, so that every car needed in the transportation of Government supplies might be made available when needed. As a result of these co-operative activities, the movement of thousands of carloads of lumber and

other supplies has been accomplished practically without a hitch.

In addition, at the request of the Government, plans have been perfected whereby 1,000,000 men will be moved from nearly 5,000 different points to the thirty-two training camps for the National Army and National Guard by Oct. 20.

Among some of the things accomplished by the board in the first four months of its existence have been the organizing of special equipment for hospital and troop train service, the standardization of settlements between the Government and the railroads, eliminating a large volume of correspondence and red tape, and the creation of a special committee on express transportation, to co-ordinate the work of the companies with the general problem of transportation.

Car shortage has been reduced 70 per cent. On April 30 the so-called car shortage amounted to 148,627; on June 30 these figures had been cut to 77,144; on Aug. 1 the excess of unfilled car requisitions over idle cars amounted to only 33,776.

In May freight transportation service rendered by about 75 per cent. of Class 1 roads—earnings of \$1,000,000 or more—was 16.1 per cent. in excess of the service rendered in 1916. In that year, which was one of unusual activity, the freight service rendered by the carriers was 24 per cent. in excess of that rendered in 1915.

Approximately 20,000,000 miles of train service a year has been saved by the elimination of all passenger trains not essential to the most pressing needs of the country. Freight congestion at many important points has been averted by promptly moving empty cars from one railroad to another, irrespective of ownership. Through the pooling of lake coal and lake ore a saving of 52,000 cars in moving these commodities alone has been achieved. A further saving of 133,000 cars has been made possible by the pooling of tidewater coal.

By regulating the movement of grain for export, the number of cars ordinarily required for this service has been reduced, despite an abnormal export increase this year. 75,682,028 bushels of wheat, corn, barley, and oats being shipped to the Allies from May 1 to July 14. Although the figures on the intensive loading of freight cars are not complete, a sufficient number of reports have been received from the twenty-seven local committees of the War Board to show that commercial bodies and individual shippers in all parts of the country are giving hearty co-operation to the railroads' campaign to make one car do the work of two.

Progress in Solving the Shipping Problem

The creation of an American mercantile marine was described in the October issue of this magazine, (pp. 17-20.) During the month that has since elapsed further important developments have taken place. A revised table showing the shipping facilities upon which the United States and the Allies may depend during the next year or two was issued by the Shipping Board on Sept. 26, 1917. It shows that the Government has under construction in deadweight tonnage, including 400 vessels of foreign ownership which were requisitioned on the stocks, approximately 1,036 cargo vessels of 5,924,700 tons capacity. These vessels have actually been contracted for; some of them were due to be off the stocks before the end of November, 1917, and most of the remainder before the end of 1918. A table prepared by the Shipping Board showed the world's available tonnage in the early part of September, 1917, to be as follows:

United Kingdom—	Atlantic	Pacific
Liners	4,860,000	650,000
Tramps	8,540,000	450,000
Norway	1,800,000	50,000
Sweden	860,000	.....
Denmark	690,000	.....
Holland	1,200,000	275,000
United States	2,000,000	400,000
France	1,600,000	220,000
Italy	1,250,000	70,000
Greece	470,000	.....
Spain	750,000	.....
Portugal	150,000	50,000
Russia	350,000	200,000
Belgium	280,000	.....
South America	600,000	200,000
China .....	.....	35,000
Japan	100,000	1,900,000
Total	25,500,000	5,500,000

Vessels on inland waterways and in the Baltic are estimated at 6,000,000 tons gross; coastwise shipping at 6,000,000 tons, and enemy shipping at approximately 5,000,000 tons. These are not accounted for in the table. The tabulated figures are of peculiar interest as bearing upon the world's ability to fight the submarine menace successfully.

Work of Shipping Board

An important statement was also issued on Sept. 26 by the Shipping Board

regarding its program, which was revised by Chairman Hurley and Rear Admiral Capps, General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. It read in part:

During the past two months the Emergency Fleet Corporation has awarded contracts for 118 wooden vessels, of 3,500 tons deadweight capacity each, to twenty-seven different shipyards. There had previously been awarded contracts for 235 wooden vessels of similar type to the above, and for fifty-eight vessels of composite construction, thereby making a total award to date of 411 wooden and composite vessels of an aggregate deadweight tonnage of 1,460,900. During the past two months the designs for machinery have been completed for the manufacture of engines, boilers, and other articles of equipment for these vessels, for which the facilities available of machine shops and boiler works throughout the country have been availed of. Specifications have been prepared and negotiations outlined and initiated for the assembly and installation of machinery in wooden vessels, the most of which have been, or are being, constructed as "hulls only." Great difficulty has been experienced on the Atlantic coast in obtaining suitable lumber for these ships.

Since Aug. 1 there have been awarded contracts for 155 steel cargo vessels of 1,076,800 deadweight tonnage, distributed among six shipyards. The most important of these contracts are for vessels of the so-called fabricated type, and special shipyards are being prepared for them. Contracts for the boilers, machinery, and steel construction of these vessels have already been placed, and the contractors are actively at work in the preparation of the sites for the assembling of the ships. Previous to Aug. 1 seventy steel cargo vessels of 587,000 tons total deadweight capacity had been contracted for. These vessels were distributed among ten shipyards. Therefore, at the present time the total number of steel vessels under construction for the United States is 225, with a total aggregate deadweight tonnage of 1,603,800.

By proclamation of Aug. 3, 1917, the fleet corporation requisitioned all vessels under construction in the shipyards of the United States of 2,500 tons deadweight capacity and above. The total deadweight tonnage under construction thus acquired, and on which orders have been issued to proceed with maximum expedition, exceeds 2,000,000 tons deadweight. There are now under construction for the Emergency Fleet Corporation:

Type of Vessels.	Number of Vessels.	Total Deadweight Tonnage.
Wood	353	1,253,900
Composite	58	207,000
Steel	225	1,663,000
Requisitioned vessels.....	400	2,800,000
Grand total.....	1,036	5,924,700

In addition to the above, Congress, in a pending bill, is authorizing the construction of additional vessels whose total deadweight capacity will be nearly 5,000,000 tons. Plants for the major portion of these additional vessels are now in course of preparation, and many of them will be of special types adapted to particular necessities of war. With the passage of the pending bill the Congress will have authorized \$1,799,000,000 for the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

The statement said that 150,000 additional workers were required in the shipyards to insure full production.

Merchant Vessels Commandeered

The requisitioning by the Shipping Board of every American merchant vessel of more than 2,500 tons deadweight capacity available for ocean service was announced on Sept. 27. The date fixed for the order to become effective was Oct. 15. A certain number of ships have already been taken over for the army and navy, and of those now requisitioned all except those actually used in Government service are being turned back to their owners for operation on Government account, subject at all times to any disposition the Shipping Board may direct.

Simultaneously with the announcement regarding this step, the charter rates were made public. These rates cut sharply into those formerly charged by American owners for carrying Government supplies. The chartering is under the direction of the Shipping Board's Chartering Commission, to the Chairmanship of which Welding Ring of New York has been appointed. The commission's headquarters are in New York City, and the new rates apply for the present only to the Atlantic. An important side of the commission's work is the solving of the situation created by the act of the British shipping authorities in insisting upon American shipowners securing their approval of transatlantic charters. With the establishment of a

United States Governmental agency, a system of co-operation between the American and allied shipping authorities comes into existence for the best employment of ocean transportation facilities, to the satisfaction of both the Governments concerned and the shipowners.

British View of Emergency

The necessity that the United States should put forth every effort to increase the number of oceangoing ships was emphasized in a statement made on Sept. 28 by the British Controller of Shipping, in the course of which he said:

The question the United States must face is whether, on the basis of the ship-building preparations she is now making, it will be possible for her to send any substantial force to France next Spring without such a drain on the world's shipping as will subtract just as much from the fighting strength of the other allies as her own forces will add.

The loss of shipping since the beginning of the ruthless U-boat war is now roughly equal to the total losses prior to that time. By next Spring Germany may be expected to destroy 200 vessels in excess of what are built in the meantime. Next Spring this year's harvest will be largely exhausted and the need of supplying Italy, France, and Great Britain will be largely increased. At the same moment the United States will need a large increase in vessels to transport its army and to maintain it.

What must be the program of the United States? It must be large enough to out-build submarine destruction. Even if this means the building of 6,000,000 tons a year, which is three times the best the British have done, and five or six times what the United States has previously done, this is not impossible if the United States puts into it an effort comparable with the efforts the Allies put into creating their armies, navies, and munitions. To build 6,000,000 tons of shipping would require about 3,500,000 tons of steel, or less than 10 per cent. of her output. It would take not more than 500,000 men, the majority unskilled.

The task thus outlined is small compared with the effort put forth by the principal belligerents in other directions. Great Britain, for example, increased her army from 250,000 to over 5,000,000. She added 250,000 men to her navy and trebled it in size, while in munitions the British effort, whether measured in money, men, or material, has been greater than what is needed for an adequate American ship-building program. It would be the most incongruous thing in the history of warfare if the war, in which such immensely

greater strength has been exerted in other directions, should have the issue decided by failure to solve the problem of building 6,000,000 tons of shipping a year in a country with such vast resources as the United States.

The Shortage of Vessels

The predicament of the French Government in not being able to secure ships to convey large quantities of army supplies which were ready to be sent from America was described in a Washington dispatch of Oct. 3. Some of this enormous tonnage had been lying on American piers for more than a year, and the congestion, it was said, was increasing. Supplies ordered and paid for by the French Government were being sent by rail to the seaboard almost every day, but very little was getting across the Atlantic. The statement went on to say that after months of fruitless negotiations with the Shipping Board the French War Commission to the United States had applied to Secretary Baker for ships, and if that move failed an appeal to the President direct would be made. The Shipping Board's reply to the French Commission was that it could not move French material as well as supplies for the American expeditionary force in France. The urgency of the French demand arose from the fact that the supplies included steel for shells and nitrates to make explosives.

Japanese help in solving the shipping

problem was the main question discussed by Viscount Ishii, head of the War Mission to the United States, and Secretary Lansing. Following Viscount Ishii's departure, a statement from a Japanese source showed that Japan could not furnish more ships. That nation, it was said, felt that it was already doing its share in the war and was providing its full quota of ships. One-third of Japan's total oceangoing tonnage is in European waters. This amounts to 300,000 tons. Japanese ships have also been sunk by the German submarines. Business in Japan is suffering from the scarcity of ships to carry goods between the Americas and Japan. At the same time efforts are being made to carry on the peacetime trade of England in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific, between India, Australia, and Britain's other possessions, as well as China. Japan has also been the carrier for Russia between the United States and Vladivostok. Japanese industries are suffering from a great shortage of steel plates, especially her shipbuilding industry, for they are dependent now upon the United States for steel.

A way out of the difficulty—a way which would supply Japan with steel and divert Japanese ships to the Atlantic—was subsequently said to have been discovered as the result of further negotiations on the basis of reciprocal service.

Exports Under a Drastic System of Control

No less far-reaching than any of the other war measures sanctioned by Congress during the special session is the large and varied group of regulations dealing with exports. The two acts of Congress which make possible this drastic system of Government control of our foreign commerce are known respectively as the Espionage act, approved June 15, and the Trading with the Enemy act, approved Oct. 6. Both cover a wider range of subjects than their titles indicate. The Espionage act was passed "to punish acts of interference with foreign relations, the neutrality and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better enforce

the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes." Among the other purposes is to deal with the publication of seditious matter. The Trading with the Enemy act covers several of the same subjects as the Espionage act and extends powers already granted under that act.

Turning to the executive side, we find that in regard to foreign commerce a new and powerful arm of the Government has been created, first under the name of the Exports Administrative Board, and subsequently in its present form as the War Trade Board, with Vance McCormick in both cases as Chairman. The Board's first task was

to enforce the section in the espionage law "making certain exports in time of war unlawful." Since the law became effective in June the President has issued a number of proclamations; but soon after the enactment of the Trading with the Enemy act on Oct 6, a new Executive order, issued on Oct. 14, reorganized practically the whole system on a much wider and more drastic basis.

The War Trade Board

The War Trade Board consists of Vance McCormick, Chairman, representing the Secretary of State; Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor, representing the Secretary of Agriculture; Thomas D. Jones, representing the Secretary of Commerce; Beaver White, representing the Food Administrator; Frank C. Munson, representing the Shipping Board, and a representative of the Secretary of the Treas-

ury. All but the Treasury representative were members of the Exports Administrative Board, whose work is now being done by the Bureau of Exports of the War Trade Board. The name of the Exports Council was changed to War Trade Council, with the Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board added to its membership, the Secretaries of State, Agriculture and Commerce and the Food Administrator. This body acts in an advisory capacity to the President and the War Trade Board.

An official statement accompanying the President's order explains that previous proclamations forbidding the export of various articles without a license are continued in full force and effect, but new licenses are now granted by the War Trade Board instead of by the Exports Administrative Board.

The Trading With the Enemy Act

The Trading with the Enemy act makes it unlawful, under severe penalties, to trade without a license with any person who there is probable cause to believe is an enemy or ally of an enemy. The act provides that "trade" shall be deemed to mean:

(a) To pay, satisfy, compromise, or give security for the payment or satisfaction of any debt or obligation.

(b) To draw, accept, pay, present for acceptance or payment, or indorse any negotiable instrument or chose in action.

(c) To enter into, carry on, complete, or perform any contract, agreement, or obligation.

(d) To buy or sell, loan or extend credit, trade in, deal with, exchange, transmit, transfer, assign, or otherwise dispose of or receive any form of property.

(e) To have any form of business or commercial communication or intercourse with.

Enemies Defined

Any person, no matter of what nationality, who resides within the territory of the German Empire or the territory of any of its allies or that occupied by their military forces is expressly made an "enemy" or "ally of enemy" by the act. Even citizens of the United States who have elected to remain within such

territory are "enemies" or "allies of an enemy" within the provisions of the act. Further, any person not residing in the United States, of whatever nationality and wherever he resides, who is doing business within such territory is placed within the definition of "enemy" or "ally of enemy." So also is any corporation created by Germany or its allies. So also is any corporation created by any other nation than the United States and doing business within such territory. Further, for the purpose of this act, the Government of any nation with which the United States is at war or the ally of such nation is an "enemy" or "ally of enemy," and the act makes no restriction as to where the officer, official, agent, or agency may be located.

It is equally unlawful to trade with any person who is acting for an enemy, and it makes no difference what the nationality or what the residence of such person may be. On the other hand, in dealing with subjects of Germany who are resident in the United States, the mere fact of their nationality does not make them "enemies" within the meaning of this act.

The Trading with the Enemy act,

however, gives power to the President to grant licenses to trade with the enemy. The exercise of this power has been delegated by the President to the War Trade Board.

Enemies in Domestic Trade

The Trading with the Enemy act provides that a person who is "an enemy" or "ally of enemy," doing business within the United States, may apply for a license to continue to do business in the United States. The main application of these provisions will be to German or ally of German concerns which are doing business in the United States through branch houses or agents. Insurance companies were previously dealt with in the President's proclamation of July 13, 1917. It is not necessary, however, for a German subject or the subject of an ally of Germany who is resident in this country to apply for a license unless for some other reason he falls within the definition of "enemy" or "ally of enemy." No change of name by an enemy is permitted except by license.

The Trading with the Enemy act prohibits and imposes severe penalties on communicating with the enemy, but licenses may be granted for relief from the various communications.

The act contains various provisions as to the application for patents by citizens of the United States in enemy countries during the war, and for the use in the United States by citizens of the United States of enemy-held patents during the war, and also for the suspension of information as to certain patent applications made in the United States, secrecy as to which is necessary for military reasons. The Federal Trade Commission deals with all these matters.

Seizing Enemy Property

Among the most important and far-reaching of the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy act are those dealing with the taking over by the United States Government of the custody and control of "enemy" property within the United States.

Any person in the United States holding any property for an "enemy" must report the fact to the Alien Property Custodian. The Alien Property Custodian

may require a transfer to himself of any property held for or on behalf of an "enemy" or the payment of any money owed to an "enemy" by a person in the United States. Any person in the United States so holding any property or so owning any money may transfer such property or pay such money to the Alien Property Custodian with his consent.

Control Over Foreign Exchange

The President by his Executive order committed to the Secretary of the Treasury the executive administration of the broad powers conferred by the act as to the prohibition and regulation of transfer between the United States and foreign countries of coin, currency, bullion, credits, and securities. The Secretary of the Treasury, with the assistance of the Federal Reserve Banks, passes on applications for leave to export bullion, coin, and currency.

The President created a Censorship Board to administer regulations as to the censorship of cable, telegraph, and mail communications between the United States and foreign countries. This board is composed of representatives of the Postmaster General, of the Secretary of War, of the Secretary of the Navy, of the War Trade Board, and of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information.

The Trading with the Enemy act provides that every paper printed in a foreign language shall furnish translations to the Postmaster General of the matter concerning the war printed by it, unless a permit to omit doing so is granted to it.

The act provides that it shall be unlawful for any person without a license to transport or attempt to transport into or from the United States, or for any American vessel to transport in any part of the world any citizen of an enemy or ally of an enemy nation. The administration of this provision is vested in the State Department.

Collectors of Customs are given the right to refuse clearance to vessels which are transporting cargo in violation of the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy act. Power to review such refusal of clearance by the Collector is vested in the Secretary of Commerce.

The Press Under Post Office Censorship

Although Congress emphatically refused to permit the establishment of a press censorship when the Espionage bill was under discussion, far-reaching powers have been conferred upon the Postmaster General by a clause in the Trading with the Enemy act. The section in question reads:

Any print, newspaper, or publication in any foreign language which does not conform to the provisions of this section is hereby declared to be non-mailable, and it shall be unlawful for any person, firm, corporation, or association to transport, carry, or otherwise publish or distribute the same, or to transport, carry, or otherwise publish or distribute any matter which is made non-mailable by the provisions of the act relating to espionage, approved June 15, 1917.

Section 3 of the Espionage act, referred to in this clause as defining non-mailable matter, reads:

Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements, with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies; and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both.

The chief opponent of press control by the Postmaster General was Senator Norris of Nebraska, who pointed out that the new provision took away from a publisher his right to fight an order in the courts until after it was useless to fight; that it vested in the Postmaster General—an administrative officer of the Government—the power to adjudge a publisher guilty in advance of trial by any judicial tribunal, and to destroy his business through a mere edict. The Postmaster General had already put out of business thirty-eight or forty publications, under the provisions of the Espionage act, and not one of these publishers had been arrested for violation of

that act. Yet, Senator Norris contended, if the Postmaster General was within his right every one of these men was guilty of a crime, and should be punished by imprisonment.

Statement by Mr. Burleson

Publications need not fear suppression under the new censorship provision, Postmaster General Burleson explained in an interview on Oct. 9, unless they transgress the bounds of legitimate criticism of the President, the Administration, the army, the navy, or the conduct of the war. Mr. Burleson continued:

We shall take great care not to let criticism which is personally or politically offensive to the Administration affect our action. But if newspapers go so far as to impugn the motives of the Government, and thus encourage insubordination, they will be dealt with severely.

For instance, papers may not say that the Government is controlled by Wall Street or munition manufacturers, or any other special interests. Publication of any news calculated to urge the people to violate law would be considered grounds for drastic action. We will not tolerate campaigns against conscription, enlistments, sale of securities, or revenue collections. We will not permit the publication or circulation of anything hampering the war's prosecution or attacking improperly our allies.

Mr. Burleson explained that the policy of the foreign-language newspapers would be judged by their past utterances and not by newly announced intentions. "We have files of these papers, and whether we license them or not depends 'on our inspection of the files,'" he said. German-language newspapers not licensed would be required to publish English translations. No Socialist paper would be barred from the mails, Mr. Burleson said, unless it contained treasonable or seditious matter. "The trouble," he added, "is that most Socialist papers do contain this matter."

That Socialist newspapers did oppose the war was admitted by Morris Hillquit, when he appeared at the hearing at the Post Office Department in Washington on Oct. 15 on behalf of The New York Call, which had been summoned to show

cause why it should not be deprived of its mail privileges.

President Wilson's Attitude

President Wilson's views are indicated in a letter to Max Eastman, editor of *The Masses*, a Socialist magazine which has been declared non-mailable. The President wrote:

I think that a time of war must be regarded as wholly exceptional, and that it is legitimate to regard things which would in ordinary circumstances be innocent as very dangerous to the public welfare, but

the line is manifestly exceedingly hard to draw, and I cannot say that I have any confidence that I know how to draw it.

I can only say that a line must be drawn, and that we are trying, it may be clumsily, but genuinely, to draw it without fear or favor or prejudice.

Many Socialist and pacifist publications have already been barred from the mails and some have in consequence ceased to exist, the most important of such defunct papers being *The American Socialist*, published from the headquarters of the Socialist Party.

Food Administration at Work

The establishment of a new Government department to regulate and control food supplies during the war was recorded in the September number of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, (pp. 389-392.) Since then the Food Administration, under Herbert C. Hoover, has taken important steps in the direction of regulating prices and placing distribution upon a more economical basis.

The basic price of the 1917 wheat crop was fixed by President Wilson on Aug. 30 at \$2.20 a bushel, as recommended by the Price Fixing Commission, headed by Dr. H. A. Garfield. The price was based on Chicago delivery and was the figure at which the Food Administration decided to buy supplies of what is known as No. 1 Northern Spring wheat for the United States and its allies. It was estimated that under the schedule of prices flour could be produced at about \$9 a barrel and that there ought accordingly to be a slight decrease in the price of bread. The \$2.20 basis was 20 cents higher than that named for the 1918 crop in the Food Control act. In concluding his statement, President Wilson said:

Mr. Hoover, at his express wish, has taken no part in the deliberations of the committee on whose recommendation I determine the Government's fair price, nor has he in any way intimated an opinion regarding that price.

Government Buying Wheat

The Government, through the \$50,000,000 United States Grain Corporation of the Food Administration, made its first appearance in the wheat market on

Sept. 5, and the principle of Government control had its first application in regard to foodstuffs. Government agents at the central zone offices throughout the country went into the market at the opening of the business day and took possession of the wheat in elevators and terminals, buying at the basic price of \$2.20 a bushel. From that day onward every bushel of wheat in the country has passed and continues to pass through the Grain Corporation from the elevators and terminals to the mills. The Government is buying only on warehouse receipts, and no contracts are made for future delivery. The men who went into the market for the first time on Sept. 5 found everything ready for their coming, and, it is said, there was no friction nor the slipping of a single cog when the machinery of the Federal control started. The wheat was sold at an advance of 1 per cent., to cover the cost of handling. Not a single fraction of a cent goes into the profit side of the books of the Food Administration. The control of the Food Administration over prices begins in the elevators and ends with the sale of flour at a 25-cent-a-barrel profit by the millers. The food law allows millers to keep only a thirty-day stock on hand, a measure to prevent hoarding.

To save the millions of bushels of grain used annually in the manufacture of whisky, the provision of the Food Control act which prohibits the making or importation of distilled liquors was made effective on Sept. 8. Of the 100,000,000 bushels of grain which formerly

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Men of the American Expeditionary Force Learning the Art of Throwing Hand Grenades at Their Training Camp in France.
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UNITED STATES SOLDIERS WEARING STEEL HELMETS



The Fact That the Men of the American Army in France Are Beginning to Wear Steel Helmets Is Another Evidence of Their Becoming
Part of the Fighting Forces of the Grand Alliance

(© International Film Service)

went to the distilleries each year, it is calculated that about 40,000,000 were used to make whisky and other distilled liquors. A large number of small distilleries were forced to close down as the result of the prohibition, but others producing alcohol for commercial and medicinal uses continued in operation. The whisky drinker is not likely to be deprived of his drink for some time yet, however, because it is estimated that about 230,000,000 gallons had accumulated in the bonded warehouses, liquor stores, and saloons. This is enough to provide for two years' average consumption.

Reducing Sugar Consumption

The sugar industry was taken over by the Government on Sept. 15, when the President issued a proclamation placing all branches of the business under a strict licensing system as from Oct. 1. This action was taken to enforce agreements entered into by the Food Administrator and the beet and cane sugar men. Mr. Hoover fixed the price at \$7.25 a hundredweight for beet sugar at refining centres. A saving of many millions of dollars to the country's consumers is anticipated as a result of the new system.

The necessity of economy in the use of sugar was urged by Mr. Hoover in a statement issued on Sept. 23 apropos of a request from the French Government for supplies. The statement read:

We have received a request from the French Government that we allow them to export from the United States 100,000 tons of sugar during the next month, and probably more at a later period. Our own situation is that we have just sufficient

sugar to maintain our normal consumption until the first of January, when the new West Indian crop becomes available to all.

Our consumption is at the rate of ninety pounds per person per year—a little under four ounces per day per person. The French people are on a ration of sugar equal to only twenty-one pounds per annum per person—or at the rate of less than one ounce per day per person—a little more than the weight of a silver dollar each day. The English and Italian rations are also not over one ounce per day.

The French people will be entirely without sugar for over two months if we refuse to part with enough from our stocks to keep them supplied with even this small allowance, as it is not available from any other quarter.

Sugar even to a greater amount than the French ration is a human necessity. If our people will reduce by one-third their purchases and consumption of candy and of sugar for other uses than preserving fruit, which we do not wish to interfere with, we can save the French situation.

Controlling All Foodstuffs

The most sweeping measure of food regulation was that enacted by President Wilson on Oct. 10 when he issued a proclamation setting forth the terms under which the Food Administration, after Nov. 1, would control the manufacture, storage, importation, and distribution of practically all of the essential foodstuffs. The proclamation provided that a license, issued under rules and regulations governing the conduct of the business of the licensee, must be secured on or before Nov. 1 by individuals and corporations with certain exceptions. The proclamation concluded with a warning that any violation of the regulations would be subjected to the penalties provided for in the Food Control act.

America's Military Progress During the Month

THE new armies of the United States are not being subjected to rush and hustle, but are growing into effective fighting forces in a thoroughly purposeful manner, so that when they make their appearance on the firing line they will be capable of a maximum of effort. The regular army on Oct. 12, 1917, had to its credit 226,918 new enlist-

ments, that is, over 43,000 more than the number originally required to bring it up to war strength. On the other hand, as certain National Guard divisions had not reached full strength, their ranks had to be filled up from the men drafted into the National Army. Orders were accordingly issued by the War Department on Oct. 13 for the transfer of about 75,400

drafted men to bring six National Guard divisions up to war strength. The orders also involved the transfer of about 55,000 drafted men from Eastern and Middle Western cantonments to Camps Gordon and Pike. Altogether about 130,400 men were redistributed and regrouped to fill up tactical units. About 250,000 men of the draft army had not yet been mobilized because the cantonments were not ready in every particular.

The training work mapped out by the War Department for National Guard and National Army divisions before they are regarded as ready for duty abroad is based on a sixteen weeks' course of the most intensive kind of work in the open, varied with lectures by American and allied officers who are experts in modern warfare. Great stress is laid upon the necessity for night training. Trench raiding, scouting, trench building, and operations of all kinds which may be called for in actual combat are duplicated at the camps through the night hours. Target practice runs through the entire course, and the schedules call for forty hours' training each week. A striking feature of the program is the fact that practically the entire period of sixteen weeks is devoted to training individuals, platoons, and companies. Brigade, divisional, and even regimental exercises are reserved for a later period with some minor exceptions during the last weeks.

Details of the Government system of insuring members of the nation's fighting forces were made public on Oct. 14 by the War Risk Insurance Bureau of the Treasury Department. The insurance law is applicable to the entire military and naval establishment of the United States, including army, navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Naval Reserves, nurses, and all others serving with the army and navy. Provision is made for family allowances, for re-education of wounded and cripples, and for compensation in case of death or injury.

The specimen contract made public by the Secretary of the Treasury is based on age 25 and is for \$5,000. The premium is \$3.30 a month. The insurance is payable in installments of \$28.75 per month in case of death or total disability.

The table given for a \$5,000 policy begins with a monthly premium of \$3.15 at the ages of 15, 16, and 17 years, increases to \$3.20 a month for the ages of 18, 19, and 20; to \$3.25 a month for the ages of 21, 22, and 23; with progressive increases for ages above those given. The minimum amount of insurance is \$1,000, the maximum \$10,000. The monthly premium for a \$10,000 policy at age 25 is only \$6.60.

President Wilson on Oct. 8 signed commissions as Generals for Major Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, who has succeeded Major Gen. Hugh L. Scott as army Chief of Staff, and for Major Gen. John J. Pershing, commanding the American forces in France. Though both officers have equal rank, General Bliss takes precedence by virtue of his position as the directing head of the entire army organization. The new grade carries a salary of \$10,000 a year, an increase of \$2,000 over the pay of Major General. Only four other officers of the United States Army have held the rank and title of General. They were Washington, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. The grade of Lieutenant General also was revived by Congress, the rank to be given commanders of army corps. Besides the new commissions for Generals Bliss and Pershing, the President signed commissions of army bureau chiefs to be Major Generals and commissions of many new Brigadier Generals whose nominations were confirmed by the Senate in the closing hours of the special session of Congress.

More than 100,000 American officers and soldiers are now in France under General Pershing's command. Training is proceeding to the utmost satisfaction of the military authorities.

Increased Activity of the Navy

Reports from Admiral Sims, the American naval commander in Europe, show that every type of naval craft from small launches to powerful warships is now included in his force. The most recent additions were Coast Guard cutters and fishing vessels for mine-sweeping work. American naval vessels, including destroyers, are doing convoy work in the Mediterranean as well as in and near British and French waters.

Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, on

Oct. 9 awarded contracts to five ship-building companies for the construction of \$350,000,000 worth of destroyers. This is the biggest contract for vessels of this type ever awarded by any Government. With the award of these contracts the

war construction program of the American Navy was brought to a total of 787 vessels, including all types, from super-dreadnoughts to submarine chasers. The total cost of the program is estimated at \$1,150,400,000.

Worldwide Embargo Against Germany

Neighboring Neutrals Affected

THE first step toward an embargo was the issue of the President's proclamation on July 9 prohibiting exports of coal, food, grains, meats, steel, and other products except by license. In an explanatory statement the President said that his purpose was "the amelioration of food conditions which have arisen or are likely to arise in our own country before new crops are harvested." But in his next proclamation, dated Aug. 27, the President had a further object in view, namely, to prevent neutral nations from re-exporting foods into Germany from the United States. Those neutrals were no longer to get supplies which "either directly or indirectly" might be made the "occasion of benefit to the enemy." Sweeping in its terms, the proclamation placed under control of the Export Council all articles of commerce, so far as the neutrals of Europe were concerned. The President, in a supplemental statement, pointed out that it was obviously necessary to exercise a closer supervision of trade with these Governments than with others. Coin, bullion, currency, and evidences of debt were included in the restricted list affecting the European neutrals and enemy countries. This was to prevent money going to neutrals upon whom Germany, offering coal and other essential supplies in return, made demands for gold.

Enemy countries and European neutrals adjacent to Germany and its allies were treated in a separate section of the proclamation. Another section directed that certain commodities be added to the list of articles already under export con-

trol to all countries of the world, including the allies of America. The most notable of these were cotton, sugar, and lumber.

Strict Rationing of Neutrals

The fact that the President treated the position of the European neutrals, such as the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Spain, and Switzerland, in a separate section, and cut off from them, except under special license, practically every commodity from the United States, was regarded here as the initiation of a policy of strict rationing on a basis that would leave for Germany no hope of help from those quarters.

An embargo on the exportation of coin, bullion, and currency, except by license of the Secretary of the Treasury, by advice of the Federal Reserve Board, was proclaimed by President Wilson on Sept. 7. This step was made necessary by heavy withdrawals of gold by Japan, Mexico, and Spain. For some time previously Treasury and Reserve Board officials had been viewing with concern the tendency of gold to flow away from the United States, a movement which started with the financing of the Allies. Within the five weeks' period ended Aug. 17 exports totaled \$73,000,000, or more than four times the total of imports. The movement had been too recent, however, to affect substantially the great volume of gold in this country. The stock was then \$3,000,000,000, of which approximately 40 per cent. had been imported since January, 1915. Imports of gold during the current year were more than

\$538,000,000. Exports were estimated to have approximated \$300,000,000, or more than twice as much as the volume exported altogether in 1916. Much of this gold went to Japan, which had a balance of trade against the United States, and recently exportations to Spain had assumed large proportions.

Arrangement with Canada

The Exports Administrative Board, co-operating with the Canadian Food Controller, announced on Sept. 14 that at the request of the United States Food Administrator all exports of wheat, wheat flour, butter, and sugar to Canada and Newfoundland would require an individual license for each shipment. The purpose of the order, it was explained, was to provide means of closer co-operation between the American and Canadian Food Administrators and to put the United States in position to conserve its supplies if shortages appear likely. Shipments of food in small quantities, however, were permitted to both Canada and Mexico. Dr. H. A. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator, requested the Exports Administrative Board to permit no more coal to be shipped from the country except under license restrictions, and asked that no licenses be granted unless they were approved by the Fuel Administration.

Tightening the Food Embargo

To tighten up restrictions previously made the Exports Administrative Board published on Sept. 16 a conservation list which included wheat, wheat flour, sugar, steel, iron, and many materials needed for the manufacture of explosives, announcing at the same time that the export of these commodities would be "practically prohibited" for the present. The ruling was accepted generally as definite notice to most of the northern neutrals of Europe that for some time to come they would have to get along without American wheat, and that at no time during the war period would shipments be made to them except on the strictest rationing basis, and only after obtaining satisfactory guarantees.

A modification of previous orders was made by the board on Oct. 2, when it issued a long list of American commod-

ities which it was decided might be exported to other nations, with the exception of Germany, her allies, and the neutral countries contiguous to Germany, without obtaining a license. There were about 600 articles in the list. The decision did not affect wheat and other vital cereals, the more important ship-building steel, meats, sugar, raw cotton, concentrated fodder, coal, fuel oils, and other products looked upon as essential to this nation's welfare. Neither did it disturb the complete embargo declared against Holland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the nations accused of helping to feed Germany.

The London Gazette of Oct. 2 printed a proclamation by the British Government prohibiting the exportation to Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands of all articles, except printed matter of all descriptions and personal effects accompanied by their owners. The action in this worldwide embargo was taken at the instance of the United States, which insisted that Great Britain so modify its regulations as to prevent nullification of the American embargo.

Ban on Bunker Coal

A final step to prevent Germany, or northern neutrals of Europe, from obtaining products of the United States, Canada, Mexico, or any of the South American nations that might aid the enemy, was taken on Oct. 4 by the Exports Administrative Board, by placing a ban upon bunker coal. In an official statement it was asserted that the United States had failed to obtain the definite information it had asked of northern neutrals concerning their actual needs for home consumption, and the status of the traffic in which they had engaged with the Central Powers. It was stated further that the Administration had adopted as definite the policy that it would in no way contribute to trade with these neutrals which "will undoubtedly accrue to the benefit of the enemy."

The ban on bunker coal was adopted with the approval of all the Allies. It followed closely Great Britain's declaration of a complete embargo against the Northern European neutrals, which was

designed to strengthen the embargo already put into force by the United States. Latin-American countries were now the only nations left in the world in which Germany had a chance to obtain foodstuffs and other necessities through the border countries. With this source cut off, allied statesmen felt that the ring around Germany was drawn so tightly that the economic pressure, reinforcing the Allies' ever-growing military superiority, would make the German people see their cause is hopeless.

Plight of European Neutrals

The American embargo was viewed with considerable alarm and no little resentment by the neutral nations of Northern Europe. The prohibition of exports and the withholding of bunker coal licenses resulted in the complete paralysis of Dutch and Scandinavian shipping in the transatlantic trade. Passenger and freight vessels to the number of 136, representing 750,000 gross tons and worth \$150,000,000, were detained for many weeks in Atlantic ports, most of them in New York Harbor. Included in the total were fifty Dutch freighters, which were loaded with wheat in August, fifty-three Norwegian freighters, besides Danish and Swedish vessels. Some of them were tied up as early as July. As has already been mentioned, the reason for holding up these vessels arose from the determination of the United States Government to prevent supplies reaching Germany through contiguous neutral countries. According to a statement, dated Aug. 20, by the Intelligence Bureau of Diplomatic Information of one of the allied Governments, the excess in 1916 of Dutch food imports over home consumption was sufficient to provision 1,200,000 soldiers for one year.

An agreement entered into between Holland and Germany, fixing the percentage of exports from the Netherlands to the Central Powers, was, according to an announcement on Sept. 29, refused recognition by the United States, and a translation of documents bearing upon the agreement, which had come into the possession of the Government, was made public. The negotiations, which took

place in September, 1916, showed that Germany demanded:

At least 75 per cent. of the total exports of butter.

At least 66 2-3 per cent. of the total exports of export cheese.

At least as much pig meat and sausage as was exported to other countries, including exports for the relief of sufferers in Belgium.

At least the same amount of live cattle or meats as was exported to other countries.

At least 75 per cent. of the total export of vegetables.

At least 75 per cent. of the total exports of fruit and marmalade.

At least 75 per cent. of the total exports of fresh and preserved chickens' and ducks' eggs.

At least half the total exports of flax.

To enforce these demands Germany threatened to cut off exports of coal into Holland, thereby causing the closing down of factories and the absence of heat in the houses of many of the people. Holland was thus still in the crossfire of embargoes on essentials coming from both belligerent groups. A further step toward bringing pressure to bear upon Holland was the refusal of the United States Government to permit Dutch ships to leave America unless they guaranteed to return to the jurisdiction of the United States. The Nederland Steamship Company, on Oct. 9, announced that it had acquiesced in the American conditions for granting bunkering facilities, which provide that the company's vessels for every voyage between Java and the United States should make a return voyage with cargoes exclusively American or partly Canadian.

The most drastic action by the United States was foreshadowed at this time by the statement in New York shipping circles that if America's allies were badly in need of supplies through lack of tonnage the United States Government probably would sequester Dutch steamships in American ports for the period of the war and afterward pay for them whatever sum a court awarded. The Dutch steamship companies in Holland did not wish to charter the vessels to the United States Government because they said the tonnage was needed to take foodstuffs to Holland. At this writing (Oct. 18) the fate of these ships has not been decided.

Financing America's War Needs

Appropriations of Sixteen Billions

RECORD-BREAKING appropriations were made during the special session of Congress to finance the nation's war program. Beginning with a general deficiency appropriation bill for \$163,000,000, of which \$100,000,000 was to be spent on national security and defense, Congress gradually piled up liabilities for over eleven billion dollars. Actually, the amount of the appropriations, made for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, was \$16,901,966,814, but of this sum \$7,000,000,000 represents loans to the Allies, which are repayable. The following table shows how appropriations are distributed:

Expenses incident to the Sixty-fifth Congress, first session	\$68,020.00
Loans to the Allies under act of April 24, 1917.....	3,000,000,000.00
Expenses of preparation and issue of bonds and certificates of indebtedness under act of April 24, 1917.....	7,063,945.46
Bureau of War Risk Insurance, cost of insuring vessels and their cargoes, &c.	45,150,000.00
Urgent deficiency act for the military and naval establishments	3,281,094,541.60
Increase of signal corps of the army, including purchase, operation, &c., of airships	640,000,000.00
Expenses under act to encourage production, conserve the supply, and control distribution of food products and fuel.....	162,500,000.00
Expenses under the act to stimulate agriculture and facilitate the distribution of agricultural products.....	11,346,400.00
Additional loans to the Allies under act of Sept. 24, 1917.	4,000,000,000.00
Expenses of preparation and issue of bonds, certificates of indebtedness, and war-saving certificates.....	21,377,890.02
Expenses under the act establishing a military and naval family allowance, compensation, and insurance fund for the benefit of soldiers and sailors and their families.....	176,250,000.00

Expenses under the act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy.	450,000.00
Urgent deficiency act for the fiscal year 1918 and prior years, on account of war expenses.....	5,356,666,016.93
Interest on bonds and certificates (estimated).....	200,000,000.00

Total appropriations, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session

\$16,901,966,814.91

To this total must be added the appropriation made during the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, amounting to \$1,977,210,200, and the following contract authorizations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918:

Fortification	\$5,250,000.00
Naval	86,145,532.00
Sundry civil	900,000.00
Urgent deficiency appropriation act of June 24, 1917....	16,550,000.00
Urgent deficiency appropriation act of October, 1917....	2,401,458,393.50
Act to authorize the construction of a building for the use of the Treasury Department	1,250,000.00

Total contract authorizations.....\$2,511,553,925.50

We thus get the following aggregates:

Appropriations, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session....	\$1,977,210,200.05
Appropriations, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session.....	16,901,966,814.91
Contract authorizations, fiscal year 1918	2,511,553,925.50

Grand total

\$21,390,730,940.46

By deducting the \$7,000,000,000 lent to the Allies, we find that the cost of the war and the ordinary expenses of the Government for the year amount to \$14,390,730,940.

These expenditures are being met from three sources: (1) Revenues under existing laws and Post Office receipts, (2) new taxation, (3) and loans. Under the first two heads the total revenue is estimated at \$4,193,370,000, of which \$2,500,000,000 will come from the war taxation measures passed during the special session. An act of Congress

of Sept. 24, 1917, authorizes an additional issue of bonds of \$3,538,945,460, thus leaving \$3,906,861,554 which is covered neither by taxation nor by loans, and which will have to be provided for during the next session of Congress.

Senator Smoot in an analysis of the Government's finances shows that the United States is raising 36 per cent. of its expenditure by direct taxation, while the percentage raised by direct taxation in other countries after three years are the following: Great Britain, 26; France, 14½; Germany, nearly 15, and Canada, 8.

Drastic Income Taxation

The War Revenue bill was the last important measure disposed of by Congress before the conclusion of the special session. It had been under discussion nearly four months and imposes taxation on a drastic and comprehensive scale. An additional tax and a surtax are levied on the incomes of all married men over \$2,000 a year and on those of unmarried men over \$1,000 a year. Grouping together the old tax, the new tax, and the surtax, the levy on a number of typical incomes of married men will work out as follows:

\$3,000.....	\$20	\$15,000.....	\$730
4,000.....	40	20,000.....	1,180
5,000.....	80	25,000.....	1,780
6,000.....	130	50,000.....	5,180
7,000.....	180	100,000.....	16,280
8,000.....	235	500,000.....	192,680
9,000.....	295	1,000,000.....	473,180
10,000.....	355		

The most striking feature of the new taxation is the levy on profits. A graduated tax of from 20 to 60 per cent. on excess profits of corporations, partnerships, and individuals will be levied on a basis of invested capital, as compared with invested capital of the three years 1911-1913. The graduated excess profit rates are 20 per cent. of excess profits not in excess of 15 per cent. of the invested capital for the taxable year; 25 per cent. on profits in excess of 15 per cent. and not over 20 per cent. of such capital; 35 per cent. on excess over 20 and under 25 per cent. of capital; 45 per cent. on over 25 per cent. and under 33 per cent. of capital, and a maximum of

60 per cent. on profits in excess of 33 per cent. of such capital.

The War Revenue act also contains new imposts on tobacco, liquor, insurance, transportation, amusements, (theatre tickets, &c.,) and club dues, cosmetics, perfumes, and proprietary medicines, and increases postal rates. Letters, except drop letters, will require three cents postage; while increases are made on second-class mail matter, the latter not to go into effect until July, 1918, and thereafter in an annual progressive scale.

Second Liberty Loan

Secretary McAdoo announced on Sept. 27 the terms and details of the second issue of Liberty Loan bonds. The announcement read in part:

With the approval of the President, I have determined to offer on Oct. 1, 1917, three billion or more dollars of United States of America 4 per cent. convertible gold bonds, due on Nov. 15, 1942, and subject to redemption at the option of the United States at par and accrued interest on and after Nov. 15, 1927. The bonds will bear interest from Nov. 15, 1917.

The exact amount of bonds to be issued under this offering will depend on the amount of subscriptions received. It is, of course, to be expected that subscriptions considerably in excess of \$3,000,000,000 will be received, and in that event the right is reserved to allot bonds in excess of \$3,000,000,000 to the extent of not over one-half of the sum by which the subscriptions received exceed \$3,000,000,000. In other words, if subscriptions to the extent of \$5,000,000,000 are filed \$4,000,000,000 of bonds may be allotted.

The bonds will be offered as before at par and accrued interest and will be in denominations of \$50 and multiples thereof.

The bonds shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States, any State, or any of the possessions of the United States, or by any local taxing authority, except (a) estate or inheritance taxes, and (b) graduated additional income taxes, commonly known as surtaxes, and excess profits and war profits taxes, now or hereafter imposed by the United States, upon the income or profits of individuals, partnerships, associations, or corporations. The interest on an amount of bonds and certificates authorized by said act, the principal of which does not exceed in the aggregate \$5,000, owned by any individual, partnership, association, or corporation, shall be exempt from the taxes provided for in clause (b) above.

If a new issue at a higher rate of interest is offered, holders of these bonds will have the right to convert.

A Financier's War Service

Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank of New York, the largest national bank in the United States, entered the service of the Government on Sept. 25 for the purpose of floating the \$2,000,000,000 certificates of indebtedness authorized by Congress on April 24 in addition to the \$5,000,000,000 of war bonds then authorized to provide \$3,000,000,000 to be loaned to the Allies and \$2,000,000,000 to be employed in our own projects of military preparedness. Mr. Vanderlip's salary is one dollar a year. He is spending four days a week at Washington, and while absent from New York is keeping in touch with his office in the National City Bank continually by telephone. As Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Secretary Gage, Mr. Vanderlip had direct charge of placing on the market the

bonds required to build up the United States Army and Navy, especially for the Spanish war. For several months Russell C. Leffinwell, a banking lawyer of New York and one of Mr. Vanderlip's aids in the conduct of the National City Bank, has had an office in the Treasury Department Building, where he has been a constant adviser of Secretary McAdoo in shaping the terms and conditions of the first two issues of war bonds. Mr. Leffinwell remains on duty in the Treasury Department, and is co-operating with Mr. Vanderlip in the work of selling not only the certificates of indebtedness, but the bonds of the Second Liberty Loan. In answering Secretary McAdoo's request for his aid Mr. Vanderlip surrendered for the period of the war not only active direction of his office as President of the National City Bank, but his active connections with the American International Corporation and the International Mercantile Marine Company, in both of which he was an influential factor.

Latin America and the War

Many Republics, Following the Lead of the United States,
Have Broken With Germany

COSTA RICA formally severed diplomatic relations with Germany Sept. 21, 1917. Passports were handed to the diplomatic and Consular representatives of Germany at San José, and the Costa Rican delegation and Consuls of Germany were recalled. President Tinico is reported to have discovered that German residents had joined with the former President, Gonzales, in conspiring against the Government. German residents at Costa Rican ports were interned.

On Oct. 6 the Peruvian Government handed his passports to Dr. Perl, the German Minister, the Peruvian Congress by a vote of 105 to 6 having passed a resolution presented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs providing for a rupture of diplomatic relations. Prior to this

action efforts were made to blow up the interned German steamships in the harbor of Callao, the seaport of Lima; it was believed that the Germans attempted to wreck the vessels to prevent their falling into the hands of the Allies. On Oct. 10 the British and United States Governments were notified by the Peruvian Foreign Office that the use of Peruvian ports was extended to their war vessels. This action opened to the Allies practically the entire coast of South America without the usual restrictions of neutrality—except the ports of Argentina and Colombia.

The Republic of Ecuador, on Oct. 8, took a step tantamount to a severance of relations with Germany by announcing that the German Minister, Dr. Perl, who had been handed his passports by Peru,

would not be officially received by the Ecuadorean Government in case he attempted to come to Quito.

Uruguay officially broke relations with Germany on Oct. 7 by decree of the President, and all functionaries of the republic were ordered to withdraw from German territory. The Chamber of Deputies voted in favor of the rupture by 74 to 23. The President of Uruguay previously—on June 20—had issued an order announcing that "no American country which, in defense of its own rights, should find itself in a state of war with nations of other continents, will be treated as a belligerent." President Viera, in his message to the Parliament, declared that the Uruguayan Government had not received any direct offense from Germany, but that it was necessary to espouse the cause of the defenders of justice, democracy, and small nationalities.

Uruguay, with other neutrals, has been a sufferer from Germany's U-boat warfare and other actions in disregard of international rights. In a note to the United States Government on April 14 the Montevideo Government said it did not recognize Germany's unrestricted warfare, and did recognize that the action of the United States in declaring war was a proper answer to Germany's actions.

Uruguay, on May 1, sent a note to London and Paris, asking for information as to the sinking of the Gorizia, a Uruguayan ship, and later made a protest to Germany. In May it joined in the suggestion for concentrated action by South American countries toward Germany. On Sept. 14 the Uruguayan Government, in a note to Argentina, approved the action of the Buenos Aires Government in handing his passports to Count von Luxburg.

The following German ships interned at Montevideo were seized by the Uruguayan Government:

Vessel.	Gross Tonnage.	When Built.	Owners.
Bahia	4,817	1898	H. Süd-Amerika
Harzburg	4,077	1907	Hansa Line
Mera	4,797	1901	Kosmos Line
Polynesia	6,022	1904	Hamburg-Amerika
Salatis	4,764	1906	Kosmos Line
Silvia	6,580	1900	Hamburg-Amerika

Vessel	Gross Tonnage.	When Built.	Owners.
Thuringia	6,152	1904	Hamburg-Amerika
Wiegand	4,849	1911	Roland Line

Total tonnage, 42,658

President Irigoyen of Argentina up to Oct. 18 had succeeded in maintaining his country's neutrality, notwithstanding the vote of both houses of Congress in favor of a rupture in relations. The Argentine Foreign Minister announced on Oct. 9 that relations with Germany would not be broken so long as Germany fulfills its latest pledge, made early in October, "to recognize the Argentine flag and respect the nation and people." Feeling ran high throughout Argentina, and the country was almost in a state of civil war owing to bitter conflicts between the pro-war and neutrality factions. A nationwide strike on the railways was a serious cause of disturbance and produced a crisis which was not allayed until the demands of the strikers were practically granted.

The action of Uruguay and the hesitation of Argentina created some friction between the two republics, which was aggravated by the following statement, said to have been made by the Foreign Minister of Uruguay, in urging the Uruguayan Congress to break off relations with Germany:

Uruguay, as a small nation between two great ones, must seek a balance of force to resist the possible hegemony of Argentina, with which nation we still have questions which are not settled definitely. This balance consists in bringing closer together Brazil and the States of our connection with the great States of the present conflict so that it will make impossible an attack on Uruguayan sovereignty without an immediate reverberation throughout the American Continent.

The unsettled questions between Uruguay and Argentina concern the River Plate. Argentina asserts that the river belongs to her, while Uruguay insists that she owns half of it. The dispute involves the ownership of the important island of Martin Garcia, now held by Argentina.

South American nations that have broken relations with Germany are Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The Central American Gov-

ernments breaking with Germany are Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Honduras. Panama and Cuba declared war on Germany on April 7, the day following the American declaration. Haiti broke relations with Germany in June.

The Pan-American nations that have not yet severed diplomatic relations are Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Salvador, and Mexico. As stated above, however, Ecuador has practically ruptured relations.

Submarine Sinkings of the Month

DURING the month ended Oct. 14, 1917, there was apparently a diminution in the losses of ships sunk by German submarines and mines. The British Admiralty record shows the following:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under Fish- 1,600 ing Tons. Vessels.	
Week ended Sept. 23..	13	2	2
Week ended Sept. 30..	11	2	..
Week ended Oct. 7....	14	2	3
Week ended Oct. 14... 12		6	1
<hr/>			
Total for four weeks	50	12	6
Total for previous four weeks	58	34	5

The record for the week ended Sept. 30 was the lowest since the U-boat war was proclaimed. During the week ended Oct. 7 British shipyards launched more tonnage than the Germans sank. French Admiralty figures showed that for the two weeks ended Sept. 30 the losses were: Over 1,600 tons, 12; under 1,600 tons, 10; fishing vessels, 6. During the week ended Oct. 14 Italy lost four steamers of over 1,600 tons each. During the month of September Norway lost nineteen merchant ships representing 30,800 tons. Twenty Norwegian sailors were killed and seventeen reported missing.

The most disastrous sinking was that of the French munitions steamer *Medie*, 4,470 tons, which was torpedoed in the Mediterranean on Sept. 23. The number of lives lost was 250 out of the 500 members of the crew and passengers, including sailors and prisoners of war. The explosion of the torpedo detonated the munitions in the ship's cargo. Five officers and fifty-one men were lost when the British armed mercantile cruiser *Champagne* was torpedoed and sunk.

Charles H. Grasty, in a cable

dispatch dated London, Oct. 6, to THE NEW YORK TIMES, said that it looked as if the September total of losses had dropped as low as 350,000 tons, or a weekly average of less than 90,000. The actual figures for the first two weeks included the allied and neutral as well as British losses. The average compares with a weekly average of nearly 130,000 tons for the eight months from January to August, inclusive, these also being the losses for the Allies and neutrals. Adding the September figures to those given in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE in October, Page 137, the total amount of shipping lost during the first nine months of 1917 amounts approximately to 4,911,000 tons.

The most hopeful sign of the slackening of the German submarine campaign was seen in the announcement on Oct. 6 of reduced premiums by the United States War Risk Insurance Bureau. The official statement said that the reduction of insurance rates from 6½ to 5 per cent. for American vessels and cargoes traversing the war zone was made "because of the decrease in the risks."

The British cruiser *Drake*, 14,100 tons, was, according to an Admiralty announcement, torpedoed and sunk off the north coast of Ireland on Oct. 2. One officer and eighteen men were killed by the explosion. The remainder of the ship's company was saved. The *Drake* was well known to vessels entering and leaving New York Harbor during the first eighteen months of the war, for she overhauled many and examined their papers. In January, 1916, she was refitted at the Bermuda naval dockyard and went in search of the German raider *Möwe*.

Germany's Waning Man Power

Some Significant Figures

A STUDY of the official vital statistics of England and Germany reveals the fact that the war has had a much more disastrous effect on the birth rate of Germany than on that of England. The comparison is between the German cities of Berlin, Hamburg, Leipsic, Munich, Dresden, Cologne, and Breslau, with a combined population of 6,000,000, and the English cities of London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield, with a population of over 7,000,000. The effects of the war on the numbers of births may be seen in the following table, which relates to the first six months of each year specified:

	Births in the Above-Named German Towns.	Births in the Above-Named English Towns.
1913 (first half).....	65,090	96,939
1915	57,596	94,252
1916	39,552	88,186
1917	34,370	78,426

The direct effects of the war on births could not be felt until about April, 1915, and these figures do not reveal the actual loss of three years of war. But up to the end of last June these German towns had lost on the 1913 standard by the deficit in births a number practically equal to the whole of the births for that year, while the loss in the English towns was rather less than one-third of that amount.

If the loss in 6,000,000 population averages 60,000 a year, in the German Empire the loss in three years was nearly 2,000,000 potential lives. A German authority, Karl Doorman, gives the round figures of births in the German Empire for the years 1915 and 1916, and these show a loss on the 1913 scale of 1,165,000 up to the end of 1916. The percentage of decrease for the whole empire as shown by Doorman is on the 1913 scale 22.4 per cent. in 1915 and 40 per cent. in 1916. For the seven towns which have been chosen the decrease for the first half of 1916 is 39.2 per cent., a lower rate than that for the whole empire for that year and one that is sufficiently

near to the empire rate to warrant regarding it as substantially accurate as an index to the whole of the country. Applying the same method to the figures for the English towns, the potential loss in England and Wales for the same period is about 300,000.

It is stated further that the deaths in Germany independent of the losses in the field since the beginning of 1915 have exceeded the births by 600,000; hence the total population of the country, including the soldiers everywhere, is less today by 600,000 plus the deaths in the field, which are estimated at 2,000,000, making 2,600,000 total decrease. In England, on the contrary, the births yet exceed the deaths, estimated at an excess of 600,000 in the three years, which counterbalances the deaths in the field, so that England's total population as yet shows no actual loss.

The Chief of the German General Staff, General Ludendorff, issued *an order early in September, 1917, in which he betrayed the necessity of economizing "human material." The order was as follows:

Chief of the German General Staff to the
Armies Afield:

The consumption of munitions has remained constantly very high recently on the fighting fronts, in spite of the fact that the combative activity has generally diminished. In particular, consumption of shells for mortar and heavy field howitzers is much greater than production. This is serious. However, the superior direction of the army cannot issue a new general order for a further restriction in the consumption of munitions, because our losses on all the fighting fronts continue to be very high, and would become even higher if further general instructions were made.

Economy in men is even more important than economy in munitions. It is necessary to try and obtain an improvement on these two points. To this end it is necessary to use as carefully as is possible the munitions according to the order previously given on repeated occasions, and, on the other hand, to regulate the tactics of our methods of fighting according to the

regulations given and the circumstances, so as to diminish our losses.

According to orders which we have seen and according to the complaints of the troops, it is no longer in doubt that we persist in our old ways of seeing things, and that we continue along these lines on certain occasions. These are in first-line positions—too severe fighting for the possession of ground, even a trench element which is of little tactical value, without importance and even disadvantageous to be defended; hasty counterattacks without information from the artillery; the too dense occupation of the first lines; the keeping too close of large reserves in the open when no attack is planned; too much artillery fire against positions where there is no enemy, such as destructive cannonading of empty trenches; useless barrage fire and cannonading, especially during the night, when there is not sufficient information for regulating the fire.

(Signed) LUDENDORFF.

It was announced on Oct. 16 that Germany had called to the colors all eligible men under 47 years of age and was keeping in the ranks men aged 49.

H. Warner Allen, the Government correspondent at the French front, made a study late in September of the German man power. He estimated the German mobilization as follows:

1914	
Trained men.....	4,500,000
Ersatz-Reserve	800,000
1914 contingent.....	450,000
1915	
Landsturm first ban.....	1,100,000
1915 contingent	450,000
Remainder first ban Landsturm	150,000
1916 contingent	450,000
Combed out from "unfit"....	300,000
1916	
Combed out from "unfit"....	200,000
Second ban Landsturm untr'd	450,000
1917 contingent	450,000
Combed out from "unfit"....	300,000
1918 contingent	450,000
1917	
Combed out	150,000
Part of 1919 contingent.....	300,000
Total	10,500,000

To this total of 10,500,000 must be added the remaining men of the 1919 contingent and the 1920 contingent, together estimated at 700,000 men, making in all 11,200,000. The remaining 2,800,000 men required to make up the total of 14,000,000, given as the grand total of German man power, are to be accounted for as follows:

Men of military age employed in indispensable occupations in Germany, originally	750,000
now, as result of combing out.	500,000
Men of military age abroad....	200,000
Permanently unfit	2,100,000
Total	2,800,000

The German casualty lists up to July 31, 1917, give the following losses:

Killed	1,158,601
Wounded	2,922,320
Missing	710,154
Total	4,791,375

It is believed that these figures are considerably within the mark, and that the permanent losses in the German Army in the three years are rather in excess of than below 4,000,000. The Allies' conclusion as to the actual German man power at the middle of September, 1917, was as follows:

Men actually employed in the army on the front, behind the lines, and in the interior.....	5,500,000
Men incorporated and shortly available, forces left over from divisions in course of formation, and men in dépôts...	600,000
Remainder of 1919 contingent and 1920 contingent	700,000
Permanent losses	4,000,000
Men in treatment in hospital....	500,000
Germans abroad	200,000
Permanently unfit	2,100,000
Men required in interior for life of country	500,000
Total	14,100,000

Mutiny in the German Navy

IN a debate in the German Reichstag, Oct. 9, Vice Admiral von Capelle, the German Minister of Marine, revealed the fact that a mutiny had occurred in the German Navy some weeks before, but that it had been quickly

quelled and three of the leaders had been executed. He gave only meagre details, but made the direct accusation that the Independent Socialists were responsible for the uprising by influencing the sailors through their propaganda; he named

specifically three Deputies, Vogtherr, Dittman, and Haase, as having been in conference with the leaders of the mutiny before the outbreak. The disclosure created great excitement and met with indignant denials from the accused. The Chancellor sustained von Capelle and corroborated his accusations.

As a result of the disclosure the movement by the opposition to force the resignation of the Chancellor for failure to support the peace plans of the "no annexationists" failed. Two days later it was announced that von Capelle had resigned, but this was not confirmed up to Oct. 18. The Reichstag adjourned until December, with the political pot seething and a general impression that the days of Chancellor Michaelis were numbered. He was criticised for lack of firmness and was charged with failure to develop definite leadership over any of the conflicting groups.

A former Lieutenant in the German Navy, Rudolph Glatfelder, made public Oct. 16 a circumstantial story of the mutiny, which he declared he personally witnessed and participated in. Earlier in the war he had been exchanged by the Russians as an incapacitated prisoner, having been captured from the German cruiser Magdeburg at the bombardment of the Russian port, Libau, Aug. 4, 1914, in which engagement he lost an eye. In Germany he joined the Social Democrat group, known as the Marxian Internationalists, who have resorted to I. W. W. tactics to strike a blow for German democracy.

He stated that the mutiny was originated by a group of German revolutionists operating in Switzerland. In May, 1917, 149 revolutionary spies, of whom 85 were women, had been sent to German naval stations to foment the disaffection among the sailors. Glatfelder said he was the head of a group that operated at Wilhelmshaven. He asserted that there was located there a hospital with 20,000 patients, known as "repulsive cases," mere human remnants, whom the authorities kept there in concealment,

leaving their families under the impression that they were at the front; he said there were fully 200,000 such repulsive casualties in the empire.

The dead, he added, are buried at sea; as many as 700 have been dropped overboard in one day from the "death ferry." Late in June the crew of a "death ferry" shouted defiantly that the victims were unwilling sacrifices and "would have damned their souls before offering them to the Kaiser." A serious riot ensued; the Captain and four of the crew were overpowered and thrown into the sea; the officiating parson aboard was shot. The crew was overpowered at length, tried, and executed.

This was the beginning. On July 30 8,000 sailors were assembled on the parade ground at Wilhelmshaven to listen to speeches upholding the policy of the Government in the war to offset the socialistic propaganda. As they marched by the platform the Admiral in charge asserted that one of the marching marines had sarcastically smiled at him, whereupon one of the naval officers jumped from the stand and struck the marine in the face with his gloved fist. At once the 8,000 sailors and marines turned on the officers present like wolves and literally tore their bodies into shreds, killing fifty or more. A bloody riot followed; one of the forts took sides with the mutineers and engaged in a bombardment with the ten other coastal forts. The rioters meanwhile began their work of destruction, and in a few hours had blown up four large uncompleted warships in the harbor and burned two Zeppelins, besides warehouses, sheds, wharves, &c. Before the mutineers could reach their ships many of them were mowed down by machine guns. They were at length overpowered by the loyal troops, who were summoned in tens of thousands, and the ringleaders were tried and executed.

It was announced on Oct. 16 that the three Deputies who were accused of fomenting trouble would be prosecuted in the criminal courts.

Slang and Slogans of War in France

By Arthur H. Warner

[Mr. Warner's article, which was contributed to THE NEW YORK TIMES of Oct. 7, 1917, furnishes interesting sidelights on the history of the war in France]

AS a resident of France from the beginning of the war until a few months ago there stand out in my memory four war cries, each marking an epoch in the development of the French spirit. They are:

"France d'abord!" (France first!)

"Jusqu'au bout!" (Unto the end!)

"Coute que coute!" (Cost what it may!)

"On les aura!" (We will get them!)

How that first watchword, "France first!" comes back to one as expressing the spirit of the Summer of 1914, the period of mobilization and upheaval. It appeared in the newspapers, it was printed on stationery, it was on every lip; and, more important, it was in every heart in those early days of danger.

Everything unessential had to give way. Resolutely and gladly the country subjected itself to a policy of elimination. Museums and theatres were closed at once. Expensive shops and luxurious hotels found that they belonged to a life that had ceased to exist, and, one by one, they shut their doors. The sale of absinthe was prohibited, and the cafés of Paris were closed at 8 P. M.

France lived in those days in a state of patriotic exaltation akin to religious frenzy. Dancing and music were suppressed by public accord. One could not even sing or play the piano behind closed doors in one's own home unless it was the "Marseillaise" or some other patriotic air.

Then came the Autumn, with the news of the human toll France had paid in the retreat from the border and the glorious stand at the Marne. Came, too, the numbing realization that the war, which had been counted on to end by Christmas, must be fought through the Winter. The patriotic exaltation that had carried France through the early weeks was gone, but in its place grew a sterner, deeper courage. It found expression in

two words, made dynamic by use in a message to the people of Paris by General Gallieni. Called upon to serve as Military Governor of the capital when the Germans were just outside its gates, General Gallieni responded:

"I have received the mandate to defend Paris against the invader. This mandate I will fulfill jusqu'au bout!"

"Unto the end!" The soldiers repeated it through gritted teeth as they settled down to hold, from the North Sea to the Vosges, a line of trenches which during that first Winter were little more than drainage canals (which did not drain) and were as yet inadequately provided with heat or shelter.

"Unto the end!" The civilians repeated it as they faced the gigantic problem of sustaining their soldiers and organizing the country for a protracted war.

Spring found the line still firm and the Entente Allies beginning an offensive which, it was then hoped, would sweep the Germans from France.

A new phrase began to appear in the press—"Coute que coute!" (Cost what it may!) It became a watchword. Better pay any price and get through with it. A grim and heroic resolution, but it proved impossible of realization. What had been looked forward to as the great offensive had to be slowed down to await better artillery, more ammunition.

A year later another slogan came into prominence. The defeat of German ambitions at Verdun, and the proof during the Summer of 1916 that at last the Entente Allies had an offensive which could advance against German intrenchments, gave rise to a new sentiment. France had always been hopeful. She now became confident. To voice this new-born attitude she began to popularize a soldier saying of which General Pétain had made use in an order to the troops at Verdun. "On les aura!" (We will get

them!) became the most widespread slogan of the war.

In addition to watchwords which have been associated with passing epochs of the war, there are others, serious and amusing, in which popular philosophy has been crystallized. One of these owes its origin to a drawing by the cartoonist Forain, published early in the conflict, in which a soldier in the trenches is represented as saying to another, "If only they hold out!"

"Who?" asks his companion.

"The civilians!" is the answer.

"If only they hold out!" ("Pourvu qu'ils tiennent!") is quoted again and again by persons writing on the war, and each succeeding month adds to its weight in revealing the importance, in a modern struggle of any length, of the effort and spirit of the civilians.

Artists have found inspiration in another phrase, "Arise, ye dead!" ("Debout, les morts!") The story is that a trench held by French soldiers was entered from one end by Germans, making a surprise attack. A dozen of the French fell, dead or wounded, in the fighting, and the rest, believing themselves outnumbered, finally fled. As the Germans advanced to take possession of the trench one of the men, lying prone before them, rose to his knees in a supreme effort, grasped some hand grenades, and, hurling them at the enemy, shouted to his companions stretched on the ground about him, "Arise, ye dead!"

Several among the wounded responded to the heroic cry, and the Germans, frightened at this almost supernatural occurrence, fell back, though not before the Frenchman who initiated the attack had been killed.

Turning from the heroic to the commonplace, one must not forget to mention the ubiquitous phrase, "C'est la guerre," a standing comment and excuse in France since the war. Sometimes it expresses a philosophical recognition of conditions. Sometimes it is an attempt to cover up personal shortcomings. If you complain to your groceryman that his prices are too high, he shrugs his shoulders and replies, "It's the war." If you scold your laundry woman for dropping a sploch of ink on your best shirt, she falls back on

the same efficient excuse. "It's the war."

Then there is "Taisez-vous! Méfiez-vous! Les oreilles ennemies vous écoutent," which may be translated, "Don't talk! Be on your guard! The ears of the enemy hear you." This was placarded all over France as a warning. It is not certain that it accomplished any good in that direction, but it has furnished a deal of amusement and taken its place among the sayings of the war.

The slang of the war comes next to the slogans as interpretative of the psychology of the conflict. The word to which first place should be given from this standpoint is "embusqué." It means literally "in ambush" or "in hiding," but since the war the word has been popularized as a noun to describe men who have been mobilized, but have made use of influential friends to get them a billet well away from the firing line.

The contempt which the French feel for that type of man may be judged from the fact that to call a man an embusqué is the supreme insult. A woman was recently fined for calling a policeman an embusqué, even in the heat of argument.

At the other end of the pole from the embusqué is the poilu. The explanation has been set forth that poilu, or hairy, as a nickname for the French fighting man is not due to the fact that he is without benefit of barber, but goes back to the time when there existed a body of soldiers who wore hats of hair, from which they came to be known as poilus. As they attained a reputation for great bravery and hardihood, the name came to mean a supersoldier.

Whatever be the historical derivation of the word, it is certain that the average Frenchman uses the term in its literal sense to indicate one whose beard is unshaven and whose hair is unshorn—in other words, a man who has been long enough at the front to become acclimated. The word did not come into general use until some months after the war began. The slang term for a private of the line at the outset of the conflict was piou-piou.

The respect, almost reverence, attached to the word "poilu" in France today un-

doubtedly helps many a soldier to bear the grime and the discomfort of the war. It may sometimes lead to an unnecessary exaggeration of them. A clean, new uniform, for instance, is an object of suspicion. The wearer is likely to be taken for that most odious of all creatures, an embusqué.

A French soldier is also spoken of as a "blue," (bleu,) appropriate in view of the color of the new army uniform. The young soldier, who has been called up since the war began, is a "bluet," (bleuet,) and the familiar blue corn flower has become his emblem. Another and older term for one of these youngsters is a Marie-Louise. Strictly speaking, he is a recruit called up ahead of the usual time, but, of course, this is the case in respect to all the new classes mobilized during the present war. The word goes back to the marriage of Napoleon with Marie Louise of Austria in 1810, when France had exhausted her men and was calling up boys for the army.

When a "bluet," or Marie-Louise, first takes the field, he is naturally the object of much good-natured chaff from the veterans. Pierre Falké, a French illustrator, has made a drawing of a smooth-faced youngster arriving at the front, where he is greeted by an underofficer, with a beard like a hedgehog's back, who says, sternly, "It's understood now that if by tomorrow you haven't a mustache, I'll give you four days' imprisonment."

The war seems to have made of the average soldier a philosopher and a fatalist, who jests at danger and radiates cheerfulness, but there are occasions when he does not live up to this part. One of them is when, on leave from the

trenches, he reaches the last day of his holiday and must return to the front. Then he loses his smile and his banter, and in soldier slang has the cafard. Literally, the word means cockroach.

The source of that word boche, an abbreviation of alboche or alleboche, has been a subject of discussion in France since the war brought the term into prominence. The most plausible explanation seems to be that, in French slang, it is not an infrequent device to substitute boche or oche for the final syllable of a word, with a view to treating it in a trivial or disdainful way, and that alleboche has been thus made from allemand, the recognized word for German.

The spirit of jest and raillery which animates the soldier at the front is expressed in the prevailing description of a shell as a marmite, which in normal life is a pot for cooking stew, and, by extension, the stew itself. Bullets are "prunes," (pruneaux.) A soldier refers to his bayonet affectionately as his "Rosalie," or, more slightly, as a "fork" or "toothpick." A machine gun is sometimes a moulin à café, or coffee grinder, and on other occasions a machine à découdre, that is, a machine to unsew, or an "unsewing machine."

Of course, the French soldier is continually christening by new names the familiar objects of his daily life. The beef with which he is served is known as "monkey," (singe,) while wine passes under a number of names, the commonest of which is pinard. The poets of the trenches know how to praise their pinard with all the enthusiasm, if not with the genius, of Omar Khayyám.

A Boy's Last Letter to His Mother

Story of an 18-Year-Old Hero From Perugia

SOON after Italy's declaration of war, in May, 1915, Enzo Valentini, a boy of 18 in the Perugia high school, son of the Mayor of that city, wrote to his mother this noble letter, containing his last will and testament:

"Little mother, in a few days I am go-

ing to leave for the front. For your dear sake I am writing this farewell, which you will read only if I die. Let it also be my adieu to papa, to my brothers, to all those who loved me in this world. Because in life my heart, in its love and gratitude to you, has always given you

its best thoughts, it is to you also that I desire to make known my last wishes.

"You know the joys of my life have been poetry, art, and science. * * * Many persons have loved me. To each of them you will give in remembrance of me some trifle that was mine and that you will yourself choose from the things that you care for least. I wish that they, too, should possess something of the friend who has vanished, to rise like the flame above the clouds, above the flesh, *et ultra*, (you remember my motto?) into the sun, into the soul of the universe. * * * You will therefore find herewith a list of names.

"Try, if you can, not to weep for me too much. Think that, even though I do not return, I am not dead. My body, the less important part of me, suffers, wears out, and dies; but not myself—I the soul, cannot die, because I come from God and must return to God. I was created for happiness and through the joy that underlies all suffering I must return to the happiness eternal. If I have been a little time the prisoner of my body, I am none the less eternal. My death is a liberation, the beginning of the true life, the return to the Infinite.

"So do not weep for me. If you think of the immortal beauty of the ideas to which my soul has willingly sacrificed my body, you will not weep. But if your mother heart weeps, let the tears flow: a mother's tears will always be sacred. May God keep account of them: they will be the stars of his crown. * * *

"Be strong, little mother. From the beyond your son says good-bye to you, to papa, to the brothers, to all those who loved him—your son who has given his body to fight those who wished to extinguish the light of the world."

The story of the rare spirit that penned the foregoing lines has been told by the young man's lyceum teacher, Francesco Picco, in a brochure ("*Breviario di guerra di uno studente*," Turin, Paravia, 1917) containing long extracts from the young soldier's notes and letters. "Brilliantly cultivated," says the teacher, "young Valentini also possessed, along with a clear call for the natural sciences, certain wonderful artistic gifts. He had

made a collection of insects, and won public approval by an exhibit of his pastels and aquarelles. His style, flexible and expressive, was already formed. But he instantly abandoned his pen, his pencils, and his brushes and left for the war, filled with a sincere and joyous enthusiasm. He volunteered as a common soldier and was soon away in the Alps.

"The longer I stay here," he wrote, "the more I love the mountains. Their spell is slower than that of the sea, but it is deeper and more lasting. Every hour that passes, every cloud, every morning mist clothes the Alps in new beauty so great that even the rudest of our brave soldiers, peasants though they be, pause to look; it may be only an instant, but it is enough to prove that the soul never forgets its celestial origin, even if it be imprisoned in the roughest shell. The days follow each other calmly, uniformly serene. It seems as if the Autumn ought never to end. The divine solemnity of the nights is inexpressible, especially now that the moon fills them with soft enchantment. There are hours in the day when everything is so saturated with light, and when the silence is so profound that the light seems to cease, letting the silence blaze forth into the immense harmony." (Sept. 20.) "At nightfall," he wrote later, "when the fires redden the vast blue in the direction of the barracks, we get under way. At 10 o'clock I reach my tent, dead with fatigue, and happy, convinced that the world is beautiful."

Such was the life of Enzo Valentini at the front from the middle of July to the latter half of October, 1915. "I have not yet been in battle," he wrote to his teacher, but by the time the letter had been read he had fallen mortally wounded. His company, entering the trenches Oct. 17, had taken part in the ceaseless combats that raged about the Col di Lana. In the afternoon of the 22d came the assault upon the Sano di Mezzodi. When the turn of his platoon came, "beautiful and full of audacity, he was the first to dash from the trench, drawing after him all who hesitated," and making the mountains ring with the old Italian war cry of liberty, "Savoia! Italia!"

He ran far forward without being touched by the infernal hail from the Austrian guns, paused to embrace his friend, Lieutenant Mayo, and then, still leading the charge, fell pierced by five shrapnel bullets. His comrades carried him back, dying, to a grotto, where surgeons dressed his wounds. The Lieutenant who helped to carry him, concludes his narrative thus:

"We laid him down on a litter before the grotto, amid the great rocks, under

the sombre vault of the sky, his face upturned to the stars. He was a little depressed, asked for a drink, and fainted; they carried him to the operating room and I never saw him again. I have been told that they carried him down the side of Mount Mesola to "his" little lake, and that he sleeps there in death. But for us he is still living in the glory of his youth, there on the Alps, waving his cap with an edelweiss flower in it, and crying, 'Savoia!'"

For Women Who Write to Soldiers

Words of Advice from Marcel Prévost

Member of the French Academy

This appeal to the women of France, from the pen of one of the foremost living French writers, recently appeared on the front page of the Bulletin des Armées, the official organ of the French Army, from which it has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

MY anxious sisters, the women of France, it is to you that I address myself; I wish that these very simple lines may come to you at the moment when you are beginning a letter to the loved one at the front * * * particularly if he is your son, your brother, your husband, your father, and if, therefore, the letter you are going to write is to carry to him the odor of the fireside, the fragrance of the home.

Women of France, I see you as if I were sitting by your side. The old white-haired mother, the young wife whose swift, healthy blood colors her cheeks, the young girl obstinately secret over the anguish of her heart, the schoolgirl whose childhood has been ripened too soon by war. * * * And I see, too, the table, a thing of art or a piece of kitchen furniture; the ink bottle, an antique gem or a humble bit of spattered glass; the paper from a peddler's cart, ruled off in naïve squares, or the beautiful sheets of tinted vellum, marked with a monogram; the rude pencil or the elegant pen. * * * I see these accessories of the letter to be written, and I see her who is about to write it. Will she kindly listen to me before tracing a line?

Frenchwoman, what are you going to write to the soldier who is bound to you

by ties of blood, by ties of love, and for whom your letter will be both something of yourself and something of the home? Oh! I know what comes first by instinct, before everything else—I know the words that are inclosed in the first drop of ink or in the extreme point of your lead pencil: "How long the time is, and how I yearn to see you again!" That is what is burning in your thoughts and in your fingers. When you shall have written that, it seems to you that you will be a little comforted. Then your instinct will prompt you to depict the cruel void in the home left by the absent one, all that is going not so well, or not going at all, since he departed, all that weighs heavily upon the lives of women when the men are far away. To tell of these tears and troubles, is this not to remind him how indispensable he is, how much reason you have to miss him and to love him?

Finally, having described with all the troubled warmth of your heart what a desert you are living in, your instinct will impel you to conclude with a new and more ardent lament over this calamity of war, which leaves you so lonely—a long, heartrending, desolating wail, like that of a faithful dog that has been abandoned.

That is what you wish to write, is it

not? Well, that is just what should not be written if you do not wish to harm him who is to receive the letter and who loves you.

It is for him, not for you, that the letter ought to be written. It is not to solace you, but to help him to live his hard life. His life is dangerous almost without cessation, and when it does cease to be dangerous it often becomes more dreary. Almost everything around him conspires to use up his spirit and ruin his resistance. The thing to do is to send him strength, if you can; in any case, it is a sin to breathe weakness into him.

What then? Should one lie to him?

No, women of France, the poilu wants no lies. Tell him the truth, but truth that is comforting; the little, happy things of the day and place, the winning of a school medal by the child, the fine health of the old folks, the solution of a problem that had worried you, the thriving appearance of a certain crop. A letter that begins with good news is like a visitor who smiles from the moment of entering the door. Afterward there will be time to tell the less comforting truths, but only the necessary ones, those which must be known without delay, which cannot wait for the home furlough. The rule is this: Never to tell the soldier at the front anything that will sadden him and that he does not need to know. To take away, without absolute necessity, a little of his courage is as bad as if you took away some of his blood.

Above all, avoid vague rumors, good or bad, which are based on nothing, and which are almost always harmful. At the time of the German attack on Verdun there were women who wrote from the distant Dordogne or from Brittany: "They say Verdun is going to be taken." What madness! They were writing that to the men who, in the ravines of Le Mort Homme, were driving back the barbarians with hand grenades! It was criminal, but it was also great foolishness. In like manner when the Paris factory girls, under the paternal eye of agents, sang gayly through the streets, "We want our twenty cents and the English vacation week," there were women in the provinces who wrote to the poilus on

the strength of burlesque tittle-tattle, "They say there is revolution in Paris." What a sinister fantasy! I may add that false "good news," such as "They say that the war is soon going to end," is scarcely less silly or injurious. What sadness, what deceptions have been promoted in this way, with the best of intentions, from behind the lines to the front, between two beings who love each other!

Women, tell the soldier only things that are certain.

The letter is finished, the information about events, people, the home, family affairs is given with sincerity, yet with the wish to omit nothing that is comforting, to defer as much as possible all disquieting news that can wait, and to abstain from all vague predictions, good or bad. With what shall you close?

Above all, I insist, not with this evident and sterile prayer: "Ah, that this may end soon, and that you may return!" Your soldier knows very well that you long for that, but if you must say it to him again, that is not the best way to do it. You should put it in some such form as this:

"The home and household are waiting for you, and are thinking only of you; but we, who are suffering less than you, wish to equal your patience and courage, for we know that peace can come only through patience and courage. All the rest is empty words. The home and the household are waiting for you; you continue to be everything here, the same as before, more than before. We are trying to keep it prosperous and inviting for the day of your return. Our hearts are more loving and tender than ever for you, and every hour of separation makes you more precious to us."

Say that—you will say it much better than I—and then drop the letter in the post box. You will thus have the joy of thinking that, thanks to it, the man who receives it will have a little comfort. He will read and reread its pages, each time feeling himself more secure, and when evening comes he will sleep more calmly. Think how, if your letter robbed him of rest or even spoiled one hour of sleep—

that precious sleep which is broken into by the inclemencies of the weather, by the noises, the alarms, the whole formid-

able nightmare of war—how sad and wrong it would be! Wouldn't you feel remorse, women of France?

How Greece Prolonged the War

Acts of Pro-German Cabinets Under King Constantine Revealed Before Commission of Inquiry

A COMMISSION of inquiry is investigating the acts of the pro-German Cabinets of Skouloudis, Professor Lambros, and other members of the Cabinets which served German interests in Greece until the abdication of King Constantine. The former Greek Minister at Sofia, Naoum, in his evidence showed that when Greece mobilized in 1915 a panic arose in Sofia; the Bulgarian newspapers quieted the excitement by announcing that the King of Greece was opposed to the proceeding and would force the resignation of Venizelos, and it developed that the Bulgarian Foreign Office was informed of this from Athens several days before it occurred, thus proving the close relation between the Greek Court and the German interests.

In an address before the Greek Chamber, late in August, M. Venizelos laid bare the treachery of the ex-King to the Allies. He related how the King, after giving him permission to proceed with a declaration of friendliness to the Entente early in September, 1914, changed his mind and refused to sanction any proceedings against Turkey. He told of negotiations which followed with Bulgaria, and how the attitude of the latter changed when \$100,000,000 was received from Berlin and Vienna, showing that she was leagued with the Central Powers.

Greece and Gallipoli

Subsequently he proposed to the King to aid the Entente with an expeditionary force against the Dardanelles. The King gave his approval, but it was again frustrated by the pro-German staff and withdrawn. He asserted that if Greece had acted when he urged intervention,

Greek troops would have been in Constantinople within a fortnight, as the Gallipoli Peninsula was at that time practically defenseless.

M. Venizelos read out at this point a number of dispatches from the Greek representative at Constantinople in confirmation of the statement that the Turks had been preparing to evacuate the city. Proceeding, he insisted that he had been right in wishing to send the Greek Army to Gallipoli, and explained in detail the advantages to Greece that would accrue from the occupation and internationalization of the Dardanelles. Turkey, he argued, would have been destroyed, Russia would have had her food supplies by sea, would have been able to export her grain, and would have escaped the enemy's offensive of the Spring of 1916. Bulgaria, seeing the Greek and Franco-British armies on her rear, would probably not have dared to intervene; while the prestige of Greece would have been augmented, for, thanks to her efforts, Germany would have lost the East, and the war would have been ended one year earlier.

He told of the election in the Spring of 1916, when his party won 184 seats against a combined opposition of 123; yet the Gounaris Cabinet, which had been repudiated, held on ten weeks longer, and it was not until Aug. 10, 1916, that the King again sent for him—and then "it was not with the intention of co-operating sincerely with me," he added, "but in order to plot against me."

M. Venizelos told how he gave new assurances of help to Serbia, and reported the King as saying: "I do not wish to go to the help of Serbia because Germany will be victorious, and I do not

wish to be defeated." M. Venizelos, in reply, put before the King the strategical arguments and other considerations which weighed in favor of an immediate attack on the Bulgarians, whose morale was shattered, who were in possession of only 400 rounds of ammunition per gun, and who would need a considerable time to replenish their supplies. "If we prevented the crushing of Serbia," he had said to the King, "within thirty days we should get to Sofia; in any case, we should get to a point beyond which the Austro-German advance for technical reasons would be impossible."

To all these arguments the King's only reply continued to be: "I do not wish to intervene; we shall be beaten by Germany." The Prime Minister then told the King that he had not the right to enter into divergence for the second time from the leader of the majority of the nation; it would be a better course for the King, he declared, to decree the abolition of the Government. The King replied: "For national affairs I am responsible before God." M. Venizelos then offered his resignation, but the King obliged him to remain in power in order to deal with the mobilization. King Constantine then gave his consent to a request being made to the Allies for the 150,000 men whom Greece was to have furnished to Serbia in accordance with the treaty. M. Venizelos had no sooner relinquished office than the King changed his mind, but the step had already been taken, and in due course the Franco-British troops landed at Saloniki. The Zaimis Cabinet did not protest against the landing. "If at this point I did not become a revolutionary," declared M. Venizelos, "it was because a civil war would have been provoked, and Bulgaria would have profited by the occasion to invade Greece."

Returning to the subject of the treaty with Serbia, M. Venizelos declared that M. Zaimis would be known to history as the man who had broken the word of Greece, and recalled how the resignation of M. Zaimis had been brought about by the insulting attitude adopted toward the Chamber by the Minister for War, this event being followed by the formation of the Skouloudis-Gounaris Cabinet, which

was responsible for the shameful treachery of the surrender of Fort Rupel.

The latest dispatches from Athens confirm the fact that a new army of 300,000 will now be mobilized by Greece as soon as the equipment can be supplied by the Allies. The plan of the Allies in the Balkans is said to be to advance upon Sofia, capital of Bulgaria, and thus to cut off communications between Germany and Turkey. Germany is said to be drawing great quantities of supplies, especially oil and wheat, from Turkey, and this traffic cannot be interrupted until the line is cut by the international army now operating in Macedonia. The 300,000 men Greece will add to the Anglo-French troops will give the Allies a preponderance of strength which is expected to overcome the enemy in that theatre of the war.

It is stated that the mobilization by the former King Constantine emptied the warehouses and used up all military stores and equipment, leaving available for military employment only the 80,000 troops raised by the Provisional Government of Venizelos at Saloniki, who are now fighting side by side with the Anglo-French army in Macedonia.

Greek Minister at Washington

Georges Roussos, the new Greek Minister to the United States, presented his credentials on Sept. 21, and in the course of his address to President Wilson, said:

Greece, my country, is just emerging from an exceptionally grave crisis. It overcame it because of the Hellenic people's devotion to the democratic principles which have always been theirs, and because of the assistance which the protecting powers graciously extended to them.

As soon as the Hellenic people were free masters of their own destinies they unconditionally performed the duty they had incessantly proclaimed as theirs; they took sides with the noble and generous nations that are striving to secure for the world an era of justice and true freedom. Among those nations the United States is one of the most spirited in the pursuit of that end. Through you, as its authorized spokesman, Mr. President, it has uttered words which startled mankind and proclaimed principles that have for once and all established the sanctity of the purposes it aims to achieve. The weak, the

oppressed, all now live in the certainty that their liberties will be restored.

In his reply President Wilson said:

You state that the main object of your mission is to draw closer the ties of traditional friendship which bind Greece to the United States. I receive this statement with the same pleasure that I accept your credentials, and, in turn, beg to assure you that I shall be always willing and ready heartily to co-operate with you in striving to give substantial reality to those Divine ideals of right, liberty, and justice by which both Greece and the

United States of America seem to be guided.

I was more than gratified when the supremacy of democracy was proclaimed throughout Greece by the action of your Government in casting in its destiny with the United States and the allied powers of Europe in the great conflict in which they are engaged for the preservation of civilization and the realization of the rights of the weak and oppressed. I thank you for your feeling of unity with the United States in this noble and righteous cause.

"Good-bye, Soldier Boys!"

This striking statement of why the United States is at war with Germany appeared as an editorial article in The Oakland (Cal.) Enquirer when Oakland's first contribution to the army that fights for freedom of the seas marched away into history. After a reference to the civil war veterans who fought on land and ocean, the article continues:

The lads that go now, high hearted as were they, go to bleed and do and die in a war that is fought under water, on the surface, and in the air above. They go to face the clouds of poisonous gas and the barrage of fire. They go in the face of all these, to give blow for blow, to pit American wits, initiative, and courage against these qualities in the servants of imperial ambition.

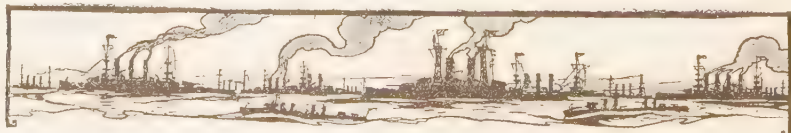
They go to do more. They go to prove that they are the soldiers of a great Republic whose people are civilized. They go to write it into history that humanity, mercy, and justice have their place in war as in peace. They go to victory, in which the despoilers of the homes of noncombatants shall be punished, the monsters who deflower women shall die wretchedly, the inhuman wretches who condemn noncombatants to slavery shall pass under the rod. They go to compel the Huns who have violated all law, di-

vine and human, to drain to the dregs the bitter cup of sorrow they have pressed to the lips of the weak and the innocent.

They go, God's own avengers of the unspeakable suffering of the people of Belgium, Northern France, Poland, Serbia, Rumania, and Armenia. As they march, unseen in the clear air above them are the spirits of the American mothers and babies that perished in the roaring sea, murdered in the Lusitania. They go to cleanse the earth of the men who began by violating treaties and have progressed by violating the common promptings of humanity which have been held sacred even by the red Indians of America and the black tribes of Africa.

They are the armed guards of American honor, of the covenants of Almighty God. On this great mission we send them with every blessing, with every ascription of honor. They go to prove that this great Republic is great not only in material things, in its proud cities, its far-flung fields, and its laden orchards and purpling vineyards, but great in the ineffable things of the spirit, in the courage of its people and its purpose to fling high and far the banners of the best civilization created by man.

Good-bye, boys, acquit yourselves like men!



The Month's Developments in Russia

A Coalition Cabinet and an Advisory Parliament Formed The Korniloff Affair—Soukhomlinoff's Conviction

RUSSIA'S internal politics during the month ended Oct. 16, 1917, assumed a form which could be called stable if compared to the welter from which they emerged after the so-called Korniloff revolt. Of the many assemblies and conferences convoked since that period, the nearest approach to a representative body was the Democratic Congress, which met at Moscow Sept. 27. It contained 1,200 delegates coming from all over Russia. The presiding officers were five representatives of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, five each from town Zemstvos, and two each from other groups. N. C. Tscheidse, President of the Council of Soldiers and Workmen, opened the conference, and was followed by M. Avskentieff, President of the Peasants' Delegates.

The congress was summoned by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Central Council. It was assumed to be under the control of the ultra-Socialists; the extreme radicals, or Bolsheviki, thought they would be able to sway the convention to their program of extreme measures, and to seize the reins of power. But the congress, while radical in its demands, did not go to extremes. Premier Kerensky consented to address the body. He was sympathetically heard by the more moderate groups, and exercised a profound influence over the attitude and acts of the convention.

After several days' sessions it became apparent that more moderate counsels were in the ascendency. A Coalition Cabinet, in which the Constitutional Democrats should participate, was favorably discussed. The Congress adopted a resolution providing for a preliminary Parliament, which is to have a consultative and not a legislative function, and which is to consist of 231 members, of whom 110 represent the Zemstvos and towns. The Congress, by a vote of 839

to 106, passed a resolution declaring for this Parliament, but at the same time demanded that no step be taken toward naming a Coalition Cabinet without its sanction.

Coalition Cabinet Named

Premier Kerensky on the same day again exhibited his iron resolution by practically defying the Congress and naming a real Coalition Cabinet, as follows:

Premier, A. F. KERENSKY.
Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. I. TERESTCHENKO.
Minister of Interior, M. NIKITIN.
Minister of Agriculture, M. AVSKENTIEFF.
Minister of Labor, M. GVOZDEFF.
Minister of Supplies, M. PROKOPOVITCH.
Minister of Finance, M. BERNATZKY.
Minister of Religion, M. KARTASHEFF.
Minister of Public Welfare, M. KISHKIN.
Minister of Trade and Industry, A. I. KONOVALOFF.
State Controller, M. SMYRNOFF.
Minister of Justice, M. MALYANTOVITCH.
Minister of Education, M. SALASKIN.
President of the Ecumenical Council, M. TRETYAKOFF.
Minister of War, General VERKHOVSKY.
Minister of Marine, ADMIRAL VERDERVSKI.
Minister of Ways and Communications, M. LIVEREVSKY.

The Constitutional Democratic Party, against which the Democratic Congress was in opposition, is represented by Kishkin, Konovaloff, and Smyrnoff. The portfolios of Foreign Affairs, War, Marine, and Interior remain unchanged.

In addition to carrying out an active foreign policy, the new Government declared that the serious internal difficulty of Russia was due chiefly to the Korniloff rebellion. The New Government pledged that its business acts would be on the basis of agreements between representatives of the bourgeoisie, the

tax-paying element, and the revolutionary democracy. It pointed out that the success of such a program is possible only if the nation is united. The Government's statement in conclusion said that it had three principal aims:

To raise the fighting power of the army and navy.

To bring order to the country by fighting anarchy.

To call the Constituent Assembly as soon as possible.

The Cabinet is determined to ignore as far as possible the activities of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and centre its efforts in gaining the support of the armies.

Functions of the New Parliament

The new Parliament, which is called the "Temporary Council of the Russian Republic," was accepted by the new Coalition Government as an advisory body, and will be organized by the Government. It will consist of 120 delegates, from all groups and all parts of the country, and will have the right to interpellate the Government, which must reply. The Government, however, will not be responsible to the Parliament. This body will remain until the Constituent Assembly acts. The Constituent Assembly has been called to assemble in December; it will consist of 730 delegates, to be elected by popular vote. The military in all parts of Russia will take part in the election of delegates under the same conditions as civilians.

The new Government seems to have met popular approval except among the extreme Radicals, or Bolsheviki; but the impression has gained ground that this group is losing its influence. The situation was complicated in the early days of October by a strike on all railway lines for higher wages; there was a complete tieup, but after a few days the matter was settled. The political situation in the country at this writing (Oct. 16) is more promising than a month ago, but the Government is still seriously beset by the pernicious activities of the Bolsheviki, who are outspoken in their hostility. The month has been marked by general unrest, accompanied by some loss of faith in the revolution by the masses on ac-

count of the jarring political factions and by a serious increase in disorders. A revolt broke out in Turkestan early in October, and a state of war was declared in that province. General Korovnitchenko, the commander at Kazan, (Eastern European Russia,) was given troops, with orders to suppress the revolt.

Island Surrendered to Germans

A much more serious occurrence was the taking of Oesel Island, in the Gulf of Riga, by the Germans. This is believed to foreshadow an attack on Reval, endangering Kronstadt and Petrograd. The German forces, which landed on Oesel Island, under the cover of ninety war vessels, had occupied up to Oct. 16 practically the whole of the island. German torpedo boats penetrated the inner waters between the islands of Oesel and Dagö, and in repeated engagements pressed back the Russian naval forces into the Moonsund. The Germans were thus about to gain full control of the Gulf of Riga, threatening the Russian capital itself. A further exodus of civilians from Petrograd was reported to be in progress on Oct. 16.

Premier Kerensky, in an urgent appeal to the Baltic fleet to defend the fatherland "in this hour of trial," divulged the fact that the garrison of Kronstadt, the chief fortress and military port of Russia and the station of the Baltic fleet, twenty miles west of Petrograd, by its attitude already had weakened the defensive resources of the fortress. Eight dreadnoughts, a dozen light cruisers, forty torpedo boats, and thirty mine sweepers participated in the German landing on Oesel Island.

New Light on Korniloff Affair

Later revelations at the end of September and early in October strengthened the belief that the so-called revolt of General Korniloff was attributable to a blunder of Lvoff and others who served as emissaries between the General and the Premier. A copy of the Order of the Day issued by General Korniloff on Sept. 10 explains in detail how the error arose. It appears that the Provisional Government was apprehensive of a serious Bolsheviki uprising, and asked Kor-

niloff, as Generalissimo, to place at its disposal several divisions of troops. He gave the orders, feeling that the revolt should be summarily suppressed, and that a strong Government of a few should be formed at once to save the country. His statement continues as follows:

Later there came to me Vladimir Lvoff, speaking on behalf of Kerensky, and asked me to state my views as to the best method of organizing the new Government. I replied that I considered the only solution lay in the establishment of a dictatorship and the proclamation of martial law. By dictatorship I did not mean a one-man dictatorship, inasmuch as I had pointed out the necessity of my participation in the Government. I let it be known in making this decision that I considered and still consider any return to the old régime an utter impossibility. The task of the new Government should be devoted exclusively to saving the country.

Later I exchanged telegrams with Kerensky, who asked if I would confirm what I had said. As I could not entertain the idea that an emissary sent me by the Provisional Government could distort the sense of my conversation, I replied that I did confirm my words fully and again invited Kerensky and Savinkoff to come to Stavka, as I could not answer for their safety if they remained in Petrograd. It is evident from the foregoing that my proceedings were in full accord with the Provisional Government, and I had every reason to believe that the Ministry was not playing a double game.

I learned to the contrary when I received a telegram saying that I immediately must hand over my supreme command. I conferred by telegraph with the Ministry of War and learned that Savinkoff not only had repudiated the proposals made by me, but even disavowed the fact of their having been made. Considering that further hesitation presented fatal dangers, and moreover as the orders issued could not be countermanded, I decided, with a full appreciation of the weight of my responsibility, not to hand over the supreme command, hoping that I might save my country and the Russian people from the imminent danger of enslavement by the Germans.

General Chablovsky, President of the commission of inquiry into the Korniloff affair, returned to Petrograd Oct. 15, and in an interview declared that he did not see in the actions of General Korniloff and the other accused officers any character of high treason. It was proved, he said, that General Korniloff

throughout the movement committed no act of a nature to weaken the fighting front. General Chablovsky expressed the opinion that General Korniloff could be sentenced only under Article 100, dealing with attempts against the established régime and involving the penalty of life imprisonment.

Conviction of Soukhomlinoff

The trial of General Soukhomlinoff, former Minister of War, accused of high treason, ended with his conviction on Sept. 26, 1917. He was sentenced to hard labor for life on the charges of high treason, abuse of confidence, and fraud. Mme. Soukhomlinoff was acquitted.

The jury deliberated seven hours and announced that they had arrived at a verdict of guilty on twelve of the thirteen counts preferred against Soukhomlinoff. A verdict of not guilty on the first charge, accusing him of inaction and inertia during the war with the object of assisting the enemy by weakening the Russian armed forces, was rendered.

General Soukhomlinoff received the verdict calmly, but his wife burst into tears. The jury found no extenuating circumstances, and the Prosecutor demanded the highest penalty, imprisonment for life at hard labor.

General Soukhomlinoff delivered the concluding speech with signs of great emotion. He affirmed that he had always been an ardent reformer and did more for the army than his predecessors had done in thirty years. Instead of the expected 3,000,000 soldiers, he pointed out, there had been mobilized before the beginning of active operations from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000, and now there were from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000. The Germans, he declared, had lavished praise on his successful mobilization. With a flourish of his arms, Soukhomlinoff exclaimed:

"If I had lacked the self-sacrifice to abandon a splendid post at Kiev to go to that penitentiary, the War Office, I should never be here."

Soukhomlinoff lamented that of all the statesmen who could bear witness to his reforms, the chief of them, Stolypin, was now in his grave.

At the trial the chief accusers were Rodzianko, President of the Duma; Dr. Milukoff, the leader of the revolution, and Gutchkoff, first War Minister after the revolution. M. Rodzianko declared that General Soukhomlinoff's conduct had seriously alarmed the Duma a long time before the war, for it clearly saw his criminal slowness in the organization of the Russian Army. The ex-Minister, M. Rodzianko asserted, did not love the Duma, and showed his contempt for it. When the situation at the front became threatening, owing to the lack of shells, and the Duma sounded the alarm and appealed to the patriotism of the workers, General Soukhomlinoff at first feigned a great interest in the question, but soon afterward he began to oppose a systematic resistance to the efforts of the Deputies. This resistance made worse and complicated still more the terrible situation of the army, which found itself under the necessity of fighting without arms. In March, 1915, the Grand Duke Nicholas declared that the continuation of the war in these conditions was becoming impossible. "I then went," M.

Rodzianko continued, "to Galicia, and what I saw there filled me with terror. I affirm that the responsibility for the enormous losses which we suffered during the retreat entirely falls upon General Soukhomlinoff. The Committee of Defense which was specially created to investigate the activities of the ex-War Minister at once established his culpability. I then appealed to the ex-Czar, and persuaded him to convoke the Duma and to dismiss Soukhomlinoff."

The prosecution, in summing up the evidence, declared that when the investigation of General Soukhomlinoff's affairs began there was no thought that the charges would include spy work and treason. The evidence, however, he declared, led constantly to the close connection of General Soukhomlinoff and his wife with Colonel Maisoidof and other notorious spies.

The Prosecutor said the evidence proved that General Soukhomlinoff carelessly permitted war plans to lie about his house, especially in his wife's boudoir, where an Austrian agent had easy access to them.

General Russky's Account of the Czar's Abdication

Nicholas II. signed the notice of abdication at Pskof on March 15, 1917. One account of the event, given by Deputy V. V. Shulgin, (also spelled Choulgine,) was printed in the July issue of this magazine. Another and fuller story of the episode, as related by General Nicholas V. Russky, the chief representative of the Russian Army in this act of the revolution, is here placed on record. It has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the original article, which appeared in the Russkaya Volya a few days after the incident.

AT the time of abdicating the throne, the Czar made no attempt to send soldiers to quell the revolution, for the simple reason that I proposed his retirement at a moment when his situation was already beyond remedy. I learned on March 10 that he was preparing to return to Tsarskoe Selo. I was surprised, therefore, to receive a telegram that night stating that the Czar's train was scheduled from Bologoe through Dno to Pskof. It was to arrive there at 8 o'clock in the evening of the 14th.

I drove up to the station to meet him, and ordered that his arrival should take place unnoticed. The train came at 8. From the Czar's first words I was convinced that he was in the hands of fate. Nicholas usually said little, and on this occasion he was even more curt and economical of words. Events had not only agitated him, but also made him angry. He never dreamed of adopting repressive measures against the revolution, however; on the contrary, at 2 o'clock that night he sent for me and said: "I have

decided to submit and to give the people a responsible Ministry. What is your opinion?"

A manifesto concerning a responsible Ministry lay already signed upon the table. I knew that this compromise came too late, and that it would fail, but I had no intention of expressing my opinion, because I had no direct instructions from the Executive Committee, nor even simple news of what was taking place. Therefore I proposed to talk by telephone immediately with Rodzianko.

I succeeded in getting Rodzianko on the line at Petrograd in the office of the Chief of Staff only after 3 o'clock at night. That conversation of ours lasted more than two hours. Rodzianko gave me all the details of the quick turn of events, and definitely told me that the only way for the Czar was manifestly to abdicate the throne. Following my talk with Rodzianko, I immediately transmitted this fact to Alexeieff and to the commanding officers at the front.

At 10 o'clock in the morning I went to the Czar with a report of my conversations. Guarding against lack of confidence in my words, I asked to have with me an officer of my general staff, Danieloff, and a commissary officer, General Savich, who would support me in my persistent advice to the Czar to abdicate for the sake of Russia's welfare and of victory over the enemy. At that time I already had answers from General Alexeieff, the Grand Duke Nicholas, General Brusiloff, and General Evert, who all unitedly recognized the necessity of abdication.

The Czar listened to my report and stated that he was ready to abdicate the throne, but would desire to do this in presence of Rodzianko, as the latter had promised to come to Pskof. However, Rodzianko had given no indication of a desire to come. On the contrary, in my night conversation with him over the wire he had definitely said that he could by no means leave Petrograd, and that he did not wish to do so.

We left the Czar with the expectation of decisive action on his part. After luncheon, at 3 o'clock, the Czar called me in and stated that the instrument of his

abdication was already signed, and that he abdicated in favor of his son. He handed me a telegram, signed by him, concerning his abdication; I put it into my pocket and went out, intending to dispatch it from my office. Quite unexpectedly, at the office I found a telegram from Gutchkoff and Shulgin, containing the information that they had left Petrograd for Pskof at 3:35 P. M. On receiving that telegram I refrained from publishing the document in regard to abdication, and went back to the Czar. He evidently was quite glad to hear that these commissioners were on their way, hoping that their coming to me was evidence of some change in the situation.

The commissioners' train for some reason was late, arriving about 10 at night. The Czar waited with impatient expectation. I personally kept away from him when he hastened to meet and speak with them, but during the whole time old Fredericks [Count Fredericks, the Court Chamberlain] never left him alone.

At the moment of the commissioners' arrival I was in my railway carriage. Disregarding my order that on the arrival of the commissioners they should first be brought to me, one of the Generals got them first, met them, and took them straight to the Czar. When I came into the Czar's car, A. I. Gutchkoff was reporting to him in detail concerning the late events. A specially strong impression was made upon Nicholas II. by the news that his personal guard had gone over to the rebel army. That fact struck him so forcibly that he did not listen attentively to the further report of Gutchkoff.

The rest we all know. At the Czar's question, "What is to be done now?" Gutchkoff, in a tone permitting of only one decision, said, "You must abdicate the throne."

The Czar quietly listened to the commissioners of the Executive Committee. After a long pause he answered:

"Very well. I have already signed the act of abdication in favor of my son, but now I have come to the conclusion that my son's health is not strong enough. I do not wish to part from him. Therefore

I have decided to make over the throne to Michael Alexandrovich."

The commissioners made no reply. The Czar retired with Fredericks into a neighboring car to compose a new document of abdication. For ten minutes a heavy silence reigned. Finally Fredericks appeared with a typewritten act of abdication which the Czar had signed. The commissioners asked Fredericks to countersign the signature. With the assent of the Czar, Fredericks attached his signature. There are two copies of the act of abdication, one of which is kept by me; the other I gave to Gutchkoff, taking his receipt for it.

Thus in the course of twenty-four hours Nicholas II. signed in succession three acts: at 2 o'clock at night the 2d (15th) of March, a manifesto concerning the granting of a responsible Ministry; at 3 o'clock in the daytime an abdication in favor of his son Alexis, and finally at 10 o'clock at night the abdication in favor of Michael Alexandrovich.

The arrival of the Czar at Pskof was known to all, but a surprising coolness and indifference to that fact prevailed among the inhabitants and soldiers. The Czar often walked entirely alone upon the station platform, and none of the public gave attention to him. He spent his time exclusively in company of several Generals of his suite who accompanied him.

Inside of half an hour after the delivery of the act of abdication and the departure of the Executive Committee of the commissioners the Czar's private train was routed through Dvinsk to Stanka, and on March 4 (17) at 6 o'clock in the evening I received a telegram from Stanka announcing his arrival there.

[In conclusion General Russky exhibited Nicholas's signed act of abdication. This is a closely written telegram blank, on which a typewriting machine has inscribed the famous text of the abdication. Nicholas's signature, which is in pencil, has been covered with lacquer, but Fredericks's countersignature, which is in ink,

has not been so covered. Further details on this part of the historic episode have been given by V. V. Shulgin, one of the two commissioners above named, as follows:]

When we had read and approved the Czar's abdication, it seems to me that there followed a clasping of hands, as if of a hearty character. However, at that time I was undoubtedly agitated, and may be mistaken. It is possible this did not happen. I recall that when at last I looked at my watch, it was 11:48. Therefore it is necessary to think that all these events of huge historical importance took place between 11 and 12 o'clock in the night of March 2-3, (15-16, new style.) I recollect that when this happened a thought flashed through my mind of how well it was that it came on March 2, and not on March 1. After that we said good-bye. It seems to me that there was no bad feeling on either side at that moment. In my soul there was rather pity toward the person who in that moment was redeeming his mistakes. Noble thoughts illuminated his resignation of power.

From external appearances, the Czar was entirely tranquil, and friendly rather than cold. I forgot to say that General Russky and I agreed that there should be two copies of the act signed by the maker's own hand, for the purpose of preserving it, since in the stormy situation at Petrograd, where we were taking it, it could easily be lost. In that situation the first signed act on the small pages ought to remain with General Russky. We then carried in the second copy, also written with a typewriter, but on large-sized sheets. The signature of the Czar, in the same way, on the right hand, was done with a pencil, and on the left side with a pen, and the Court Minister, Fredericks, countersigned it. On receiving this copy, which was intrusted to our care by General Russky, we, that is, Gutchkoff and myself, gave a receipt. That copy we brought to Petrograd and succeeded in giving it over into safe hands. There were moments when the document brought danger.

The Socialist Parties of Russia

What the Various Factions Stand For

AT the close of the nineteenth century the peasants of Russia formed a radical democratic organization, whose activities, naturally, remained clandestine. After the revolutionary events of 1904-5 there were created—or, rather, they officially declared their existence—certain peasant societies that were very important by reason of the number of their members. At the head of these bodies was the All-Russian Peasant Union, and, after the creation of the Duma, the Group of Toil. The programs of both were very much alike. While the Peasant Union, however, concentrated its energies upon organizing the peasants in a compact body with a view to seizing the lands of the nobles and distributing them among the peasants, the Group of Toil became the Parliamentary representative of the rural democracy. After the elections for the First Duma the committees of Deputies from the Group of Toil, in fact, took the place of the All-Russian Peasant Union, which had been broken up by Governmental repression after the defeat of the revolutionaries.

Kerensky, the present Premier, originally belonged to the Group of Toil, but his later activities in the Duma caused him to be classed with the moderates in the Social Revolutionary Party.

The program of the Group of Toil, established by the "populist intellectuals," proclaimed "the right of all citizens to the land, the suppression of private ownership of real estate, and the creation of a national estate of public lands." All persons desirous of cultivating the soil were to receive from this public estate allotments not exceeding the "norm of labor," that is, the amount of land which the user could cultivate with his own hands and those of his family, "without paid help." These allotments were to be given only for use, not for possession.

The Socialists in the towns, almost all

factory workmen, combated the program of the Group of Toil from the beginning. They reproached it with putting an obstacle in the way of all development of farm production, and declared that it rendered impossible the organization of great enterprises employing machinery and salaried workmen, creating not an equality of wealth, but an equality of poverty.

The Social Revolutionaries

The Social Revolutionary Party has numerous points of contact with the Group of Toil. Its Duma members, almost all men with the viewpoint of peasants, formerly figured in the Group of Toil, for the Social Revolutionary Party, which was not solidly organized before the Czar's abdication, had never been recognized by the Government.

On the agrarian question the Social Revolutionaries espouse the struggle against the bourgeois principle of property, taking their stand upon the communistic principle, upon Russian peasant traditions, and upon the opinion, very general among the people, that the land belongs to no one and that the right to enjoy its use is acquired only by working on it. This party also is fighting for the socialization of the land and for its exclusion from commercial exchange. Like the Group of Toil, they have faith in the realization of agrarian socialism; they establish an absolute antithesis between the middle-class principle of capitalistic society and the peasants' traditions of communistic life. They do not regard the *mir* and the whole organization of the rural Russian commune as a survival of the past, constituting a form inferior to the capitalistic system, but look upon it as the very foundation upon which to realize their ideal.

This conception has always been violently combated by the Social Democrats, who are convinced Marxists, believing that Russia cannot arrive at

socialism save by the path of capitalism, the path followed by all other countries of Europe; that the socialization of the means and tools of production on the farms will be possible only when conditions favorable to socialization shall exist in all the other domains of social economy; when production shall be strongly centralized, the differentiation of classes very marked, and labor freed from capital.

The principal leaders of the Social Revolutionary Party are Kerensky, the present Premier; Tchernoff, former Minister of Agriculture; Peshekhonoff, Food Administrator; Miakotine, Boukanoff, Avtsentieff, Savinkoff, (Robchine.) Since the revolution they have founded two newspapers, the *Dielo Naroda* at Petrograd and the *Zemlia i Volia* at Moscow.

The Social Democrats

The Social Democratic Party, very strongly organized, has as its adherents the working population of the great industrial centres and almost all the students. Its origin goes back to the end of the nineteenth century, when Russian industry began to experience a great expansion. The noted Russian Socialist, Plekhanoff, an adept in the theories of Marx, founded at Geneva in 1884 the Association for the Liberation of the Working Class, out of which came the first propagandists of socialistic ideas in Russia. These created in the Russian villages the most important of the secret societies that kept up communications with the central committee at Geneva.

As the existence of trade union organizations was then impossible, the leaders instituted a purely revolutionary propaganda. Owing to the general discontent with the autocratic régime, this propaganda was welcomed even by the liberal bourgeoisie, who were willing for the moment to sacrifice their class interests for the sake of triumphing in their political aims. The revolutionary movement of 1904-5 and the general strike which broke out in October, 1905, and which ultimately caused the promulgation of the constitutional manifesto of Oct. 30, 1905, were the work of this party. The leaders are divided into two factions, as follows:

Bolshevikî and Menshevikî

The Bolshevikî, or Maximalists, form the Left or radical wing of the Social Democratic Party, which is largely the party of the proletariat. The party split in 1906, and the ultra radicals, led by Nikolai Lenine, were then in the majority, or "bolshinstvo," and hence got the name Bolshevikî, which meant the majority faction. Today the Bolshevikî are also known as Maximalists, Leninites, Extremists, Zimmerwaldians, and Internationalists. They are opposed to offensive warfare, they want an immediate general peace, and seek to establish immediately the rule of the proletariat, the division of land, and the dispossession of the property classes. They are enemies of the present Provisional Government, even with a Constitution, and a large faction is extremely anarchistic in its views. They reject on principle any co-operation with legal organizations, and regard revolutionary action as alone effective. Nevertheless, two of their chiefs, Skobelevf and Tseretelli, by force of circumstances, accepted places in the Government, the former as Minister of Labor, the latter as Minister of the Interior. Their other leaders are Tscheidze, Lenine, Tschenkeli. Their organs, created since the revolution, are the *Social Democrat* at Moscow and the *Pravda* (Truth) at Petrograd, and Gorki's review, *Novaia Zhisn*, (New Life.)

The Menshevikî, or Minimalists, comprise the Right, or moderate elements of the proletarian Social Democratic Party. In the split of 1906 they were in the "menshinstvo," or minority, and became known as the Menshevikî or minority party. In contrast to the Bolshevikî, the Menshevikî believe in a compromise with the middle class, in the fullest prosecution of the war, and in gradual socialistic reforms. Though enemies of the present régime and not averse to revolutionary action, they admit the possibility of utilizing for their ends all the existing organizations — co-operative societies, trade unions, mutual aid funds, Parliamentary activity—and are declared advocates of the participation of workingmen in the War Industries Committees, among which have been created groups

of workingmen with an autonomous organization. The chief leaders of the Minimalists or Mensheviki are Plekhanoff, Burtseff, Deutsch, Alexinsky. Their organs created since the revolution are—at Petrograd, the Rabotchaia Gazeta (Workingmen's Journal) and the Edinstvo, (Unity,) edited by Plekhanoff; at Moscow, the Vpered, (Forward!)

But the Bolsheviki are not all in the Social Democratic Party. The Social Revolutionary Party, which consists chiefly of peasants, also has its Bolsheviki and Mensheviki factions. The Bolsheviki are the radical extremists of the party, who in the Summer of 1917 adopted the name Bolsheviki because they were largely in harmony with Lenine on the issues of the day. The Social Revolutionary Party is at present the strongest of Russia's socialistic organizations. The leader of its Bolsheviki is Gotz, and apparently also Victor Tchernoff, ex-Minister of Agriculture and an almost fanatical believer in the doctrine of communal ownership of all the land by the peasantry, to be distributed among them immediately.

There are also the Mensheviki of the Social Revolutionary Party, moderates, and the most nationalistic of the Socialistic factions. Their leaders are Kerensky, Avtsentieff, "Babushka" Breshkorkaya. Like the Mensheviki of the Social Democratic Party, they favor a coalition Government, a compromise with the bourgeoisie, and active warfare against the enemy.

The Constitutional Democrats

To complete the tale of parties and factions, there should be a mention of the Constitutional Democrats, or Cadets, though they do not belong under the head of Socialists. The popular appellation "Cadets" is built of the initials of the party's real name, Constitutional Democrats. The leader of the party is Paul Milukoff, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Constitutional Democrats comprise all the bourgeois elements of the nation, the business and industrial interests as well as the landed and professional classes. They are sometimes called Progressives or Liberals. They stand for conservatism, nationalism, fullest prose-

cution of the war in co-operation with the Allies, and for the postponement of all internal reform till after the war. They are the solid and stable element of the country, and were in control at the time of the first organization of the Provisional Government, but have since been thrust into the background by the more radical and aggressive factions of the Socialist parties.

To sum up, the Group of Toil is a purely parliamentary organization composed of peasant Deputies, whose program is closely akin to that of the Constitutional Democrats, except on the agrarian question, where they hold absolutely to the principle of communistic ownership of the land. Russians do not consider this a really socialistic party.

The Revolutionary Socialists and the Social Democrats, on the contrary, are two purely socialistic parties, whose rivalry has long divided the intellectual youth of Russia into two warring camps. But theoretically, save on the agrarian question, both have a program almost always in common—a democratic republic, universal suffrage for both sexes, substitution of militia for the regular army, election of Judges, suppression of indirect taxes, an eight-hour day. The revolution, moreover, has brought about profound changes in the Socialist parties; it is noticeable that in recent events the Social Democratic Minimalists have almost always allied themselves with the moderate Social Revolutionaries to fight against the wild schemes of the Social Democratic Maximalists. In the Democratic Congress held at Petrograd at the beginning of October, 1917, the Cadets were absent, having boycotted the meeting, and the struggle over the question of a Coalition Government was wholly between the Bolsheviki of the two socialistic parties and the Mensheviki of the same two parties.

It may be added that the Soviet, or Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which has done much to create the present state of chaos, is an irregular, self-constituted body made up largely of peasants, workmen, and soldiers belonging to the two great Socialist parties, which represent the majority of the masses of the nation.

Air Raids and Reprisals

Thirty-four Attacks on London, Killing 865 and Wounding 2,500, Goad England to a Change of Policy

WAR in the air reached much greater ferocity in September and October, 1917, than ever before, and extensive preparations were begun by all the belligerents to speed up the manufacture of airplanes and to give this arm of the service a far greater importance than in the past.

During the full moon period between Sept. 24 and Oct. 1 there were six important air raids on London; 52 men, women and children were killed outright and 258 wounded. No material damage to military or munition establishments was inflicted; the only result accomplished was to arouse among the English people such a clamorous demand for reprisals that Premier Lloyd George announced to a crowd of poor people in the southwest district of London on Oct. 3:

"We will give it all back to them, and we will give it soon. We shall bomb Germany with compound interest."

General Smuts on Reprisals

On the same day Lieut. Gen. Smuts, speaking with the authority of a member of the War Cabinet, said the Government had been reluctantly forced by recent air raids on London and other English cities to apply the maxim of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" and to carry out an air offensive on an unprecedented scale against German cities. General Smuts declared that the national temper instead of weakening was hardening under the strain of these terrors and abominations. He continued:

If the Germans understood the psychology of this people, they would have no doubt about the results. Cowards become more cowardly under threat of danger, but brave men and women only become more determined. And the people of London after these raids are thinking less of peace than ever before.

But the Germans never have understood the psychology of their enemies, and so they will continue to blunder to the end of the chapter. It is wrong to think that we hitherto have had no means of carry-

ing our aerial warfare into the enemy country. I already have said that ever since the battle of the Somme we have had a clear military superiority in the air, and on a small scale we could have followed that up by bombing enemy centres as the enemy bombed London and other places in this country. But we felt that we should prepare for an air offensive on a large scale, and we were also anxious to avoid adding further horrors to a war already the most cruel in the history of the world.

But we are dealing with an enemy whose culture has not carried him beyond the rudiments of the Mosaic law, and to whom you can only apply the maxim of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." On that principle we are now most reluctantly forced to apply to him the bombing policy which he has applied to us. I am afraid we no longer have any choice in the matter.

Last month our naval and military airplanes dropped 207 tons of bombs behind the lines of the enemy. In the same period he dropped four and one-half tons of bombs on London. In that month we bombed him on twenty-three days and on nineteen nights, chiefly attacking his airdromes, and, as the figures show, damaging his machines and pitting his airdromes with shell holes. We also bombed his billets, trains, transport and railway stations, causing him the heaviest losses.

Another Chapter of Horrors

Allow me to emphasize two points which I hope will be borne in mind when it is ultimately found that my words are not bluff, but serious and far-reaching in their import.

First, we did not begin this business of bombing industrial and populous districts. The enemy began the practice, just as he began the use of poison gas and other contraventions of international law. And we have been most reluctantly forced to follow suit after a long delay, which severely tried the patience of the British public.

Secondly, I look upon these developments of the arts of war as utterly bad and immoral, and while I do not fear them if, as in the present case, they are forced on us, yet I should infinitely prefer that both sides should desert such cruel practices. We shall do our best to avoid German abominations, and in our air offensive against military and industrial

MAKING THE SECOND LIBERTY LOAN A SUCCESS



A Grand Demonstration in Connection with the Second Liberty Loan Campaign. Organized by the Hall, New York City.

IN HONOR OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS



The Great Farewell Parade in New York City of the American Red Cross Wounded and Men Who Are Serving in Hospitals Abroad
(Photo Paul Thompson)

centres of the enemy we shall use every endeavor to spare, as far as is humanly possible, the innocent and defenseless who in the past enjoyed the protection of international law.

It is almost unbearable to think that another chapter of horrors must be added to the awful story, but we can only plead that it has not been our doing, and the blame must rest on an enemy who apparently recognizes no laws, human or Divine; who knows no pity or restraint, who sang to deums over the sinking of the Lusitania and to whom the maiming and slaughter of women and children appear legitimate means of warfare.

In the face of such abominations it is not for us to meekly fold our hands. We can only fight to the uttermost for the ideals of a more human civilization, which we trust and feel convinced will triumph in the end.

Early in October France began a series of air raids on German cities in reprisal for raids on the French cities of Bar-le-Duc and Dunkirk. Bombs were dropped upon Stuttgart, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Rastatt, Baden Baden, Dortmund, Tübingen, and other cities.

Air Raids on London

German aircraft raided England thirty-four times between Jan. 19, 1915, and Oct. 1, 1917, killing outright 865 men, women, and children, and wounding over 2,500. The list of the principal raids is as follows:

1915	Killed	Injured
Jan. 19	4	..
May 31	6	..
June 6	24	..
June 15	16	..
Aug. 9	14	..
Aug. 12	6	..
Aug. 17	10	..
Sept. 7	13	..
Sept. 8	20	..
Oct. 13	56	144
1916		
Jan. 31	61	101
March 15	12	33
March 31	43	66
April 1	16	100
May 2	36	..
Aug. 9	6	17
Aug. 24	8	36
Sept. 2	2	13
Sept. 23	38	125
Sept. 24	36	27
1917		
May 24	76	174
June 5	2	29
June 13	97	439
July 4	11	36

1917	Killed	Injured
July 7	37	141
July 22	11	26
Aug. 12	32	43
Aug. 22	11	13
Sept. 3	108	92
Sept. 24	15	70
Sept. 25	7	26
Sept. 26	11	82
Sept. 30	9	42
Oct. 1	10	38

Scenes During a Raid

The scenes in London during an air raid are full of thrilling interest. Three years' experience with such perils have hardened the public, and panic no longer is shown. A correspondent thus describes the scenes during the raid of Sept. 26 on London:

"The lesson of the advisability of seeking cover quickly has obviously been taken to heart, and the great majority of people sought the nearest available shelter directly the louder sound of the guns indicated the closer approach of the raiders. Tube stations were favorite resorts in the fortunate neighborhoods where they were to be found, and crowds of people were grateful to the railwaymen, policemen, and "specials" who shepherded them to the safe depths.

"Every station was packed with orderly crowds. At first the booking-office floors, the first to be reached from the street level, proved the most popular sections of the stations, but as the firing came nearer people sought the more secure protection of the platforms and corridors.

"Churches also were opened to the public for shelter, and here large numbers sought refuge, particularly at those which were known to have crypts and underground spaces. In some cases a red lamp burning outside warned the public that shelter could be found within. Public buildings of all kinds which were stout enough to offer some resistance to possible bombs had open doors, and caretakers and others of the staffs in many of the great blocks of offices and business premises were also quick in their offers to share their greater safety with any who sought it.

"For some time the buses and taxicabs continued to run, although there was a noticeable air of hurry about those

speeding westward from the more exposed areas in the east. In a few cases drivers refused to stop to pick up would-be passengers. In several instances there were passages of arms between drivers and the more considerate conductresses.

"As the firing grew heavier, however, and the flash of the bursting shells could be seen clearly in the neighborhood, drivers and fares of both taxis and buses left the vehicles to seek shelter, and soon the main streets presented a curious appearance, with few pedestrians, and with long rows of lightless and deserted vehicles lined up by the curbs. But within two or three minutes only of the last reports, drivers and conductresses were again mounting the buses, and there was no lack of passengers to accompany them on the resumed journeys.

"Before the raid the police were out with 'Take cover' notices, some cycling through the streets and others patrolling with the placards, a number of which were attached to the posts of central refuges.

"There was no surprise, no scare, no panic. Folk had told each other what might be expected on a moonlight night, and they took the handiest cover with cheery confidence in its effectiveness. Tube subways were specially useful. Men, women, and children—not many children, by the way—flocked down the steps to these places, and quietly waited until danger was over. Men read their evening papers; city girls who had been working late became absorbed in their favorite novels, with which they beguile traveling time in tram and train; and the woman inclined to be tearful or nervous was reassured by comforting words from her neighbors."

Tragedy at a Hotel

Another correspondent describes the effect of a bomb falling in front of a hotel as follows:

"A number of guests are reported to have gathered in the porch to watch the progress of the raid. A bomb dropped close to the main entrance, almost on the pavement, killing several of those who stood near. The concussion of the explosion was terrific. Three porters of the hotel, two of whom were just going off

duty, and all of whom were outside the building, were killed instantly. Three other people, it is said, who were in the roadway also were killed outright, and a gentleman and a lady who were standing in a doorway opposite also were killed.

"Great bravery was shown by a number of persons in this hotel, and one man who was badly injured himself was most assiduous in helping others. A doctor, whose head was cut, and hastily bandaged, performed his humane work with great energy. Several persons were passing at the time, and eight of the passers-by are stated to be among the injured, bringing the total, with those who suffered in the hotel, up to fifteen. The bomb made a hole in the roadway some four feet deep, the force of the explosion blowing out all the windows in front of the building, even to the sixth story, and shattering the glass in most of the houses on either side of the street for several hundred yards.

"In another area one bomb dropped on a six-floor tenement house, totally destroying the upper portions of the building. A lad of 15 years lost his life under very pathetic circumstances. When the alarm was given, the people in the tenements ran into the cellar of a neighboring public house, which had been thrown open by the proprietor. This lad was in safety in the cellar, when he rushed back into the danger zone to join his aged grandfather, who was bedridden in the tenement. He had just arrived when the bomb dropped. A beam fell and struck him on the temple, apparently killing him instantly. He was found lying underneath the beam. His grandfather was seriously injured, and was taken in an ambulance to the hospital."

In a Narrow Street

The havoc wrought by one airplane in a narrow street is thus described:

"The noise of gunfire was the first warning which the people of the district received, and but for the fact that sufficient time passed before the sudden terror of the bombing to enable the majority of the inhabitants to take shelter, the casualty list must have been far larger than it actually was. The air-

plane flew in an oblique direction across the many intersecting streets, and bombs were dropped at distances of about two hundred yards apart.

"The first bomb fell in a street. A moment later the second crashed into the side of another road with destructive effect. A great hole was scooped out in the ground. The fronts of two-story houses opposite were partially shattered, and in most of the other houses in the street glass was smashed, woodwork hurled inward, and the contents of rooms displaced.

"A girl was just entering the doorway of a house near the explosion and she was killed instantly. On the other side of the street a man standing in his doorway was terribly wounded about the upper part of his body, and another man who was leaning against the front garden fence also received severe injuries. Nearly all the other people in this street were under cover, and they escaped physical harm. A man and his wife, who were just going into the cellar when the bomb exploded, were flung headlong down the steps.

"The third bomb fell in a back garden against a party wall between two streets, and it dug a huge crater in the soft earth. The backs of two houses were partially blown in, but fortunately the inhabitants had left two minutes earlier to take shelter in a neighbor's house, in which the only damage was broken glass. Other houses were less seriously damaged, and because the tenants had taken shelter in the centre of the buildings only one girl was seriously injured.

"The fourth bomb caused more material damage, but nearly all the people in the street had left their little houses to find refuge in a school building forty or fifty yards away. The bomb fell in a back yard near the middle of a row of houses, and the rooms just opposite were almost completely wrecked. If any one had been within he could not conceivably have escaped unhurt. All along the street, on both sides, windows and doorways were blown out, and a bank and a jeweler's shop were damaged.

"The special volunteer policemen, who have been assisting the regular police

since the beginning of the war, in emergencies, are receiving shrapnel helmets for protection during air raids. These helmets are similar to those worn in the trenches and hereafter will be a common sight in London. Soldiers on leave and ambulance drivers only have heretofore used them during raids."

Effects of the Raids

The change of opinion in England from composure over the raids to a demand for reprisals is traceable to a realization that while the material damage from raids is negligible, they did succeed in diverting considerable pressure which otherwise would have been felt on the battle fronts. By the employment of some fifty machines and at the most two hundred men, including aviators and mechanics, the enemy has forced England to detach several hundred valuable guns and several thousand men, including skilled gunners, for home defense, and also a large number of machinists, searchlights with operating staffs and other experts. The number of men and the amount of material devoted to this offensive are small compared with the men and material these attacks compel England to maintain for the defensive.

Local and suburban travel has been largely at a standstill during these periods, and all classes of night work have been interfered with, while the day work has been curtailed that clerks and workmen might get to their homes from offices, factories and shops before the expected raids began. Ten thousand persons who are not compelled to remain in London have moved to country resorts at a large aggregate expense, and the late afternoon trains have been packed with the nightly exodus. Many poor families have camped in suburban parks and commons.

Death of Guynemer

Captain Georges Guynemer, officially credited with destroying fifty-three German airplanes, known as "King of the Aces," (an "ace" is an aviator who has brought down five enemy aircraft,) met his death shortly after leaving Dunkirk Sept. 11. He was only 23 years old, son of a manufacturer who had been a Captain in the French Army. He was

rejected as a private on account of frail health five times and at length was allowed to enlist as a student aviator. Three weeks after he received his pilot's license in January, 1916, he brought down his fifth enemy airplane, and thereafter every few days some new heroic feat was credited to him. His most spectacular feat, for which he was made a Lieutenant and decorated with the Cross of War, was on Sept. 29 last year, when he rose in the air to defend a comrade of his escadrille who had been attacked by five German Fokkers.

At a height of more than 10,000 feet Captain Guynemer shot and dropped two of the Germans within thirty seconds of each other. He then pursued the three others, and in two minutes had shot down his third enemy machine. He was pursuing the remaining two Fokkers when an enemy shell exploded under his airplane and tore away one wing.

"I felt myself dropping," he said later. "It was 10,000 feet to the earth, and, like a flash, I saw my funeral with my saddened comrades marching behind the gun carriage to the cemetery. But I pulled and pushed every lever I had, but nothing would check my terrific descent.

"Five thousand feet from the earth the wrecked machine began to turn somersaults, but I was strapped into the seat. I do not know what it was, but something happened and I felt the speed lessen. But suddenly there was a tremendous crash and when I recovered my senses I had been taken from the wreckage and was all right."

Three times Captain Guynemer was wounded in battle, but each time slightly. In one day he was officially credited with shooting down four enemy aeroplanes, which was the record, as was his feat of dropping the three Fokkers in two minutes and thirty seconds when he himself dropped 10,000 feet.

Aside from that fall, the nearest he was to death, he always believed, was when his machine was disabled by shell fire and it fell with him in No Man's Land, between the French and German trenches. The Germans opened a galling machine-gun fire to prevent his escape, but the French went "over the top"

and in a sanguinary hand-to-hand conflict he was rescued.

Captain Guynemer was always alone in his airplane. He used the lightest craft that would carry sufficient gasoline and a machine gun with ammunition. To him gasoline and ammunition were more valuable than a gunner. The machine gun was attached to the top of the airplane, directly above his head, and was so arranged that when he pulled a lever the gun would be discharged. As the gun was fast to the airplane, he had to point his airplane at the enemy. Sights were arranged in front of him, so that when the enemy came within the sights he pulled the gun lever and it would begin firing.

For his exploits in the air Captain Guynemer won the Cross of the Legion of Honor, the Military Medal, the War Cross and nearly every other honor his grateful country could bestow.

How He Met His Death

Guynemer's last fight is described by a comrade, who is quoted by *Excelsior* as follows:

"Guynemer sighted five machines of the Albatross type D-3. Without hesitating he bore down on them. At that moment enemy patrolling machines, soaring at a great height, appeared suddenly and fell upon Guynemer.

"There were forty enemy machines in the air at this time, including Count von Richthofen and his circus division of machines, painted in diagonal blue and white stripes. Toward Guynemer's right some Belgian machines hove in sight, but it was too late.

"Guynemer must have been hit. His machine dropped gently toward the earth and I lost track of it. All that I can say is that the machine was not on fire."

Airplane Activity

The French War Ministry announced on Oct. 12 that in September French aviators destroyed sixty-seven German airplanes and two observation balloons, forced eighty machines to land badly damaged, and made 1,099 bombing raids in which more than 165 tons of explosives were dropped within the German lines.

In September the allied aviators of the

French, British, Italian, and Russian armies dropped more than 500 tons of explosives upon enemy camps and cities. Several of the most noted German aces were killed in aerial combats.

The United States has appropriated \$640,000,000 for the construction of aircraft, and contracts for more than 20,000 airplanes have been let.

German Figures

The Berliner Tageblatt, with the caution that its figures are not "absolutely trustworthy," gives the following statement of air warfare:

Airplanes Shot Down. German. Enemy.

1914	—	9
1915	91	131
1916	221	784
1917 (to end of July)	370	1,374

From Aug. 1, 1914, to July 31, 1915, 72 enemy airplanes were shot down, of which 39 fell into German hands; from Aug. 1, 1915, to July 31, 1916, 455 enemy airplanes were shot down, of which 267 fell into German hands; from Aug. 1, 1916, to July 31, 1917, "about" 1,771 enemy airplanes were shot down, of which 776 fell into German hands.

In 1915 two enemy captive balloons, so far as is known, were shot down; in 1916, 42; in 1917 to Aug. 1, 142. Three enemy airships were also shot down.

Total aircraft shot down from Aug. 1, 1914, to Aug. 1, 1917, about 2,298 enemy and 682 German airplanes, 186 enemy captive balloons, and 3 airships.

The London Times took strong exception to these figures, replying as follows:

The Paris *Matin*, whose authority is at least as high on the one side as that of the Berliner *Tageblatt* is on the other, stated on Jan. 1, 1917, that the French brought down 450 German machines in 1916 and the British 250. This figure of 700 compares with the German admission of 221. There is confirmation of this unofficial estimate in the table compiled from the statements in the official communiqués of British and French Headquarters which appeared in *The Times* of Dec. 5, 1916, and which showed that, for the six months June to November in that year, 666 German machines were brought, shot, or driven down by the Allies. If we take the year 1917 as it is calculated by the *Tageblatt*—Aug. 1, 1916, to July 31, 1917—the official British and French figures show that 2,076 German machines were sent down—1,325 by the British, 751 by the French. It is not pretended that all these were destroyed, but if we take, merely for May, June, and July, those which were officially stated to have crashed, to have been destroyed, brought down in flames, shot down by gunfire, or captured, we get, instead of the *Tageblatt's* figure of 370 for the whole year, 523 for three months.



—Dallas News.

Who Can Blame Him?

Revelations of German Plots

Von Igel's Captured Papers Disclose Bernstorff's Illegal Intrigues in the United States

The State Department at Washington in late September and early October, 1917, made public through the Committee on Public Information a series of secret German papers which had been captured a year and a half earlier from Wolf von Igel, German propaganda agent, and which reveals portions of the vast system of criminal plots carried on in this country with the knowledge and active assistance of Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington. The narrative printed below is based on that of the Official Bulletin.

AT the time in the Fall of 1914 when the German plots against Canada were fomenting in this country there was established at 60 Wall Street, New York, an "advertising" office presided over by a large, suave man of Teutonic aspect named Wolf von Igel. There were two peculiar features about this office. One was that it was frequented during two years of singularly quiet and unbusinesslike existence chiefly by Germans who had nothing whatsoever to do with advertising. The other was a large safe, bearing the insignia of the German Imperial Government.

To this office there came one morning in April, 1916, while von Igel was preparing a mass of papers which he had taken from the safe for transfer to the German Embassy in Washington, four United States Secret Service agents from the Department of Justice, who made their way past the guardians always on duty, put von Igel under arrest, and undertook to seize the papers. The German was powerful and brave. With the aid of one associate he stubbornly fought the officers, striving to rescue the papers, to close the safe, to get to the telephone and communicate with his superiors. Revolvers were drawn by the Secret Service men. They produced no effect upon the intrepid von Igel.

"This is German territory," he shouted. "Shoot me and you will bring on war."

German Embassy Protests

There was no shooting. But after a protracted struggle the defenders were overpowered and the papers seized. The

German Embassy at once entered its protest. These were official papers. They were sacrosanct. The diplomatic prerogative of a friendly nation had been overridden and the person of its representative insulted. To this the State Department replied that the invaded premises at 60 Wall Street were described in the contract as a private business office for the carrying on of advertising, and that von Igel had not been formally accredited as a German representative.

When the papers were examined by the Department of Justice the reason for von Igel's determined fight became apparent. Here, in the form of letters, telegrams, notations, checks, receipts, ledgers, cashbooks, cipher codes, lists of spies, and other memoranda and records were found indications—in some instances of the vaguest nature, in others of the most damning conclusiveness—that the German Imperial Government, through its representatives in a then friendly nation, was concerned with—

Violation of the laws of the United States.

Destruction of lives and property in merchant vessels on the high seas.

Irish revolutionary plots against Great Britain.

Fomenting ill-feeling against the United States in Mexico.

Subornation of American writers and lecturers.

Financing of propaganda.

Maintenance of a spy system under the guise of a commercial investigation bureau.

Subsidizing of a bureau for the purpose of stirring up labor troubles in munition plants.

The bomb industry and other related activities.

German Ambassador Alarmed

From the moment of the seizure of these papers Count von Bernstorff realized that his position was in danger; but the revelation of their contents was delayed, and his activities continued, as shown by telegrams that come into the later phases of the present story.

During the early stages of the war Bernstorff contented himself with the establishment of a great secret service in this country, coupled with a machine for propagating anti-British sentiment. When the United States and Great Britain were involved in dispute over British methods of seizing American shipping bound for Germany, Bernstorff by every means possible focused attention upon the injustice of the allied cause. When this policy failed, Bernstorff, acting by agents throughout the country, sought to cripple American industry which was helping the allied war machine. During this period he carefully avoided becoming directly involved in the crimes. He established von Papen, Boy-Ed, Wolf von Igel, and Dr. Albert in New York, where they kept far enough from him to clear his official skirts. Then von Igel became the leader of the dynamite men working with Boy-Ed and von Papen. Finally von Igel was caught red-handed. Bernstorff was invited by Secretary Lansing to go to the State Department and claim such papers as he regarded as official, but he did not go, knowing that they incriminated the embassy itself.

Placing Bombs on Vessels

One of the most significant papers in the von Igel collection is a letter of July 20, 1915, written upon the stationery of the Bureau of Investigation. This innocent-pretending agency was at the outset the secret service of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company. Under Paul König, its manager, it became an adjunct to the German diplomatic secret service. "XXX" is the secret designation of König, who is now under indictments on criminal charges in connection with his "diplomatic" work, and is interned at Fort Oglethorpe. The person represented by the figure "7000" is Captain von Papen, former Military Attaché

of the German Embassy and the practical executive of its underground system. The document describes the subterfuges of "XXX" (König) so that he might not be identified by the mysterious — when they met. "XXX" states that money was to be drawn for the payment of \$150 to the unnamed person, under peculiar precautions, through "Check No. 146 on the Riggs National Bank, Washington, dated July 16, payable to —, signed —, amount \$150. No reason was given as to why the payment was made," says the report.

Several days after the payment the recipient called at the "passenger office of the — Line" and made a statement, which is thus embodied in the XXX report:

My name is —. I have an office at the — building, but I do not care to state my local address. I intend to cause serious damage to vessels of the Allies leaving ports of the United States by placing bombs, which I am making myself, on board. These bombs resemble ordinary lumps of coal, and I am planning to have them concealed in the coal to be laden on steamers of the Allies.

Brought Sample Bomb

Finally XXX states that "the caller" brought with him a sample bomb, "such as has been described to you by the subscriber," and asks for the instructions.

The document is lettered at the foot, "O. R. to 7000," indicating that the secret agent known as "O. R." had transmitted it to von Papen.

Now for the proof, direct and unescapable. Check 146 on the Riggs National Bank has been traced and added to the Secret Service collection. It is payable to König and signed by von Papen. Therefore, von Papen stands convicted, on the evidence of a report claimed as an official document by the Germans, of paying money to a plotter designing to blow up merchant ships sailing from the Port of New York.

Three members of the gang of plotters who received thousands of dollars for distributing the bombs which sank thirty ships carrying munitions to the Allies in 1915 were arrested in New York Oct. 10, 1917, and are now held for trial. The evidence against them was found in von Igel's papers.

Compare the foregoing facts with the following authorized statement from Berlin, transmitted by wireless for publication in THE NEW YORK TIMES in December, 1915:

The German Government has, naturally, never knowingly accepted the support of any person, group of persons, society, or organization seeking to promote the cause of Germany in the United States by illegal acts, by counsel of violence, by contravention of law, or by any means whatever that could offend the American people in the pride of their own authority.

Making Trouble in Factories

Closely related to and to some extent under the guidance of von Igel was the German and Austro-Hungarian Labor Information and Relief Bureau, with central headquarters at 136 Liberty Street, New York City, and branches in Cleveland, Detroit, Bridgeport, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Chicago. The head of the enterprise was Hans Liebau, from whom it took its familiarly accepted name of the "Liebau Employment Agency." During the trying days which followed the arrest of the Welland Canal conspirators it was unwaveringly asserted that the Liebau concern was a bona fide employment agency and nothing else, with no object other than to secure positions for German, Austrian, or Hungarian workmen seeking employment. That was for publication only. In von Igel's papers the truth appears, brought out by the refusal of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy to continue its subsidies to the bureau.

That the Austro-Hungarian Embassy had taken official cognizance of the bureau previously, however, is disclosed in the letter written by the Ambassador to the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, which was found in the possession of James F. J. Archibald by the British authorities Aug. 30, 1915. In this letter the Ambassador stated:

It is my impression that we can disorganize and hold up for months, if not entirely prevent, the manufacture of munitions in Bethlehem and the Middle West, which, in the opinion of the German Military Attaché, is of importance and amply outweighs the comparatively small expenditure of money involved; but even if the strikes do not come off, it is probable that we should extort, under pressure of cir-

cumstances, more favorable conditions of labor for our poor, downtrodden fellow-countrymen. So far as German workmen are found in the skilled hands, means of leaving will be provided immediately for them. Besides this, a private German employment office has been established which provides employment for persons who have voluntarily given up their places, and it is already working well. We shall also join in, and the widest support is assured us.

Letter to Count Bernstorff

The following representations on behalf of the bureau's efficiency were made, under date of March 24, 1916, in a letter to the German Ambassador, von Bernstorff:

Engineers and persons in the better class of positions, and who had means of their own, were persuaded by the propaganda of the bureau to leave war material factories.

The report comments with unconcealed amusement upon the fact that munitions concerns innocently wrote the bureau for workmen (which, of course, were not furnished) and continues in reviewing later conditions in the munitions industry:

The commercial employment bureaus of the country have no supply of unemployed technicians. * * * Many disturbances and suspensions which war material factories have had to suffer, and which it was not always possible to remove quickly, but which on the contrary often lead to long strikes, may be attributed to the energetic propaganda of the employment bureau.

Von Igel's close connection with the enterprise is indicated by a number of items. For example, there is the notation that H. Hanson had established a Liebau branch office in Detroit, and an entry of £12 paid to Dr. Max Niven, Chicago, in February, 1916, for the "labour fund," and an inquiry, addressed by a bureau official to von Igel, asking whether the Bosch Magneto Works manufactured fuses for shells, the bureau having evidently been applied to for workmen for the Bosch plant. A reply in the negative stated that the company is "universally known for its friendly attitude toward Germans."

Several lines of communication between the German Diplomatic Service and the Irish revolutionary movement are in-

dictated in the captured documents. John Devoy of New York City, now editor of *The Gaelic American*, was one of the active agents of this connection. Significant entries appear here and there; references to messages from the German Embassy at Washington and the German Consulate at New York; mention of a secret code to be employed in communicating with him and of a "cipher Devoy"; also a notation, the details of which remain undiscovered, concerning "communication re manufacture hand grenades." Devoy it was who acted, for a time at least, as go-between for the German Secret Service dealings with Sir Roger Casement, executed by the British for treason. There are several references to money and messages for Sir Roger Casement, or, more briefly, "R. C.," and one record of a check for \$1,000 for Casement, evidently handled by Devoy.

Devoy's intimate connection with the German cause is disclosed in two letters to Ambassador von Bernstorff, the text of which follows:

New York, April 8, 1916.

The following communication from confidential man John Devoy was duly transmitted:

"Letter dated March 22, delayed by censor, seems conclusive that first messenger arrived safe with proposal to send supplies and that cable was suppressed. Second also safe. Third, with change of plans, due about April 15."

John Devoy further requests that the following telegram be dispatched to Sir Roger Casement:

"No letter now possible. All funds sent home. Sister and M.'s family well."

Should Sir Roger be absent or ill, then J. D. requests that the telegram be delivered to John Montieth.

(Signed) K. N. St.

To His Excellency the Imperial Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, Washington, D. C.

New York, April 15, 1916.

Herewith inclosed a — report received by us today from John Devoy. Kindly order further steps to be taken.

The important parts of the report were sent there today per telegram. (S. copy.)

(Signed) K. N. St.

To the Imperial Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, Washington, D. C.

Though this incriminating evidence was in its possession, the Department of Justice has refuted the charge that it told the British Government of the Irish

revolutionary plot and Casement's part in it. Department of Justice officials admit that the papers relating to Casement were sent to Washington the night before Casement's arrest was reported, but they were not received by the Attorney General until the afternoon of the day upon which the British authorities picked up the Irish leader, and were not presented to the State Department until 7 o'clock that evening. Meanwhile, Casement had spent several hours in an Irish prison.

Justice Cohalan Involved

It is not improbable that the signature at the bottom of the extraordinary message which follows is in the "cipher Devoy" referred to in the von Igel papers. New York Supreme Court Justice Daniel F. Cohalan has long been prominent in Irish-American circles. The communication as translated into von Igel's record is typewritten, line for line, below a cipher, except for the signature, which remains untranslated from the original cipher figures. It is dated New York, April 17, 1916, numbered 335-16, and inscribed at the top "Very Secret."

No. 335-16.

Very secret.

New York, April 17, 1916.

Judge Cohalan requests the transmission of the following remarks:

"The revolution in Ireland can only be successful if supported from Germany, otherwise England will be able to suppress it, even though it be only after hard struggles. Therefore help is necessary. This should consist, primarily, of aerial attacks in England and a diversion of the fleet simultaneously with Irish revolution. Then, if possible, a landing of troops, arms, and ammunition in Ireland, and possibly some officers from Zepelins. This would enable the Irish ports be closed against England and the establishment of stations for submarines on the Irish coast and the cutting off of the supply of food for England. The services of the revolution may therefore decide the war."

He asks that a telegram to this effect be sent to Berlin.

5132 8167 0230.

To His Excellency Count von Bernstorff, Imperial Ambassador, Washington, D. C.

Along this same line is a code message by wireless to Banker Max Moebius, Oberwallstrasse, Berlin, which is inter-

esting chiefly as showing the code method of important communications practiced by the German official plotters in the United States. The code translation was found with a copy of the message among the von Igel papers. The original is a dispatch in German, which, translated into English, sounds like an innocent business transaction, viz.:

National Germania insurance contract certainly promised. Executor is evidently satisfied with proposition. Necessary steps have been taken. HENRY NEUMAN.

But it is not so innocent and harmless as it looks, for what the message really means is this: "The Irish agree to the proposition."

Plots in Canada

Canada was also the object of solicitous interest on the part of Germany's representatives in the United States, as is startlingly proved in the plot to blow up the Welland Canal. Another lesser but not unpromising enterprise against Canada was foregone by von Igel because the volunteer plotter was too old, "though he has the best good will," and also because of his known connection with the Gaelic-American and Indian revolutionists. Such is the indorsement upon the letter signed only "X" by one who thus sets forth his qualifications for fomenting disorders in Quebec:

As Honorary President of the first Independence Club started in Montreal about the time of the Boer war, and of which the Hon. Honoré Mercier, now Minister for Colonization in the Government of the Province of Quebec, was one of the Vice Presidents and later President, I am well known among the members and journalists of that organization. * * * There is now in place of the Independence Club a secret society based upon its principles, aiming at the total separation of Canada from the British Empire. * * * It includes all the former members of the Independence Club and men high in Canadian political life. The adherents are, for the most part, French and Irish Canadians.

Mexican Intrigues

The information carefully and extensively set forth in the secret documents of German officialdom was something wide of the facts. For example, a long memorandum on March 1, 1916, transmitted by the secret agent Captain

Böhm, dealing with the Mexican crisis, appears to have been largely the work of some fervid and projective imagination. The memorandum purports to outline President Wilson's expected message to Congress. It predicts that the President will attribute Mexico's anti-American activities directly to German money and incitement; that he will call upon Congress to support him in radical measures, (the prophet even attempts to paraphrase the language to be employed in the message,) and that Congress will indorse the President's stand, following which upward of 150 German spies and *agents provocateurs* were to be arrested and the Ambassadors of the Central Powers to receive their passports. For all this Captain Böhm's authority is thus indicated over his own signature:

The foregoing memorandum has just been given me by an acquaintance returning from Washington. This acquaintance is a skillful journalist who has good connections. I cannot vouch for his reliability, but I know he hates the present Administration and fights it. His informant is a former Secretary of the American Embassy in Rome, now in Washington.

Captain Böhm himself was too loose of tongue for the good of his service, as would appear from a report by the German Military Information Bureau, dated March 21, 1916. Captain Böhm decided to leave "after the reports received here were submitted to him, to the effect that members of the press were informed as to his personality and the purpose of his being here. Too great confidence in the silence of his henchmen, especially the members of the American Truth Society, * * * was probably the cause of his becoming quickly known here."

Thus the American Truth Society, which has so strenuously denied its pro-German associations, figures as indirectly linked up with Germany's secret representative. This society is still extant, and Jeremiah A. O'Leary, its moving spirit, is now editor of Bull, recently shut out from the mails for publishing seditious matter.

Of more direct military interest to the United States is an espionage enterprise hinted at in a secret code message of April 11, 1916, signed "13232, 46729,

46919," addressing von Igel to this effect:

Herewith respectfully send extract regarding troops stationed California and armament coast fortifications.

Magazine Writers Involved

Journalists, lecturers, and publishers were liberally employed by von Igel and his associates for the purposes of German propaganda. Among those are two magazine writers and war correspondents, James F. J. Archibald, now in Washington, and Edwin Emerson, said to be in Africa. The following curious entry appears in von Igel's official records:

PURE WAR EXPENSES

Edwin Emerson	\$1,000
Fair Play (Mr. Braun)	\$2,000
Fair Play (" ")	\$1,500
Marcus Braun	\$1,000
J. Archibald	\$5,000

Concerning the identity of the last entry, says the Official Bulletin, there might be room for doubt but for a signed receipt from J. F. J. Archibald acknowledging the sum of \$5,000 from the German Embassy. What return Archibald ever made in service is not clear, except that certain war correspondence for which he contracted with New York newspapers was so obviously prejudiced on the side of the Central Powers that they declined to accept it.

Fair Play appears to have received in all \$4,500 in the course of a few months in 1915. Marcus Braun figures as its editor.

All these, it must be remembered, are but a small portion of one German agent's records. They represent but one chamber, as it were, in an enormous and complicated maze of underground plotting. Other entries appear too vague to indicate anything more definite than some connection with or interest in enterprises already notorious—payments to the Welland Canal conspiracy; references to the Maverick and the Annie Larsen, blockade runners; side lights on Japanese propaganda, Mexican plots and Canadian lines of secret information; even hints that officers high in the military service of the United States were being improperly used for German military enterprises.

How far the plot goes will probably never be known. The spider, von Igel, had scuttled away to his own refuge in Germany. His nest is destroyed. But the strands of the web that he wove may still stretch over many parts of the United States.

Bernstorff Himself a Plotter

The most sensational of the revelations of German plotting in the United States was made by Secretary Lansing on Sept. 21, when he published without comment a secret telegram written by Ambassador Bernstorff himself and asking his Government for \$50,000 to be used in influencing Congress. This was not one of the papers taken from von Igel, but was of much later date, and Mr. Lansing stated that the cablegram had not been sent to Germany through the State Department, leaving it to be implied that it went by way of some neutral legation. The text of the Bernstorff message to the Berlin Foreign Office, which is dated Jan. 22, 1917, is as follows:

I request authority to pay out up to \$50,000, (fifty thousand dollars,) in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of, which can perhaps prevent war.

I am beginning in the meantime to act accordingly.

In the above circumstances a public official German declaration in favor of Ireland is highly desirable, in order to gain the support of Irish influence here.

Von Bernstorff's effort to use money "to influence Congress" caused a sensation among members of the Senate and House. Congressman Heflin of Alabama increased the excitement by declaring in the House that he could name "thirteen or fourteen members who had acted suspiciously." Congressman Howard of Georgia asserted that he "believed that he could point to certain persons who got some of it"—the money to which Count von Bernstorff referred in his cable message to the Berlin Foreign Office.

Three days later, on Sept. 24, the subject led to the most turbulent session the House of Representatives had seen since the struggle to overthrow Speaker Cannon in 1911. Representative Norton of North Dakota called to account Representative Heflin of Alabama and Repre-

sentative Howard of Georgia for insinuating that members of Congress had profited by German intrigue. Two resolutions of inquiry, one by Representative Norton and the other by Representative Fordney of Michigan, were introduced and sent to the Rules Committee. The first resolution called upon both Representative Howard and Representative Heflin to make good, and the second mentioned only Representative Heflin.

Before a full membership, while the galleries were crowded with spectators, Representative Heflin stood up under the hoots and jeers and heckling of practically the entire House. When called upon time and again to name the men who had received money from Germany he evaded the question. In the succeeding days the storm abated, when it became apparent that Mr. Heflin's suspicions were without solid basis, and that Ambassador Bernstorff evidently had expected not to bribe Congressmen with \$50,000, but to keep up a propaganda of letters and telegrams for influencing them.

Motive of Bernstorff's Request

Secretary Lansing later made public the fact that when Count Bernstorff, who is now the German Ambassador to Turkey, asked his Government for \$50,000 to influence the American Congress last January the Ambassador was already aware that Germany was about to resume ruthless submarine warfare. The request for the money was sent on Jan. 22, 1917. Secretary Lansing said that on or before Jan. 19 the Ambassador had read the order from Dr. Zimmermann, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, directing Admiral von Eckhardt, the Minister in Mexico, to arrange an alliance between the Japanese and Mexican Governments to attack the United States and alienate American territory. In that order von Eckhardt was informed that on Feb. 1 Germany would begin unrestricted submarine warfare. Bernstorff knew this from the Zimmermann message, and he wanted the corruption fund to endeavor to stay the inevitable resentment of the American Government. The evidence indicates that the money was used largely through pretended pacifist

societies and individuals who were working secretly or openly for Germany's cause.

Promoted Sabotage Plots

Further disclosures made by the State Department on Oct. 10 revealed the fact that the German Government, through its Ambassador, was engaged in acts of war against the United States fifteen months before this country entered the conflict. Secretary Lansing gave out three messages exchanged either by cable or wireless between the Berlin Foreign Office and General Staff on the one hand and Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador in Washington, on the other. Count Bernstorff is directly implicated by these messages in German official plans to injure the United States.

The first of the three messages is dated Jan. 3, 1916. The American Government entered the war on April 6, 1917. This message is in the form of directions to Count Bernstorff from Dr. Zimmermann, who retired recently from the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs, to arrange to destroy the Canadian Pacific Railway. Germany was at war with Great Britain and her colonies, and the only concern of the United States in this particular phase of the matter would be that the German Ambassador in Washington was being used to further plots involving a nation with which the American Government was on friendly terms. But in the two subsequent messages, one dated Jan. 26, 1916, and the other Sept. 15, 1916, violations of the law of nations directed against the United States were ordered. Secretary Lansing's statement was made in this form:

The Secretary of State publishes the following two telegrams from the German Foreign Office to Count Bernstorff in January, 1916:

Jan. 3. (Secret.) General Staff desires energetic action in regard to proposed destruction of Canadian Pacific Railway at several points with a view to complete and protracted interruption of traffic. Captain Boehm, who is known on your side and is shortly returning, has been given instructions. Inform the Military Attaché and provide the necessary funds.

(Signed,) ZIMMERMANN.

Jan. 26. For Military Attaché. You can obtain particulars as to persons suitable for carrying on sabotage in the United States and Canada from the following persons: 1. Joseph Mac-Garrity, Philadelphia, Penn.; 2. John P. Keating, Michigan Avenue, Chicago; 3. Jeremiah O'Leary, 16 Park Row, New York.

One and two are absolutely reliable and discreet. No. 3 is reliable but not always discreet. These persons were indicated by Sir Roger Casement. In the United States sabotage can be carried out on every kind of factory for supplying munitions of war. Railway embankments and bridges must not be touched. Embassy must in no circumstance be compromised. Similar precautions must be taken in regard to Irish pro-German propaganda.

(Signed.) REPRESENTATIVE
OF GENERAL STAFF.

The following telegram from Count Bernstorff to the Foreign Office in Berlin was sent in September, 1916:

Sept. 15. With reference to report A. N. two hundred and sixty-six of May tenth, nineteen sixteen. The embargo conferee in regard to whose earlier fruitful co-operation Dr. Hale can give information, is just about to enter upon a vigorous campaign to secure a majority in both houses of Congress favorable to Germany, and request further support. There is no possibility of our being compromised. Request telegraphic reply.

The State Department preserved silence as to where it had obtained the German official secret correspondence in this and similar cases. State Secretary Lansing merely said that the last three messages had not been sent to Berlin under cover of the United States diplomatic code, thus leaving it to be implied that communications had been carried on between Bernstorff and his Government through the medium of some neutral embassy at Washington.

One "Former Occasion"

It is now possible to reconstruct the history of one of the "former occasions" on which Bernstorff had tried to influence Congress by the use of German money. In 1915 he had worked through the organization that called itself Labor's National Peace Council. When his agent, Rintelen, was exposed, ending that organization's usefulness, he substituted the American Embargo Conference. This tool he began to employ effectively in November, 1915, and only

President Wilson's determined action prevented it from actually controlling certain legislation. Its task was to formulate and direct a trumped-up sentiment in favor of an embargo on munitions, and against the right of American citizens to travel on British ships. How near it came to succeeding was recorded in these pages at the time.

The conference met in November, the date evidently being planned by Bernstorff with a view to the meeting of Congress in December. The outcry it created was so effective that on Dec. 13, 1915, Senator Kenyon of Iowa introduced a resolution forbidding Americans to take passage on ships carrying munitions.

On Jan. 10, 1916, Senator Gore introduced his first resolution forbidding the sale of contraband to England as long as she persisted in her blockade. On Jan. 20 Senator Hoke Smith demanded an embargo, and favored a truculent attitude toward England.

On Feb. 3 The Providence Journal exposed the origin of the American Embargo Conference, declaring that it was "planned and brought into existence by "Count Johann von Bernstorff at Washington and financed directly from the "office of Dr. Heinrich Albert, the fiscal "agent of the German Government in "New York City," and that it had "taken "up the work of the so-called Labor's "National Peace Council." Yet on Feb. 22 the Congressmen who were unconsciously playing Bernstorff's game went so far as to use their various embargo resolutions to frighten the President, and the next day the House Committee on Foreign Affairs served notice that unless the President warned Americans off armed ships within twenty-four hours the House would pass the Gore resolution. On Feb. 24 the President wrote Senator Stone, Chairman of that committee, declaring, "I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect." On Feb. 25 The Providence Journal disclosed the fact that the whole plot had been formulated by Bernstorff, and that two weeks before messages had been sent to pro-German newspapers directing them to publish articles

preparing the minds of their readers for it.

Nevertheless, on the same day Speaker Clark and Representative Kitchin told the President that the Gore resolution would pass by at least 2 to 1. The President forced the issue, and when the Gore resolution came to a vote on March 3 it was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 68 to 14. The McLemore resolution was

defeated four days later in the House by 276 to 142. This is the history of one "former occasion," when Count Bernstorff had used German money to hoodwink Congress. With a paper organization created and financed by him under orders from Berlin he had fooled and tricked Congress into believing that the noise it made was the voice of the American people.

Activities of Bolo Pasha as German Agent

THE most amazing instance thus far discovered of the German Government's lavish waste of the German people's money for useless intrigues in other countries is that revealed after the arrest of Paul Bolo, alias Bolo Pasha, in Paris, Sept. 29, 1917. Bolo had long been under suspicion and had been temporarily under arrest several weeks before, but only upon receipt of important evidence from the United States was he imprisoned without bail. He is a Frenchman, born at Marseilles, and, according to an article in the *Paris Matin*, is a brother of an eloquent French prelate of that name. He has had an adventurous career in various countries, including Egypt, and at the beginning of the war he was penniless; but when in Switzerland in March, 1915, he met Abbas Hilmi, former Khédive of Egypt, and apparently concluded an arrangement by which he was to receive \$2,500,000 to be used in influencing the French press in favor of a German peace. The plan was approved by Gottlieb von Jagow, German Foreign Minister, who was to pay the money partly through the ex-Khédive and partly through Swiss and American banks.

In accordance with this arrangement \$1,000,000 was paid by roundabout methods through Swiss banks, to avert suspicion. Abbas Hilmi and an associate are said to have collected \$50,000 as a commission. After that time Bolo Pasha and Abbas Hilmi seemed to have fallen out, for their relations ceased. At the time of his arrest Bolo was said to have received \$8,000,000 from Germany, of which \$2,500,000 had been

traced to the Deutsche Bank. Large portions of this sum were said to have been paid through an American channel. The actual facts, now proved by the documents, go far toward confirming those original estimates.

Bolo arrived in New York on Feb. 22, 1916, and left on March 17 following. He had rooms at the Plaza Hotel, and was careful not to be seen in public with German agents. He saw Bernstorff secretly in Washington.

When the French Government got an inkling of his traitorous activities it appealed to Governor Whitman of New York for evidence, and ten days' work by Merton E. Lewis, the Attorney General of the State, assisted by an expert accountant, resulted in sensational disclosures which were made public on the evening of Oct. 3. The evidence, which included photographic reproductions of many telltale checks, letters, and telegrams, revealed the fact that Count Bernstorff, then German Ambassador at Washington, had eagerly fallen in with Bolo's proposition to betray France by corrupting the press in favor of a premature peace and had advanced him the enormous sum of \$1,683,500 to finance the plot. The State Department and Ambassador Jusserand examined the evidence and attested its genuineness.

Many banks had been used to confuse and hide the transaction, but the persons and agencies who figured knowingly in it are Bolo Pasha, Ambassador von Bernstorff, and two bankers—Hugo Schmidt, former New York agent of

the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, who acted as Bernstorff's financial agent, and Adolph Pavenstedt, former head of the New York banking house of G. Amsinck & Co.

Disposal of the Money

Of the mass of documents exhibited by Attorney General Lewis, the most important was a letter written by Bolo Pasha to the New York City branch of the Royal Bank of Canada on March 14, 1916, three days before he sailed to return to France. That letter reads:

New York, March 14, 1916.

The Royal Bank of Canada, New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen: You will receive from Messrs. G. Amsinck & Co. deposits for the credit of my account with you, which deposits will reach the aggregate amount of about \$1,700,000, which I wish you to utilize in the following manner:

First—Immediately on receipt of the first amount on account of this sum pay to Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co., New York City, the sum of \$170,068.03, to be placed to the credit of the account with them of Senator Charles Humbert, Paris.

Second—Establish on your books a credit of \$5,000, good until the 31st of May, in favor of Jules Bois, Biltmore Hotel, this amount to be utilized by him at the debit of my account according to his needs, and the unused balance to be returned to me.

Third—Transfer to the credit of my wife, Mme. Bolo, with agency T of Comp-toir National d'Escompte de Paris a sum of about \$524,000, to be debited to my account as such transfers are made by you at best rate and by small amounts.

Fourth—You will hold, subject to my instructions, when all payments are complete, a balance of not less than \$1,000,000.

Yours truly, BOLO PASHA.

That is how the \$1,683,500, which was the exact amount Bernstorff ordered Schmidt to place at the service of Bolo, came into the latter's actual possession.

Text of Bernstorff's Dispatches.

Direct evidence that Count Bernstorff was the master mind behind the plot on this side of the Atlantic came to light in five dispatches that were made public by Secretary Lansing on Oct. 5. These messages were exchanged in the Spring of 1916:

The Department of State communicates to the press the following telegrams bearing upon the case of Bolo Pasha, exchanged between Count von Bernstorff

and Herr von Jagow, German Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Number 679, Feb. 26. I have received direct information from an entirely trustworthy source concerning a political action in one of the enemy countries which would bring peace. One of the leading political personalities of the country in question is seeking a loan of one million seven hundred thousand dollars in New York, for which security will be given. I was forbidden to give his name in writing. The affair seems to me to be of the greatest possible importance. Can the money be provided at once in New York? That the intermediary will keep the matter secret is entirely certain. Request answer by telegram. A verbal report will follow as soon as a trustworthy person can be found to bring it to Germany. BERNSTORFF.

Number 150, Feb. 29. Answer to telegram Number 679. Agree to the loan, but only if peace action seems to you a really serious project, as the provision of money in New York is for us at present extraordinarily difficult. If the enemy country is Russia have nothing to do with the business, as the sum of money is too small to have any serious effect in that country. So, too, in the case of Italy, where it would not be worth while to spend so much. JAGOW.

Number 685, March 5. Please instruct Deutsche Bank to hold nine million marks at disposal of Hugo Schmidt. The affair is very promising. Further particulars follow. BERNSTORFF.

Number 692, March 20. With reference to telegram Number 685, please advise our Minister in Berne that some one will call on him who will give him the passport Sanct Regis and who wishes to establish relations with the Foreign Office. Intermediary further requests that influence may be brought to bear upon our press to pass over the change in the inner political situation in France so far as possible in silence, in order that things may not be spoiled by German approval. BERNSTORFF.

Number 206, May 31. The person announced in Telegram 692 of March 20 has not yet reported himself at the legation at Berne. Is there any more news on your side of Bolo? JAGOW.

French Senator Involved

In France the most sensational feature of the case was Bolo's payment of \$170,000 to Senator Charles Humbert, owner of *Le Journal*. The money was in part payment for 1,100 bonds of that

newspaper. Senator Humbert immediately came out with a statement to prove that he was entirely unaware of the treasonable purpose of the purchaser. He gave facts showing that Bolo Pasha had used his contract with *Le Journal* to extract money from Germany. On Oct. 12 a French military court inquiring into the case appointed a sequestrator for the money advanced to Senator Hum-

bert. It amounted in all to \$1,200,000, and was handed over to the care of the Deposit and Consignment Office, a section of the Ministry of Finance.

Whatever the total number of millions extracted from the German Government by Bolo Pasha, the utter futility of the expenditure, so far as Germany is concerned, must remain one of the most striking features of the case.

The Disease Germ Plot at Bucharest

CLOSE upon the heels of the von Igel intrigues a new chapter of German criminality was revealed on Sept. 23 by Secretary Lansing's publication of the documents relating to the plot of German diplomatic agents to use deadly microbes and powerful explosives against Rumania at a time when friendly relations still existed between the two countries. As *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* published this dark chapter of German diplomacy in its April issue, (page 72,) translating it from unofficial French sources, and as the documents now vouched for by the United States Government are substantially the same as those then presented, this case will be treated here only in a brief summary.

The evidence given out by the State Department shows that before Rumania had declared war against Austria-Hungary, and was observing strict neutrality, German official agents clandestinely introduced into Bucharest, the capital of Rumania, packages containing explosives powerful enough to wreck public works, and vials containing deadly microbes destined to infect domestic animals and susceptible of provoking terrible epidemics among the human population of the country. The vials contained anthrax microbes and the bacilli of glanders.

The box of disease germs bore the seal of the German Consulate at Kronstadt. In the inside of this box, above a layer of cotton wool, this typewritten note in German was found:

Inclosed 4 small bottles for horses and 4 for cattle. Utilization as formerly stipu-

lated. Each phial suffices for 200 head. If possible, to be administered directly into the animals' mouths, otherwise into their fodder. We ask for a small report about successes obtained there, and in case of good results the presence for one day of M. K. would be required.

After its discovery of the plot the Rumanian Government called in William Whiting Andrews, the Chargé d'Affaires of the American Legation at Bucharest, who witnessed the digging up of the boxes of explosives and the packages containing the vials of microbes from the grounds of the German Legation, to which they had been secretly moved from the German Consulate in Bucharest on the eve of Rumania's declaration of war.

Just before Rumania broke relations they were removed to the legation. Some of the objects were even taken to the German Legation after the American Legation at Bucharest had taken over the protection of German interests.

Dr. Bernhardt, former confidential agent of the German Minister, and servants of the German Legation confessed that this had been done. In this respect, the action of Germany's agent was a deliberate abuse of the protection which the United States Government was giving to German interests in Bucharest. At that time the United States was at peace with Germany and had agreed to take charge of Germany's legation in the Rumanian capital.

"The protection of the United States was in this manner shamefully abused and exploited," says the official report of Chargé d'Affaires Andrews to the State Department.

BARON VON KUEHLMANN



(Photo Bain News Service)

The German Foreign Secretary, Who Was Chosen to Replace Herr von Zimmermann.
Von Kuehlmann Was Formerly at the German Embassy in London

COUNT OTTOCAR VON CZERNIN



(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

The Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Head of the Government of the Dual Monarchy

German Peace Propaganda

Replies of Central Empires to the Pope's Appeal Speeches of Government Leaders on Both Sides

President Wilson's reply to the peace proposals of Pope Benedict was printed in the October issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. No replies were made by the Entente Powers, but it was semi-officially announced by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia, that President Wilson's answer expressed in letter and spirit their attitude. The official replies of Germany and Austria-Hungary were made public on Sept. 22, 1917. The full text of the German note, as transmitted by Chancellor Michaelis to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, is given below:

Text of Germany's Reply to the Pope

HERR CARDINAL: Your Eminence has been good enough, together with your letter of Aug. 2, to transmit to the Kaiser and King, my most gracious master, the note of his Holiness the Pope, in which his Holiness, filled with grief at the devastations of the world war, makes an emphatic peace appeal to the heads of the belligerent peoples. The Kaiser-King has deigned to acquaint me with your Eminence's letter and to intrust the reply to me.

His Majesty has been following for a considerable time with high respect and sincere gratitude his Holiness' efforts, in a spirit of true impartiality, to alleviate as far as possible the sufferings of the war and to hasten the end of hostilities. The Kaiser sees in the latest step of his Holiness fresh proof of his noble and humane feelings, and cherishes a lively desire that, for the benefit of the entire world, the Papal appeal may meet with success.

The effort of Pope Benedict is to pave the way to an understanding among all peoples, and might more surely reckon on a sympathetic reception and the whole-hearted support from his Majesty, seeing that the Kaiser since taking over the Government has regarded it as his principal and most sacred task to preserve the blessings of peace for the German people and the world.

In his first speech from the throne at the opening of the German Reichstag on June 25, 1888, the Kaiser promised that his love of the German Army and his position toward it should never lead him into temptation to cut short the benefits of peace unless war were a necessity, forced upon us by an attack on the empire or its allies. The German Army should safeguard peace for us, and should peace, nevertheless, be broken, it would be in a position to win it with honor. The Kaiser has, by his acts, fulfilled the promise he then made in twenty-six years of happy rule, despite provocations and temptations.

In the crisis which led to the present world conflagration his Majesty's efforts were up to the last moment directed toward settling the conflict by peaceful means. After the war had broken out, against his wish and desire, the Kaiser, in conjunction with his high allies, was the first solemnly to declare his readiness to enter into peace negotiations. The German people support his Majesty in his keen desire for peace.

Germany sought within her national frontier the free development of her spiritual and material possessions, and outside the imperial territory unhindered competition with nations enjoying equal rights and equal esteem. The free play of forces in the world in peaceable wrestling with one another would lead to the highest perfecting of the noblest human possessions. A disastrous concatenation of events in the year 1914 absolutely broke off all hopeful course of development and transformed Europe into a bloody battle arena.

Appreciating the importance of his Holiness' declaration, the Imperial Government has not failed to submit the suggestion contained therein to earnest and scrupulous examination. Special measures, which the Government has taken in closest contact with representatives of the German people, for discussing and answering the questions raised, prove how earnestly it desires, in accordance with his Holiness' desires, and the peace resolution of the Reichstag on July 19, to find a practical basis for a just and lasting peace.

The Imperial Government greets with special sympathy the leading idea of the peace appeal wherein his Holiness clearly expresses the conviction that in the future the material power of arms must be superseded by the moral power of right. We are also convinced that the sick body of human society can only be healed by fortifying its moral strength of right. From this would follow, according to his Holiness' view, the simultaneous

diminution of the armed forces of all States and the institution of obligatory arbitration for international disputes.

We share his Holiness' view that definite rules and a certain safeguard for a simultaneous and reciprocal limitation of armaments on land, on sea, and in the air, as well as for the true freedom of the community and high seas, are the things in treating which—the new spirit that in the future should prevail in international relations—should find first hopeful expression. The task would then of itself arise to decide international differences of opinion, not by the use of armed forces, but by peaceful methods, especially by arbitration, whose high peace-producing effect we together with his Holiness fully recognize.

The Imperial Government will in this respect support every proposal compatible with the vital interest of the German Empire and people.

Germany, owing to her geographical situation and economic requirements, has to rely on peaceful intercourse with her neighbors and with distant countries. No people, therefore, has more reason than the German people to wish that instead of universal hatred and battle, a conciliatory fraternal spirit should prevail between nations.

If the nations are guided by this spirit it will be recognized to their advantage that the important thing is to lay more stress upon what unites them in their relations. They will also succeed in settling individual points of conflict which are still undecided, in such a way that conditions of existence will be created which will be satisfactory to every nation, and thereby a repetition of this great world catastrophe would appear impossible.

Only on this condition can a lasting peace be founded which would promote an intellectual rapprochement and a return to the economic prosperity of human society.

This serious and sincere conviction encourages our confidence that our enemies also may see a suitable basis in the ideas submitted by his Holiness for approaching nearer to the preparation of future peace under conditions corresponding to a spirit of reasonableness and to the situation in Europe.

Reply of the Austrian Emperor

(Official translation.)

Holy Father: With due veneration and deep emotion we take cognizance of the new representations which your Holiness, in fulfillment of the holy office intrusted to you by God, makes to us and the heads of the other belligerent States, with the noble intention of leading the heavily tried nations to a unity that will restore peace to them.

With a thankful heart we receive this fresh gift of fatherly care which you, Holy Father, always bestow on all peoples without distinction, and from the depth of our heart we greet the moving exhortation which your Holiness has addressed to the Governments of the belligerent peoples.

During this cruel war we have always looked up to your Holiness as to the highest personage, who, in virtue of his mission, which reaches beyond earthly things, and, thanks to the high conception of his duties laid upon him, stands high above the belligerent peoples, and who, inaccessible to all influence, was able to find a way which may lead to the realization of our own desire for peace, lasting and honorable for all parties.

Since ascending the throne of our ancestors, and fully conscious of the responsibility which we bear before God and men for the fate of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, we have never lost sight of the high aim of restoring to our peoples, as speedily as possible, the blessings of peace. Soon after our accession to the throne it was vouchsafed to us, in common with our allies, to undertake a step which had been considered and prepared by our exalted predecessor, Francis Joseph, to pave the way for a lasting and honorable peace.

We gave expression to this desire in a speech from the throne delivered at the opening of the Austrian Reichstag, thereby showing that we are striving after a peace that shall free the future life of the nation from rancor and a thirst for revenge, and that shall secure them for generations to come from the employment of armed forces. Our joint Government has in the meantime not failed in repeated and emphatic declarations, which could be heard by all the world, to give expression to our own will and that of the Austro-Hungarian peoples to prepare an end to bloodshed by a peace such as your Holiness has in mind.

Happy in the thought that our desires from the first were directed toward the same object which your Holiness today characterizes as one we should strive for, we have taken into close consideration the concrete and practical suggestion of your Holiness and have come to the following conclusions:

With deep-rooted conviction we agree to the leading idea of your Holiness that the future arrangement of the world must be based on the elimination of armed forces and on the moral force of right and on the rule of international justice and legality.

We, too, are imbued with the hope that a strengthening of the sense of right would

morally regenerate humanity. We support, therefore, your Holiness' view that the negotiations between the belligerents should and could lead to an understanding by which, with the creation of appropriate guarantees, armaments on land and sea and in the air might be reduced simultaneously, reciprocally and gradually to a fixed limit, and whereby the high seas, which rightly belong to all the nations of the earth, may be freed from domination or paramountcy, and be opened equally for the use of all.

Fully conscious of the importance of the promotion of peace on the method proposed by your Holiness, namely, to submit international disputes to compulsory arbitration, we are also prepared to enter into negotiations regarding this proposal.

If, as we most heartily desire, agreements should be arrived at between the belligerents which would realize this sublime idea and thereby give security to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy for its unhampered future development, it can then not be difficult to find a satisfactory solution of the other questions which still remain to be settled between the belligerents in a spirit of justice, and of a reasonable consideration of the conditions for existence of both parties.

If the nations of the earth were to enter, with a desirable peace, into negotiations with one another in the sense of your Holiness' proposals, then peace could blossom forth from them. The nations could attain complete freedom of movement on the high seas, heavy material burdens could be taken from them, and new sources of prosperity opened to them.

Guided by a spirit of moderation and conciliation, we see in the proposals of your Holiness a suitable basis for initiating negotiations with a view to preparing a peace, just to all and lasting, and we earnestly hope our present enemies may be animated by the same ideas. In this spirit we beg that the Almighty may bless the work of peace begun by your Holiness.

The World's Comments on Austro-German Notes

It was announced by Vatican officials that the replies of the Central Powers were disappointing in that there were no specific references to evacuation or restoration. A story gained circulation later to the effect that the notes had been altered at the last moment—that the Pan-Germans had eliminated all references to Belgium and to disavowal of indemnities and annexations.

The comment of the newspapers in the various countries was colored by their own bias. Allied and American newspapers almost without exception treated the replies with disdain and characterized them as a further demonstration of Teutonic duplicity and hypocrisy; this was likewise the official view among the Allies. The German-Austrian press regarded the notes as further evidence of the peaceful intentions of the Central Powers, and declared that they were sufficiently specific, though some radical German newspapers spoke otherwise. The Catholic press in Holland manifested a sympathetic attitude, and asserted that the course of peace was advanced by the replies, but this view prevailed nowhere else.

The Austrian Premier, Dr. von Seydler, on the reassembling of the Reichstag,

Sept. 25, referred to the Papal note in these terms:

We believe that agreements can be attained, which under proper guarantees might enable armaments to be gradually and simultaneously reduced, among other things by the introduction on this basis of obligatory arbitration for international disputes.

Our readiness to arrive at an agreement with our enemies on these bases is absolutely serious and sincere and is inspired by the consciousness of our strength. But if our enemies are not prepared to take the proffered hand we will continue our defensive war to the utmost.

Believing that a strong Austria, insuring contentment of all races, is the best guarantee of a lasting peace, we are striving to reform the Constitution, and the Government resolutely condemns the mistaken view held by certain parties that Austria's salvation is to be hoped for from Austria's enemies.

The German Chancellor, in a speech to the Main Committee of the Reichstag Sept. 28, answered the critics of Germany's reply in these words:

The German reply to the Pope's note met with the approval of our friends and allies, while a majority of our enemies have given it an obviously embarrassed reception. It is difficult to understand how any one acquainted with the international situation and international usages could believe that we ever would be in

such a position as, through a one-sided public statement on important questions which are indissolubly bound up with the entire complex of questions which must be discussed at the peace negotiations to bind ourselves to a solution to our own prejudice.

Any such public statement at the present time could only have a confusing effect and injure German interests. We should not come a step nearer peace, but it would contribute certainly to a prolongation of the war. I must at present decline to specify our war aims and bind the hands of our negotiators.

In conclusion the Chancellor attacked President Wilson's reply to the Pope's note:

The President's attempt to sow dissension between the people and the Government of Germany has no prospects of success. His note has had the opposite effect from what he desired and has bound us more firmly together in a stern resolve to oppose resolutely and energetically all foreign interference.

Germany's Peace Ultimatum: "Breakdown of Europe"

Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, also on Sept. 28 addressed the Main Committee of the Reichstag on the Pope's proposals, saying in part:

This courageous initiative of the Pope will mark an epoch in the history of this tremendous battle of nations and will appear as an unfading page in the annals of the Vatican diplomacy. The Pope threw the word "peace" into the turmoil of battle at a time when events threatened to transform Europe into a place of blood-stained ruins.

The German people and the German Government, whose consciousness of their strength and internal security always made it easy for them to emphasize their willingness to conclude an honorable peace, have reason to welcome gratefully the initiative of the Curia, which made it possible for them to set forth again their national policy in a clear, unambiguous manner. I say intentionally "national policy," as I hope and believe the reply of the German Government, both as regards its form and contents, embodies the de-

sires of an overwhelming majority of the Germans.

The principles of the reply to the Papal note as presented by the Government appear acceptable to the representatives of all the parties. Consequently I believe I can say with full right that all attempts of the enemy to drive a wedge between the German people and the German Government on the question of the basis of our foreign policy and by the propagation of the fiction that the German people do not stand behind the Kaiser and the Imperial Chancellor will be repulsed in the most crushing manner by the support given to this document. * * *

Dr. von Kühlmann declared that the breakdown of European civilization would leave every nation weaker and poorer, no matter to what combination it might belong. He continued:

When the young power, Germany, nearly fifty years ago entered the circle of old powers she was greeted by nobody with great enthusiasm; but these fifty years have proved more than abundantly that the new power brought strength to the whole of Europe. If today our enemies believe that they are able to turn back the course of history and bring into existence again a weak formation of federated States alongside a Prussia which has been subjected to deadly mutilation, these are only delusions, which are hardly pardonable in the case of political theorists, and must be ruinous in the case of responsible statesmen.

As long as our enemies base themselves on fiction—the more clever ones among them do not believe in it—the time may come in which the German Nation, doing penance in sackcloth and ashes, and beating its breast in sorrow, may grovel under the yoke of despicable demands.

We shall have to continue to speak by the sword. It may not be easy to show the truth plainly to the nations of the Entente, which have been incited by legends invented at the beginning of the war, but how otherwise is the new spirit to come into existence? This is an indispensable condition if we are to arrive at a termination of the present struggle of the nations.

The German people are firmly convinced that they are conducting a just war. From this conviction they draw strength cheerfully to meet the great sacrifices which the times demand.

Definite Refusal to Discuss Alsace-Lorraine

Foreign Secretary von Kühlmann on Oct. 10, at a plenary sitting of the Reichstag, became more definite in ex-

pressing Germany's war aims. He said that the attitude of the Entente Powers gave no prospect that the Pope's pro-

posal would be successful, notwithstanding the agreement of the Central Powers "to collaborate not only in the termination of the present conflict but in the reconstruction of a Europe nearly ruined." He continued as follows:

The great question prolonging the struggle is not the future of Belgium, but that of Alsace-Lorraine. Great Britain, according to our information, has pledged herself to France that she will continue the fight for the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine both politically and with her armies so long as France desires to adhere to the program of regaining those provinces. This being the actual situation, I think it proper to give a clear and firm statement of our attitude, since, curiously enough, there still seems to be a misconception in this respect among our enemies, and even among our neutral friends.

There is but one answer to the question, "Can Germany in any form make concessions with regard to Alsace-Lorraine?" That answer is "No." So long as one German hand can hold a gun the integrity of the territory handed down to us as a glorious inheritance by our forefathers can never be the object of negotiations or concessions.

When it seemed expedient to France to accept the formula "without annexations" the French resorted to the transparent trick of bashfully covering up with the word "disannexation" what is in reality a barefaced and forceful conquest. The trick is really too clumsy to be worthy of repute. Now, except for France's demand for Alsace-Lorraine, there is absolutely no impediment to peace, no question which could not be solved by negotiations or a settlement in such a way as to render superfluous the further sacrifice of blood.

Our enemies heretofore have been careful not to reveal their real war aims. What they have told the world is a maximum program, which can only be realized after the complete military defeat of the Central Powers.

The German Government has never answered this program because we believe in dealing with real sober facts. Our answer to our opponents' assertions that they cannot obtain a clear conception of our intentions is our reply to the Pope, and the parliamentary discussions in connection with this. They leave no doubt in the mind of any one who wishes to understand the essential principles of our peace program.

Reiterated by the Chancellor

Chancellor Michaelis, in his address at the same session, Sept. 10, supported the attitude of the Foreign Secretary in these words:

The German Nation will stand together as one man unshakable, and persevere in the fight until its right and the right of our allies to existence and development are assured. In its unity the German Empire is invincible.

We must continue to persevere until the German Empire, on the Continent and overseas, establishes its position. Further, we must strive to see that the armed alliance of our enemies does not grow into an economic offensive alliance.

We can in this sense achieve a peace which guarantees the peasant the reward of his land; which gives the worker merited recompense; which creates a market for industries and supplies the foundation for social progress; which gives our ships the possibility on a free voyage of entering ports and taking on coal all over the world. A peace of the widest economic and cultural development, a real peace. This peace we can attain within these limits.

As long as our enemies confront us with demands which appear unacceptable to every single German, as long as our opponents wish to interfere with our frontier posts, as long as they demand that we shall yield a piece of German soil, as long as they pursue the idea of driving a wedge between the German people and its Emperor, so long shall we with folded arms refuse the hand of peace.

We can wait. Time is working for us. Until our enemies perceive that they must reduce their claims, so long must the cannon speak and the U-boats do their work. Our peace will yet come.

Lloyd George's Answer

Premier Lloyd George answered Baron Kühlmann on Oct. 11 in an address at London, as follows:

I cannot think of any statement more calculated to prolong the war than the assertion of the German Foreign Secretary, von Kühlmann, that Germany would never contemplate the making of concessions to France respecting Alsace-Lorraine. *However long the war lasts, England intends to stand by her gallant ally, France, until she redeems her oppressed children from the degradation of a foreign yoke.* This means that the country must husband its resources, and, when demands were put forward for improvements here and there, my answer is: "Concentrate upon victory."

Former Premier Asquith, the same day, referring to the same subject, said:

German diplomacy is not celebrated for deftness, but even in its annals it will be difficult to find a more clumsy or more transparent manoeuvre than this maladroit attempt to sow discord between ourselves and our French allies. Von

Kühlmann relegates the Belgian question to a secondary position. I have formally asked whether Germany was ready to restore Belgium in the only real sense acceptable to the Allies, but I have received no answer, and von Kühlmann, who can be boisterously definite and precise concerning Alsace-Lorraine, preserves regarding Belgium an unbroken, but significant, silence.

The first speech of Dr. von Kühlmann was not sympathetically received by the Vatican, and was a disappointment, as he was expected to indicate concrete conditions, while on the contrary it unveiled a warlike spirit in the German governing party, in direct opposition to

the attitude assumed by the Pope in his proposal.

Following these speeches a warm debate ensued in the German Reichstag, and for a while it was thought the peace advocates would overthrow the Government, but a disavowal by the Chancellor that the Government was acting in collusion with the Pan-German faction to the exclusion of other political parties, and the disclosures regarding the naval mutiny which involved the independent Socialists, put the peace advocates on the defensive and strengthened materially the militarists.

Austria-Hungary Explains Her Demands

Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on Oct. 3 delivered an address at Budapest which created considerable stir among the belligerent nations and was regarded as evidence of a growing and acute necessity of peace. He said in part:

The millions who are fighting in the trenches or behind the lines wish to know why and for what they are fighting. They have a right to learn why peace, which the entire world desires, has not yet come. When I was appointed to my post I utilized the first opportunity openly to declare that we did not want to oppress any one, but that on the other hand we would not suffer any oppression, and that we were prepared to enter upon peace negotiations as soon as our enemies accepted the standpoint of peace by agreement.

Count Czernin said a plain statement of war aims was indispensable. He explained the conversion of the Central Powers to the doctrine of disarmament by declaring that armaments were necessary until the world was convinced that Austria-Hungary was not a dying State, subject to dismemberment. In conclusion, Count Czernin threatened that unless peace without annexations or indemnities were immediately accepted it would be necessary for Austria-Hungary to revise its program and seek compensation for further costs of the war. He said:

This war taught us that we must reckon on a great increase in former armaments. With unrestricted armaments the nations would be compelled to increase everything tenfold and the military estimates

of the great powers would amount to billions.

That is impossible. It would mean complete ruin. To return to the armament status of 1914 would be a great reduction, but there would be no meaning in not going further and actually disarming. Hence complete disarmament is the only issue from the difficulty.

Gigantic fleets will have no further purpose when the nations of the world guarantee the freedom of the seas, and land armies will be reduced to the level required for the maintenance of internal order. Every State will have to give up something of its independence for the purpose of insuring the world peace.

Probably the present generation will not live to see the completion of this great pacific movement. It can only be realized slowly, but I consider it our duty to place ourselves at the head of the movement to do everything humanly possible to accelerate its materialization.

Disarmament on High Seas

Strongly emphasizing the necessity for naval disarmament on the high seas, Count Czernin said:

I purposely say the high seas, for I do not extend the idea to narrow seas, and I freely admit that for sea communications special rules and regulations must obtain. With these factors made clear every ground for territorial guarantees disappears.

This is the basic idea of the beautiful and sublime note which the Pope addressed to the whole world. If this basis is accepted by our enemies we can renounce the enlargement of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, always provided that the enemy completely evacuate our territory.

Count Czernin then came to the final principle which he said it was necessary to observe to insure the free and pacific development of the world, namely, economic freedom. He said economic war must absolutely be eliminated from every future arrangement.

Before we conclude peace we must have the positive certainty that our present opponents have relinquished the idea of economic war. These, gentlemen, are the basic principles of the new world order, as they present themselves to my mind, and they are all founded on all-around disarmament.

The question of indemnities which the Entente is always advancing assumes remarkable completion when one considers the devastation their armies have wrought in Galicia, Bukowina, Tyrol, the Isonzo, East Prussia, in Turkish territories, and the German colonies. Does the Entente intend to compensate us for all this, or is it so completely mistaken in its judgment of our psychology that it hopes for a one-sided indemnification?

We do not seek strength in big words, but in our glorious armies, the firmness of our alliances, the steadfastness of our people and the wisdom of our war aims. We do not demand a Utopia. We can neither be bent nor destroyed. Conscious of our power and clear as to what we must attain, we go our ways.

Saying that he had been blamed both at home and in unfriendly countries for plain speaking with regard to the Austro-Hungarian peace terms, Count Czernin proceeded:

In broad outline our program for the re-establishment of order in the world has been laid down in our reply to the Pope's note. It may appear to be inconceivable to any people that the Central Powers desire to make renunciation with respect to military armaments, but the war has produced new facts, conditions, and conceptions which have shaken the foundation

of European politics as they previously existed.

Especially has the idea crumbled which held that Austria-Hungary was a moribund State. It was the dogma of impending dissolution of the monarchy which made our position in Europe difficult. By proving ourselves in this war thoroughly sound, and, at least, equal to the others, we destroyed the hopes that we could be overthrown by force of arms.

Now that this proof has been given, we are in a position simultaneously with our allies to lay aside arms and regulate future conflicts by arbitration. * * *

We have from the beginning stated our aim and adhered to it. But let no one cherish the delusion that this pacific and moderate program of ours can and will hold good forever. If our enemies compel us to continue the war we shall be obliged to revise our program and demand compensation.

I speak for the present moment, because I am convinced that world peace can now come on the basis which I have set forth. If the war, however, continues we reserve for ourselves a free hand. I am absolutely convinced that our position a year hence will be incomparably better than today. But I would consider it a crime to carry on the war for any material or territorial advantages for a single day longer than is necessary for the integrity of the monarchy and our future safety.

If our enemies refuse to listen and compel us to continue this murder, then we reserve the right to revise our terms. I am not very optimistic of the disposition of the Entente to conclude peace by agreement on the above basis. An overwhelming majority of the entire world wants peace by agreement, but some few men are preventing it.

We shall in this case pursue our way with sang froid and steady nerves. We know that we can hold out at the front and at home. Our hour will come, and with it a sure guarantee of the free and peaceful development of Austria-Hungary.

The British Viewpoint

The British viewpoint of peace was expressed by former Premier Herbert H. Asquith in an address at Leeds Sept. 26, under the auspices of the War Aims Committee. He described the German reply to the Papal note as teeming with "nebulous and unctuous generalities," but giving no indication that Germany would take any practical steps to open the road to a real and lasting peace. He asked:

Is there any reason to think that Germany has learned the lesson of the inevitable consequences of international spoliation? Is there in the Chancellor's dispatch or in any recent authoritative declaration of the German Government any indication that it is prepared not only to repeat the crime of '71, but to take any practical steps which alone can open the road to a real and lasting peace?

Is Germany ready to restore what she then took from France? Is she ready to give Belgium complete independence,

political and economic, without fetters or reservations, and with as complete an indemnity as any merely material compensation can provide for the devastation of her territory, the sufferings of her people? A definite reply to these questions would be worth a whole column of pious platitudes.

German Barbarity an Obstacle

Alluding to the necessity of destroying Prussian militarism, Mr. Asquith referred to the American revelations of the German machinations in Bucharest as fresh proof of the brutality and callousness with which Germany had waged war. [This exposure is treated elsewhere.] He said that nothing had aroused more worldwide surprise and consternation than the fact that the German Nation applauded with fervor the most barbarous transgressions of the German Government.

It shows [he said] from what unmeasured perils, from what a setback to the whole machinery of civilization mankind has been delivered, now that the Allies have shattered forever the dreams of German hegemony.

War Aims

Passing to the subject of war aims, he said:

We are fighting for two aims, one immediate, the other ulterior. The first is, not the restoration of the status quo, not a revival of what formerly was called the balance of power, but the substitution for the one and the other of an international system under which both great and small States can be assured of a stable foundation and independent development.

I assume, as a matter of course, the evacuation by the enemy of the occupied territories of France and Russia. I have already referred to Alsace-Lorraine and Belgium. But wherever you turn in Central and Eastern Europe you see territorial arrangements which are purely artificial in their origin, which offend the interests and wishes of the populations concerned and which remain seedplots of potential war.

There are the just claims of Italy, Rumania, and Serbia. There is Poland, concerning which, I believe, all our people heartily indorse the wise and generous words of President Wilson. The cases of Greece and the Southern Slavs must also not be forgotten, and what is required is the permanent liquidation of all these dangerous accounts.

Coming to the second aspect of an enduring peace, Mr. Asquith said:

We must banish once for all from our catalogue of maxims the time-worn fallacy that if you wish for peace you must make ready for war.

I am not a sentimentalist, and do not expect the sudden regeneration of mankind, when in the world's war offices the lion will lie down with the lamb and international relations become a perpetual love feast. I fear that even the youngest of us will not live to get more than a distant and imaginative glimpse of that beatific vision, but, speaking not as a Utopian or dreamy idealist, I assert that we are waging not only war for peace but war against war, and for the first time in history we may make an advance to the realization of an ideal, to which great men of action in the past, such, for instance, as Henry IV. of France, who was not visionary but a practical statesman, have been groping their way.

You will not at first, perhaps not for a long time, be able to dispense with coercion, military or economic, against the disloyal and recalcitrant, but we may well hope that the positive law, with its forcible restraints, may gradually recede into the background and sovereign authority be recognized to rest in the common sense of mankind.

It is impossible to believe that this universal upheaval will not leave abiding traces in the industrial and economic worlds. When the storm has passed over must we not, after such common discipline which has spared no class in society, see things that concern our daily lives and our relations to one another in a new and truer perspective than was ever possible before? In the meantime we must keep our powder dry.

Mr. Asquith said that peace could not be found in a cessation of active hostilities, followed by a process of territorial bargaining to be embodied ultimately in paper protocols and pacts and left there at the mercy of a chapter of accidents, which had wisely been called "the Bible of fools." He added:

Still less can you find peace worthy of the name in any arrangement imposed by victor or vanquished which ignores the principles of right and sets at defiance the historic traditions, aspirations, and liberties of the peoples affected. Such so-called treaties contain within themselves their own death warrant and simply provide fertile breeding ground for future wars.

We have a crucial example of the folly and futility of such a transaction in the treaty of 1871. That act of high-handed, short-sighted violence, against which Europe ought to have protested, is the primary cause of the race in armaments,

which proceeded at an ever-accelerated pace for forty years before the outbreak of this war.

Mr. Asquith said that both Bismarck and von Moltke foresaw the evil conse-

quences of the treaty, von Moltke asserting that Germany must be armed to the teeth for fifty years to keep the provences won in six months.

America's View Expressed Through the League of National Unity

President Wilson's attitude toward the German peace agitation, as expressed in his reply to the Pope, was reiterated Oct. 8 at Washington in an address by him at the White House to the newly organized League of National Unity. The President gave his indorsement to the purposes of the league in an address emphasizing the need of team play by the forces of American thought and opinion. He expressed the belief that American public opinion, although understanding the war's causes and principles, needed guidance to remember that the war should end only when Germany was beaten and Germany's rule of autocracy and might superseded by the ideals of democracy. The President gave warning that it should not be forgotten that German success would mean not only prevention of the spread of democracy, but possibly the suppression of that already existing.

The aims of the new league are "to create a medium through which loyal Americans of all classes, sections, creeds, and parties can give expression to the fundamental purpose of the United States to carry on to a successful conclusion this new war for the independence of America and for the preservation of democratic institutions and the vindication of the basic principles of humanity." The league's initial announcement continues:

In this crisis the unity of the American people must not be impaired by the voices of dissension, of sedition. Agitation for a premature peace is seditious when its object is to weaken the determination of America to see the war through to a conclusive vindication of the principles for which we have taken arms.

The war we are waging is a war against war and its sacrifices must not be nullified by any truce or armistice that means no more than a breathing spell for the enemy.

We believe in the wise purpose of the President not to negotiate a peace with any irresponsible and autocratic dynasty.

We approve the action of the National Government in dispatching an expeditionary force to the land of Lafayette and Rochambeau. Either we fight the enemy on foreign soil, shoulder to shoulder with comrades in arms, or we fight on our soil, backs against our homes, and alone.

While this war lasts, the cause of the Allies is our cause, their defeat our defeat, and concert of action and unity in spirit between them and us is essential to final victory. We therefore deprecate the exaggeration of old national prejudices—often stimulated by German propaganda—and nothing is more important than the clear understanding that those who in this crisis attack our present allies, attack America.

We are organized in the interests of a national accord that rises high above any previous division of party, race, creed, and circumstance.

We believe that this is the critical and fateful hour for America and for civilization. To lose now is to lose for many generations. The peril is great and requires our highest endeavors. If defeat comes to us through any weakness, Germany, whose purposes for worldwide dominion are now revealed, might draw to itself, as a magnet does the filings, the residuum of world power, and this would affect the standing and the independence of America.

We not only accept but heartily approve the decision reached by the President and Congress of the United States to declare war against the common enemy of the free nations, and as loyal citizens of the United States we pledge to the President and the Government our undivided support to the very end.

The Honorary Chairmen of the league are Cardinal Gibbons, Frank Mason North, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America, and Theodore N. Vail, President American Telephone and Telegraph Company. The Vice Chairmen are Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor; Charles

A. Barrett, President Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, and George Pope, President National

Association of Manufacturers. Director, Ralph M. Easley, Chairman National Civic Federation.

Premier Painlevé on Alsace-Lorraine and the Only Peace France Will Accept

The following official declaration in the Chamber on Sept. 18, representing the views of the French Government, expresses the minimum aims of France and discloses the irreconcilable attitude of France and Germany with respect to Alsace-Lorraine. The statements on this subject made in the Reichstag by the German Chancellor and Foreign Minister, as given elsewhere, are in direct opposition to those of France, making Alsace-Lorraine the present storm centre of the issues of the war. M. Painlevé said:

No enemy manoeuvre, no individual weaknesses can turn France from her unshakable determination. That determination she draws from the purest traditions of our race—those generous principles of liberty which the Revolution sowed among the peoples and which today bring together the civilized universe against German imperialism. If France pursues this war it is neither for conquest nor vengeance. It is to defend her own liberty, her independence, and at the same time the liberty and independence of the world. Her claims are those of right; they are even independent of the issue of battles. She proclaimed them solemnly in 1871 when she was beaten. She proclaims them today when she is making the aggressor feel the weight of her arms.

The disannexation of Alsace-Lorraine, reparation for the damage and ruin wrought by the enemy, and a peace which shall not be a peace of constraint or violence, containing in itself the germ of future wars, but a just peace, in which no people, whether strong or weak, shall be oppressed, a peace in which effective guarantees shall protect the society of nations against all aggression on the part of one among them—these are the noble war aims of France, if one can speak of war aims when it is a question of a nation which, during forty-four years, despite her open wounds, has done everything in order to spare humanity the horrors of war.

As long as these aims are not reached France will continue to fight. To prolong the war one day more than necessary would indeed be to commit the greatest crime in history, but to stop it a day too

soon would be to deliver France into the most degrading servitude, to a moral and material misery from which nothing would ever deliver her.

That is what each soldier in our trenches, each worker, each peasant in his factory or in his furrow, knows. It is that which causes the indissoluble union of the country through all its trials; it is that which is the secret of that discipline in liberty which victoriously combats the ferocious brutality of German discipline. This discipline, springing from reason and mutual confidence, previous Governments have maintained for three years of war, and the present Government has no conception of any other.

But it is not only the will of the country that must be directed to this single aim of the war. We must direct to it also all our material forces. National defense is an entity which is not to be split up into fragments. Men, munitions, supply, transport, are all problems to which isolated solutions cannot be supplied, for they are interdependent. We can only cope with them by means of a vast effort of co-ordination and synthesis which, comparing the various needs and possibilities, will be able to secure the increase of production, the imposition of indispensable restrictions, the stoppage of speculation and of the rise in prices by putting at the disposal of the nation herself all the resources which she commands.

It is a difficult program that the Government will set itself to carry out, making private interests yield to the general interest, but it is aware of the fact that it is the nation itself in its conscious spirit of patriotism that can make the effort which shall count for most when the safety of the country is at stake. Who, then, would hesitate to impose on himself the necessary sacrifices, trying enough, but so light compared with the sufferings of our soldiers?

This necessary co-ordination of the forces of the country is no less imperative between the Allies, fighting together yesterday or today, brought together by the same holy cause. It is necessary that they act as though they constituted a single nation, a single army, and a single front for the defeat of the one would be the defeat of all, just as the victory of the one will be the victory of all. All must equally contribute of their men, their arms, and their money. On this condition

only the superiority of their resources, still too scattered, will become crushing. Such a policy will allow France, without completely exhausting herself, to meet at once her economic needs and guard her frontiers. Since August, 1914, the French Army has been the invincible shield of civilization. Her blood has been shed in torrents. It is necessary for the happy issue of the war that she should keep to the end the plenitude of her vigor.

The problems of war, however absorbing they may be, ought not to make us unmindful of after-war problems which otherwise might take us by surprise. The period which will follow the conclusion of hostilities must be prepared for a long while in advance, and with as much minute care as mobilization itself. To restore the reconquered districts; to prepare an extensive program of public works which will multiply our industrial forces

and regulate the return to normal life by avoiding crises of unemployment for the demobilized men; greatly to increase the production and credit of France; to associate the nation in the working of new industries; to prepare for the transformation to peace conditions of munition factories; to establish our fiscal system on just, bold, and well-thought-out taxes; to carry out loyally the recent reforms introduced into the relations between workmen and employers, so as to adapt these to practical conditions and to make them part of our social life—these are some of the dominating ideas which should guide the development of our ardent democracy. When, after these hard years of suffering, our soldiers return to their homes, to these conquerors who will have made right triumph among the nations, no one will grudge either gratitude or justice.

Written on Going Into Action

By ERNEST GARSIDE BLACK

[The author is one of the many Canadian college men at the front in France. He is a graduate of McMaster University, Toronto.]

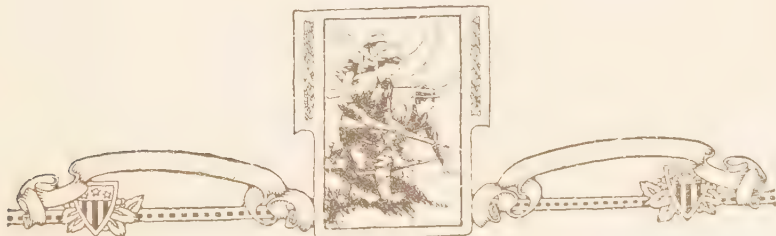
O God of Battles, now that time has come
Which in the pregnant months in camp has been
The goal of everything, my hope, my fear,
The peril of the thing as yet unseen.

That fear and wounds and death may pass me by,
Is not the boon, O Lord, for which I pray,
For having put the rim within my lips,
I do not ask to put the cup away.

But grant the heart that Thou hast given me
May in the hour of peril never fail,
And that my will to serve and do my part
May ever o'er my will to live prevail.

Thou knowest, Lord, my soul doth not fear death,
Although my body craves to live its span;
Help me to grapple with my body's fear,
And grant, O Lord, that I may play the man.

The Somme, Oct. 1, 1916.



Poland's Standard Again on the Field of Battle

By Wacław Perkowski

AFTER a long absence from the field of battle—an interval of fifty-four years—the Polish standard, the white eagle on the red field, again appears on the battle line in the fight “for our liberty and yours.” In the west, the Government of France has given its consent to the organization of an autonomous Polish Army; and in the east the Provisional Government of free Russia has followed suit. At last Poland takes her place in this war beside the allied powers as a nation fighting for her rights, for her independence, and for the reunion of all her territories in one Polish State in accordance with the military program of the Allies. She fights against the Central Powers, which, being today at war with the whole civilized world, are at the same time the sole oppressors of the Polish Nation.

In France the Poles had long worked to rouse the Government to the justice of consenting to the organization of a Polish Army; and on June 4, 1917, the following report, signed by the President of the Council of Ministers, (now the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexander Ribot,) and the Minister of War, (Paul Painlevé,) was submitted to the President of the French Republic:

The number of Poles already taking part in the struggle for the rights and liberty of peoples or capable of enrolling in the service of the cause of the Allies is sufficiently high to justify their union into one distinct corps. On the other hand, the intentions of the allied Governments, and in particular of the Russian Provisional Government, on the subject of the restoration of the Polish State could not be affirmed better than by permitting the Poles to fight everywhere under their national colors. Finally, we consider that France must hold it an honor to concur in the formation and development of a future Polish Army. The affinities that unite our two races and the affection the Poles have never ceased to testify to our country impose on us a moral obligation to participate in that touching and glorious mission. If you share this point of

view, we have the honor to ask you to affix your signature to the annexed decree.

Decree Creating Polish Army

The decree, which was signed by Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, at Paris, on June 4, reads as follows:

Art. 1. There is created in France, for the duration of the war, an autonomous Polish Army, placed under the orders of the French High Command and fighting under the Polish colors.

Art. 2. The raising and maintenance of the Polish Army are assured by the French Government.

Art. 3. The arrangements in force in the French Army concerning the organization, grades, administration, and military justice are applicable to the Polish Army.

Art. 4. The Polish Army shall be recruited (1) from among the Poles now serving in the French Army; (2) from among the Poles of other origin admitted to pass into the ranks of the Polish Army in France or to contract a voluntary engagement for the duration of the war under the standard of the Polish Army.

Art. 5. Further Ministerial instructions will regulate the application of the present decree.

Art. 6. The President of the Council of Ministers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of War are charged, each in what concerns him, to the execution of the present decree, which shall be published in the Official Journal of the French Republic and inserted in the Bulletin des lois, (Bulletin of Laws.)

For the formation of this Polish Army the Minister of War immediately created a Franco-Polish Military Mission, under the leadership of General Louis Archinard. The Government has authorized all Poles, even those who are French citizens and are serving in the French Army, to enlist in this new force, and it is seeking agreements with the other allies under which all Poles serving in their armies will be enabled to join the Polish Army.*

*Working in the United States in the interests of the Polish Army in France has been

Basis of the French Decree

In order to understand the political basis of the French decree calling to life the Polish Army, it is worth while to quote a few words from the appeal of the well-known Polish publicist and novelist, Wacław Gasińkowski, addressed to the French in his *Polonia* of Paris on May 12:

The Polish question has obtained in the last months a complete and radical solution. There has been proclaimed the independence of Poland and the reunion in one State of all her territories. Poland, free and independent, will rise again in the plenitude of her former might and power. And yet dissatisfaction again has seized the Poles. But, before your lips open to condemn us, before you turn away from us and from our importunate reclamations, before you fetch a sigh with pious commiseration because of "the want of moderation of which the Poles give proof," listen to us.

Yes, Poland will be unified and independent; but, meanwhile, a new census of aliens has been decreed here in France; and we shall again be carried on the lists as Germans, Austrians, and Russians—nothing but that!

What, in short, do we Poles in the camp of the Allies desire? We desire that Poland may figure among the peoples that are fighting for the rights of man. We desire that the standard of the White Eagle should float beside the colors of those who have guaranteed us the liberation of our fatherland. We desire that our independence should be realized, that the unification of our territories should become an accomplished fact. We do not want to be impassive witnesses of this great struggle; we want to take part in it, we claim the rights that by just title belong to us as members of the Polish Nation.

Let our fatherland, invaded by the enemy, at length learn that without waiting for any international pacts, accords, and

treaties, the Polish colors are already flying under the protective wing of the Entente. Let it know that the work of the restoration of Poland has already been initiated; that we Poles have at length been recognized as well here, in France, as in America, in England, in Russia, and in Italy, as free citizens of free and unified Poland.

Upon the publication of the decree by President Poincaré for the formation of the Polish Army in France, the same writer said in the *Polonia*:

The days of our impotence have ended! The holiest longings of those who would fight for the independence, for the reunion of the fatherland torn to pieces, have been realized. The idea of a self-active, national Polish Army in France has turned to fact. We greet this fact with tears of joy; we greet it as the recompense for our unwavering faith in the indissolubility of the ties of fraternity uniting Poland and France for ages; we greet it as the dawn of our resurrection to liberty, to power, to rebirth. * * *

The Polish Army in France will be an "autonomous" army, or a national Polish Army. This army will stand under the Polish standard, will have the Polish command, Polish uniforms, Polish officers, and will take the oath to unified and independent Poland. * * * This army will be created on democratic principles worthy of the traditions of our chief, the immortal Kosciuszko, worthy of the republican land in which it has been conceived. The emblem of the White Eagle will shed its rays on all alike; it will respect the citizen in the soldier, and measure privileges by personal merit.

The Polish Army in France will be the symbol of our fatherland, one and inseparable forever. * * * Like the sun, which dries up the puddles after the heavy shower of the night, so the Polish Army will absorb all that over which till now there has weighed the curse of vassalage, the subjection to different States, the wandering over the world, the misery of our people. The Polish Army in France will reunite in its ranks, in the first place, all those who here, in the west, are scattered in different regiments, divisions, and armies. These hosts will form a base; and about this kernel there will group itself an energetic, numerically large, morally powerful, nationally incorruptible force called to play a part of great reach in the history of our country. Such will be the Polish Army in France!

Polish Army in Russia

In Russia the principle of the independence of Poland necessitated the constitution of a Polish Army completely autonomous, commanded by Polish offi-

a mission composed of Wacław Gasińkowski, Prince Stanislaus Poniatowski, and others, and Henry Franklin Bouillon, who was recently called back to France to enter the new Cabinet of his friend Prime Minister Painlevé. The campaign to recruit Poles in this country for the Polish Army training in France has been indorsed by the United States War Department, according to a dispatch from Washington of Oct. 6. Polish-Americans subject to draft and those with dependents will not be accepted. Recruits will be trained at a camp already established by Polish interests near Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario.

cers, and fighting under the Polish national standard. In view of the proclamation by the Russian Provisional Government of an independent and unified Poland and of the appointment of the Liquidation Commission, which is to liquidate all the interests of Poland with Russia, the cause of a separate Polish Army in Russia and the exclusion of the Polish troops from the general Russian Army had to come by the very force of events. Almost immediately upon the proclamation to the Poles by the Provisional Government of free Russia a meeting of Polish soldiers in the Russian Army was held in Minsk, at which resolutions were adopted calling for the creation of an autonomous Polish Army. The idea of creating a Polish Army out of the Poles "dispersed in the sea of Russian troops" took root very quickly in the Polish community in Russia. Letters began to pour in numerous to the Polish papers in Russia from Polish officers and soldiers, and expression was given to this by all organizations of military Poles called to life in various parts of Russia by the example of the Polish Military Union, which arose in Moscow on April 11 and declared for the creation of a Polish Army. On June 13 a Congress of Delegates of Military Poles in session in Petrograd resolved, by an overwhelming majority, that the Government of free Russia should without delay proceed to the reunion of the military Poles scattered over the vast territories of the Russian State in a distinct military unit under Polish leaders and a Russian commander in chief.

The Russians themselves early accounted for the necessity of realizing this urgent problem; and the Congress of Delegates of Russian Workmen and Soldiers, held at Minsk, decided upon the formation of a Polish Army. At length, on July 17, the Russian Chief General Staff ordered that the Polish soldiers desiring to enter the Polish Army should be grouped in separate divisions and sent where the Polish Army is forming—the Government had permitted the Poles to create a distinct Polish Army with its own staff and under the supreme command of a Russian commander. Up to

the middle of July there had enlisted in this Polish Army 320,000 soldiers, and the number increased after the promulgation of the order of the General Staff of July 17.

Motives of the Movement

What motives governed the organizers of the Polish Army in Russia is shown by the organ of the Division of Polish Officers and Soldiers, the Polish *Wiadomosci Wojskowe* (Military Intelligence) of Kiev, when it says:

A united Poland the Central Powers will not give us voluntarily, because the restoration of the Grand Duchy of Posen, Silesia, and West Prussia is the overthrow of the Prussian State. It is a matter here of a struggle for life or death. The breed of Teutonic knights lording it over our land will not cede our liberty voluntarily. Therefore, we bind our hopes to the victory of the Entente, in whose triumph we believe sacredly. The Entente sets forth the standard of liberty and self-determination of nations, under which we stand as a people; and displaying the standard of an independent and unified Poland, it unites the whole Polish Nation, without regard to the cordons that at present separate us. For these two standards, the common and the Polish, raised by the Entente, we want to fight and will fight faithfully to our last drop of blood. Therefore, we recognize the Polish Army as the symbol of Polish Statehood and as an indispensable factor in the ranks of the Entente coalition in the conquest of the independence and unification of Poland, which is possible only after the abolition of Prussian militarism.

To Raise 500,000 Men

The cadres of the Polish Army in Russia are already complete, and all that remains is to exclude the Poles from the Russian Army. Of lack of trained material for the Polish Army there can be no complaint, for the Poles in the Russian Army have always been reckoned as numbering between 800,000 and 1,000,000. Competent persons affirm that the distinct Polish Army in Russia can reach 500,000 men. In the Russian Army there are a great many very capable Polish officers, but very few superior officers. The reason for this, says the *Paris Polonia*, is that twenty-five years ago there was promulgated a secret order that interdicted, save in excep-

tional cases, the nomination of Poles to grades superior to that of Captain; and at that time the higher military schools were also closed to the Poles.

Three hundred Polish officers taken by Russia from Austria early informed the Council of the Polish Military Union in the Moscow garrison that they were willing to enter the Polish Army, and declared that the 3,000 Polish officers of the Austrian Army in Russian captivity would undoubtedly fulfill their national duty.

The Polish standards bearing the slogan "For Our Liberty and Yours" captured from the Poles by the Russians in the revolution of 1830-31, and held since that time in the Kremlin at Moscow, were delivered with due solemnity on April 21 on the order of the Russian Minister of War and the Russian Premier by the commandant of the Moscow troops to Alexander Lednicki, the Presi-

dent of the Liquidation Commission, (one of the tasks of which is the preserving of the national property which is now being restored to the Polish Nation;) and were conveyed with great honors to Kiev, where they were deposited with reverence in the Church of St. Alexander under guard of the Division of Polish Rifles.

"If the Poles create their separate army, which in union with the Russian Army will expel the Germans, there must come the recognition of this militant unit by all the Allies. But an army without a Government, separate and directing that army, cannot exist," observes the Polish *Dziennik Zwiazkowy* (Alliance Daily) of Chicago. "Consequently, there must also come the recognition of a legitimate Government of united and independent Poland, which, by the nature of things, must rise beyond the bounds of Poland."

Paderewski's Appeal to His Countrymen

The National Department of the Polish Central Relief Committee of Chicago, whose Chairman is I. J. Paderewski, the pianist, issued an appeal on Oct. 6, 1917, calling upon unnaturalized Poles in the United States to enlist under the Polish standard. The document is in part as follows:

Providence has decreed that on the centennial of the death of Thaddeus Kosciuszko there arises a Polish national army upon the Continent where he so valiantly fought for freedom. France has given life to this army and has offered her aid and support. France does not require the sacrifice of Polish blood. She can prevail without our humble aid. Over 5,000,000 men now fight in her defense.

France, the leader of civilization, like Poland, a frequent defender of the oppressed, is concerned chiefly that in this struggle of light against darkness, right against might, democracy against autocracy, all liberty-loving peoples may participate.

Larger and smaller nations are already engaged, and now the United States of America has joined France and her allies. Should, in this struggle for the freedom

of nations, the Polish colors be missing it would be shameful.

Conscious of our sacred duty to the motherland, conscious of our obligations to America, we have long waited for this opportunity, with a full sense of our responsibility before God, the nation, and our own consciences. Today, having received assurances of protection, having received a favorable declaration by the United States Government that enlistment into the Polish Army of all those who are not legally subject to draft in the United States Army shall not be opposed, we call to you from the bottom of our hearts and challenge you to the ranks, to army, to battle, to the trenches, to a great and glorious struggle for the protection of threatened humanity, for the wrongs suffered by Poland.

Go, so the world may know that in your breast the knightly valor of your forefathers has not been stilled; that the fearless bravery of the Poles of old has not vanished.

Go, to give testimony that the American Pole is a worthy heir to the glory of Polish arms.

On the same day the United States had authorized this separate recruiting for the Polish Army.

The Rise and Fall of the Formal Fortress

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts

"Still the most reliable fortress for a country is a good and well-commanded army and a well-educated, brave, and intelligent population."—Viollet le Duc.

ONE great proved fact in the present war has been the uselessness of the formal fortress in the military result. Formal fortresses had been made important factors in the pre-war military calculations, because of the imaginary strength that had been assigned to them. In reality they were an empty threat. Yet this threat so influenced the plans of the German Great General Staff that the invasion of France was deliberately planned through neutral Belgium rather than through the French fortresses.*

The result was that the initial German superiority was frittered away in Belgium, and the surprise of the all-conquering Teutonic howitzer artillery was wasted on outlying fortresses. To this extent the French fortresses had an important tactical effect upon the military results of the war without firing a shot, but this was the end of their value in warfare. In the few short weeks before the battle of the Marne the uselessness of formal fortresses had become so self-evident that they were replaced by Petersburg intrenchments, and the lesson learned in four years of our civil war was at last grasped by European military experts.

The progress of the art of formal fortification is as interesting as the end of such fortresses has been dramatic and astounding. The formal fortress had its beginning in the primitive need to protect families and goods. From the first herding together in places easy of defense to the elaborated systems of European military science, the different phases of the formal fortress reflect the

conditions of the times as well as any landmarks in history.

Viollet le Duc's Great Work

A great master of the art of fortification has left a record of this progress of a formal fortress from its first primitive form to the typical fortress of his day. Viollet le Duc was a great architect of the Second Empire, and to this talent he "added the highest qualifications of the military engineer."** His book is now little known except to military students, but in his "*Histoire d'une Forteresse*" he has described with great vividness the growth of a French fortress from the first occupation of a stronghold in the tribal migrations.

For obvious military reasons Viollet le Duc did not select any definite fortress, but he described a typical site, and traced the development of a typical fortress of his day. This will be followed to his conclusion, (1875,) but his final proposed system of fortification is so like Verdun, the fortress most in the public mind in this war, that, in continuing the story of the fortress to its final stage the actual conditions at Verdun will be described.

In Figure 1 is shown the first refuge chosen by the tribal migration of a fair-haired Northern race in France, an elevated promontory on a river among wooded hills. The occupation of this place by the strangers was peaceful, and many of the inhabitants of the surrounding country joined them in their settlement; but, as these Gauls prospered, forays were made upon them and they were much harried and plundered. At length the elders of the tribe ordered the "Oppidum" built, as shown on the plan.

This was a rampart of logs and earth with a parapet of stakes fixed by osier bands and pierced with loopholes. The

*"The Moltke of 1870," &c. CURRENT HISTORY, February, 1917.

**Bucknall.



FIG. 1—THE OPPIDUM

rampart encircled the crown of the promontory, and, helped by the slope, made a strong defense against an assault. The inclosure was approached by two roads that circled the plateau, exposed to missiles of the defenders from the ramparts. The two gates were also well defended. Within were tribal houses, as shown in the plan, and the Némède, the Druid inclosed temple, (A.) This Oppidum was the first phase of the formal fortress, and it will be observed that in the Némède was the beginning of what was later to be the keep or citadel.

At first there was no regular garrison of the Oppidum. It was guarded in turn by the young men, who relieved one another every twenty-four hours, and it was a refuge from attacks for the people. But in the fourth century B. C. many of the Gauls had been engaged in foreign wars, and a warrior class began to grow up among them. Raids and wars increased among the tribes, and the trained warriors were needed more and more to defend the Oppidum. Finally,

after a costly invasion, when the Oppidum was only saved by bringing in fighting men from another tribe, the warriors arrogated for themselves the control of the Oppidum and demanded contributions from the inhabitants in return for their protection. The people were forced to agree to give one day's labor in four and one-fourth of their crops and cattle to their defenders; and, as time went on, these became hereditary rights, resulting in the rule of the chiefs and their warriors in the Gallic Cité.

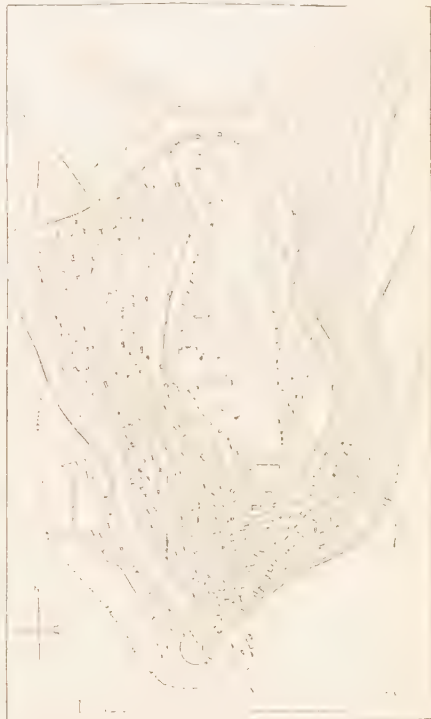


FIG. 2—THE GALLIC CITÉ, 58 B. C.

Forts in Caesar's Time

The Gallic Cité was the second stage of the formal fortress. (Figure 2.) It will be seen that the Cité is the Oppidum, made much stronger for defense. The ramparts had been reinforced with stone and towers had been built along the ramparts, as shown in the plan. The town straggled along the slopes of the promontory, and a part of it was on the other side of the river, which was crossed by a stone bridge. It will be seen that

the bridge was protected by a tête de pont, which was also built of stone.

The rule of the Chiefs and the warrior caste, which had been created by the defenders of the Oppidum, had become absolute and their tax upon the people had become a vested right; yet the inhabitants themselves were more prosperous, because the contributions levied upon them by the Chief were not as oppressive as losses from plundering invaders. This was the condition of the fortress at the time of Caesar's Gallic wars. The Chief of the Cité, like other Gallic chieftains, had aided the Helvetii, and a punitive expedition was sent against him by the Roman General.

The Chief defied this army, and the Cité promptly received a lesson in the besieging tactics of the day from the Romans, who were very skillful in reducing fortresses. The Roman legate first invested all approaches of the place, and prepared for an assault upon the Cité by cutting a great quantity of wood on the northern plateau and bringing it in front of the northern ramparts.

With this wood and earth he threw up a typical Roman agger, a mound of logs and earth, opposite the ramparts of the besieged. Approaching this the Romans built two covered galleries and a movable tower. This last they rolled to the top of the agger against the rampart, and by attacking from the tower won the main defenses of the Cité.

The Chief of the Cité, with his surviving warriors, took refuge in the stronghold beyond the Némède (A) in the southern end of the Cité. This the Roman legate easily carried, by filling the ditch with faggots and earth, and advancing his legionaries under linked shields, (a testudo,) and the fortress of 58 B. C. had succumbed to the advanced siege methods of the day.

Permanent Roman Camp

After his final victory over the Gauls at Alesia (52 B. C.) Caesar gave orders for the establishment of a permanent Roman camp on the site of the Cité; and this was the next stage in the progress of the fortress. (Figure 3.) It will



FIG. 3—THE PERMANENT ROMAN CAMP



FIG. 4—THE GALLO-ROMAN CITE



FIG. 5—THE GALLO-ROMAN CITE AS FORTIFIED BY THE ROMAN EMPEROR JULIAN, A. D. 359

be seen that the town was blotted out, and that on the site of the Cité was built this stern fortified camp, which was a charge upon the people to keep in repair, and to be always ready for the use of the Roman Legions. After generations, when the surrounding country had become tranquil, the Roman Camp became a Roman Colony, enjoying peace and prosperity for three centuries.

In 359 A. D. the Roman Emperor Julian found it again necessary to fortify the place against the Germans, and the formal fortress entered another stage of its existence as a Gallo-Roman Cité. (Figure 4.)

Julian had then about him Byzantine engineers, the most skilled in the world in fortifying places. They began by removing the houses that had been built on the slopes of the plateau in times of peace, thus restoring all the military ad-

vantage of the slope, as in the Roman Camp. The ramparts were of well-founded masonry with stone towers. The northern exposed front was made longer, with a fosse and palisades, and a vallum and outwork, (A.) The gates, tête de pont, &c., were protected by strong towers, and the Cité thus fortified (Figure 5) was able to defy the barbarians, who did not know how to undertake the siege of a well-defended place.

In the twelfth century the fortress had become a feudal castle, (Figure 6,) and in 1180 the Baron decided to greatly strengthen its defenses. He sent for a master of the works—a native of Troyes, whom he had known in Palestine—and together they devised the stronghold shown in Figure 7.

This great increase in the strength of the Castle aroused the jealousy of the Baron's over-lord, the Duke of Burgundy,



FIG. 7—BIRDEYE VIEW OF THE FEUDAL CASTLE, 1180 A. D.

who seized upon a pretext for a quarrel, and moved to attack the Castle with his army. The Baron prepared for defense, but sent a secret message for help to King Philip Augustus of France. The siege that followed used all the resources of that most picturesque age of warfare, and it is interesting to record as the last test of the fortress before the use of gunpowder.

The Baron had only 1,800 men and he could not hope to defend the whole pla-

teau, but only the castle. This the Duke completely invested, closing the bridges and building an intrenchment or contravallation across the plateau north of the castle. On each end of this contravallation the besiegers built a wooden tower. The Baron, who had brought the secret of Greek fire from the East, promptly destroyed one of these towers in the night by hurling Greek fire from his largest trebuchet, following this with a sortie of the garrison, which inflicted



FIG. 6—THE FEUDAL CASTLE

great loss in the confusion caused by the fire.

The besiegers retaliated by bringing up trebuchets and mangonels, which forced the garrison to give up the barbican. The besiegers then brought up a cat, a movable wooden gallery, under which they mined the wall and battered it down with a bossom, gaining the outer court after days of bloody fighting.

The besieged had destroyed a huge new movable tower with their Greek fire—thus giving the old fortress revenge for the Roman movable tower which had captured it over 1,200 years before—and the garrison was still holding out manfully after more than forty days of siege, when the place was relieved by the approach of the French King's army.

The Coming of Gunpowder

In the next 200 years the fortress had been compelled to face new conditions. (Figure 8.) A new force had appeared, and the first awkward attempts to defend against artillery with artillery were in

evidence. But it also must be remembered that the first artillery imitated the trebuchet of the mediaeval siege, and for attack and defense there was not yet any change in methods brought about by the new weapon.

The masonry walls were much more massive, and, as will be seen in the plan, new strong towers had been built projecting from the walls. These were devised with great pains and misdirected ingenuity to contain the new artillery. Clumsy as were the resultant works, these artillery towers were the ancestors of the bastion.

In a month's siege, sustained by the fortress at this stage by the army of Louis XI. of France, (1478,) the artillery of both parties is thus described:

	Bom- bards.	Veug- laires, Spi- roles.
Attack on the northern boulevard	4	2
Battery on the slopes of the eastern hills.....	2	4
Before the tête du pont.....		4
On the western slopes of the plateau commanding the lower town ..		2
Park of reserve.....	6	12
Total	12	24

The artillery of the besieged consisted of:

	Bom- bards.	Cul- verins.
On the platforms of the three great northern towers.....	3	3
In the casemated batteries of these towers.....		6
On the earthwork in front of the northern boulevard.....		2
On the northern boulevard.....	1	2
On the boulevards B, C, H, I, K.	5	5
On the cavalier commanding the bridge	1	2
Reserve in the abbey and the castle	4	8
Total	11	28

Pathetically feeble as this array seems today for the attack and defense of a first-class fortress, these cannon were the most formidable artillery of their time. It is also shown on a scale plan that the first long-distance bombardment was opened at less than 250 meters, and it is stated that certain guns were to be reserved for use at close quarters! Consequently, it is no surprise to learn that



FIG. 8—THE FIRST DEFENSES AGAINST ARTILLERY

this siege was almost a repetition of the siege of the feudal castle, with these primitive cannon taking the place of the stone-throwing machines.

These cannon threw large stones, some of them of 200 pounds weight, and, though they caused greater losses to the besiegers, they also were more destructive to masonry defenses at close quarters, and they made it easier to undermine the walls. The northern outwork, the boulevard at D in the plan, was first reduced, then the tower and northern rampart at E were battered in, and the last refuge of the garrison at A was surrendered twenty-seven days after the first investment.

Artillery and the Bastion

In the seventeenth century engineers were beginning to learn the use of the new artillery arm. It became evident that, against this more powerful machine, the weakness of a formal fortress lay in allowing the enemy to get near



FIG. 9—THE BASTIONS OF BAR-LE-DUC

enough to breach the walls. The next phase of the fortress, (Figure 9,) designed by Bar-le-Duc in the reign of Henry IV., marked the appearance of the bastion instead of the artillery tower, which greatly increased the area of defensive artillery. On the north the boulevard and towers had been replaced by bastions, and by this means the enemy was forced to begin operations at 1,000 yards. It is hard to realize that in those days 1,000 yards was not an effective range for artillery.

In 1636 these defenses successfully resisted an attempt to besiege them by the Imperialist troops, using trench approaches, which afterward became so highly developed in siege warfare. But the fortress was well commanded, and the attacking army, badly led and ill-disciplined, was ordered to raise the siege after four weeks of useless effort.

The next stage of the fortress (Figure 10) shows the highest development of the bastion by the great French en-

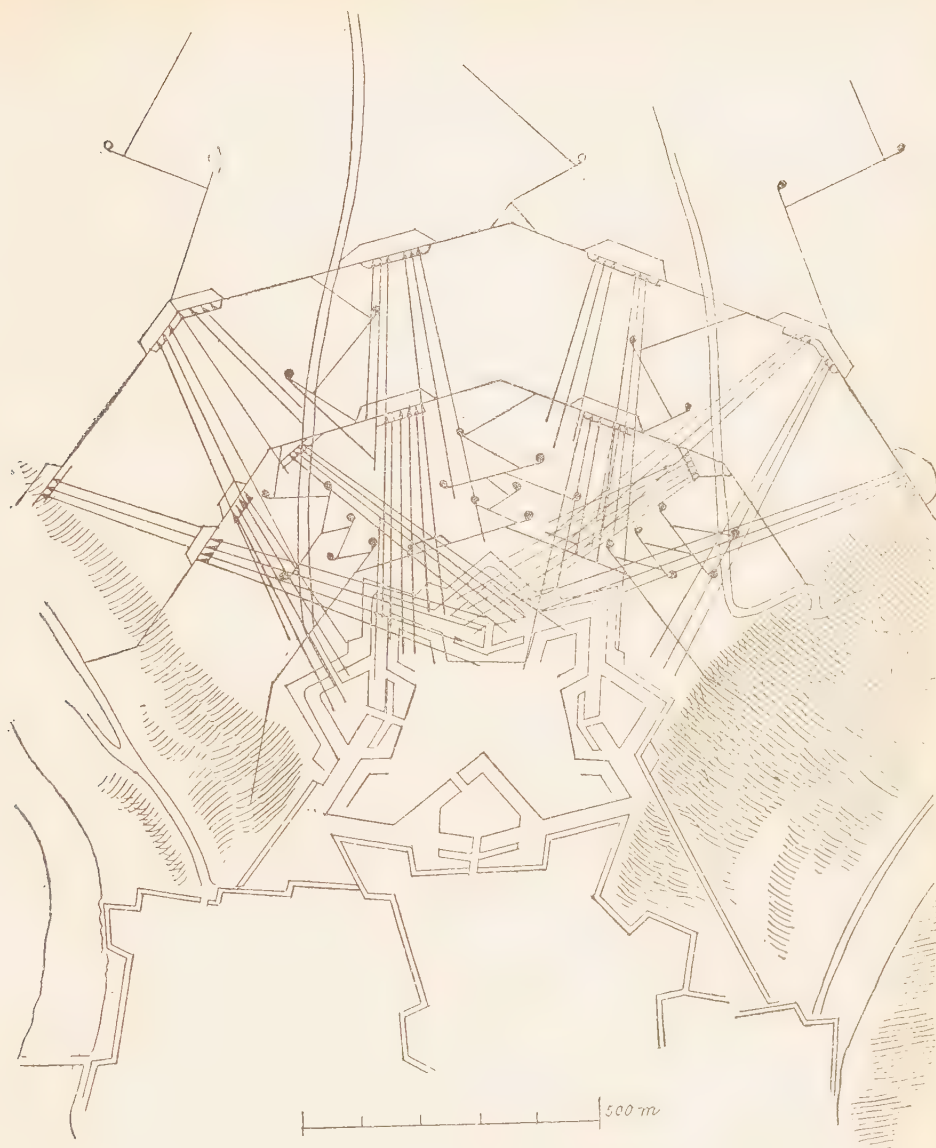


FIG. 11--THE SCIENTIFIC ATTACK ON VAUBAN DEFENSES

gineer, Vauban, who dominated the schools of fortification far into the nineteenth century. It will be seen at once how greatly the area of the artillery fire of the fortress was increased.

Figure 11 is a plan of the recognized attack on these Vauban works, which became the standard of European sieges. The trench approaches, placing of batteries, and successive advances to the

first, second, and third parallels are plainly shown. Following these approaches the final stage of a siege was still a breach and an assault, as in the attack on the feudal castle. These defenses and these prescribed methods of attack became accepted elements in warfare, and each fortress had its assigned strength and well defined amount of force and time necessary to reduce it.

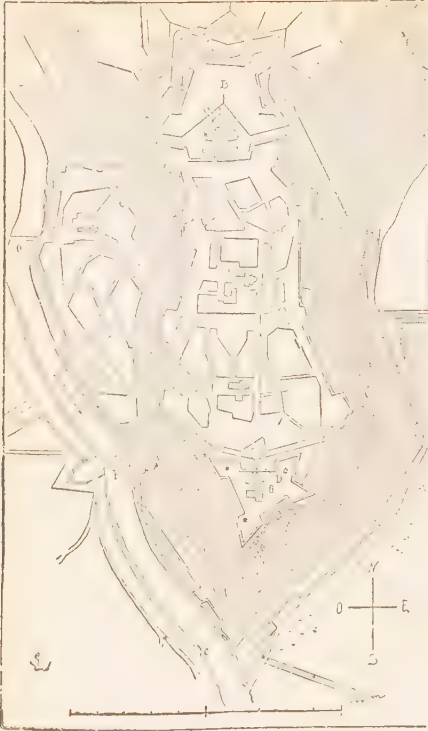


FIG. 10—VAUBAN'S DEFENSES

The siege of Sebastopol (1854) first upset all these accepted methods. This was a weak fortress, and it was thought that it would fall "after a short cannonade."* It unexpectedly withstood a siege of 349 days because the great Russian engineer, Todleben, made a bold use of "improvised defenses."†

Chain of External Forts

Of course these defenses approached the recent solution of the problem of fortification; but this was obscured by criticism of the attack, just as the actual solution at Petersburg, ten years later, was ignored in the first mistaken criticism of our civil war. At first there was so strong an impression abroad of a war of undisciplined mobs fighting against one another that the real results of the civil war in finding the best weapons and methods were not realized until the present war.

The rifled gun had so greatly increased



FIG. 12—THE ENCEINTE AND CHAIN OF FORTS

the range of artillery that, even in the formal European schools, it became evident that the bastion should be pushed forward and made an outwork of the fortress. This was the origin of the later plan of the chain of external forts. Viollet le Duc, among others, had urged this upon the French Emperor, but in the atrophy and official demoralization of the Second Empire little was done, and the French fortresses were an easy prey in the war of 1870. The Germans reduced most of the French fortresses at their leisure by bombardment. Verdun, which was then of the type of fortress shown in Figure 10, a bastioned enceinte with a Vauban citadel, fell after forty-three days.

Figure 12 shows Viollet le Duc's final scheme for the formal fortress, the enceinte and surrounding chain of forts and batteries. It will be seen at once that this was the plan of Verdun at the outbreak of the present war. But something more than this arrangement of

* Hamley.

† Sir George Clarke.

forts had given to the fortress the reputation of strength that scared away the first German attack in 1914.

Revolution Due to Howitzers

What made the empty threat effective was the artificial value that had been assigned to the new use of concrete and steel in the construction of the formal fortresses. So highly were these recent fortresses esteemed, as an adjunct of defending armies, that the German Great General Staff had not been able to realize the tremendous power over them of their howitzer artillery. So revolutionary was this weapon that it is not strange its effectiveness was not considered sufficient to upset all the calculations of years.

Only as recently as 1907 Sir Edward Clarke, the leading British expert, had declared that "the idea of breaching hidden casements by planting shells successively on a few square yards of area may evidently be dismissed as futile." Yet this is exactly what the Teutonic howitzer artillery has accomplished against all formal fortresses attacked by it. Every steel and concrete fort has proved to be a pent-house of destruction after a few of these deadly shells have

been dropped upon it. At once this became so evident, from the experience of Liège, Namur, &c., that in September, 1914, Verdun and the other French fortresses were intrenched, and became merely sectors of the Petersburg intrenchments which are now strung along the western front.

The chains of forts have been dismantled, and at the battle of Verdun in 1916 Verdun was no longer a fortress. It was nothing but the name of a system of trenches. Yet the name in the French mind meant the prestige of France, and for its defense they made the desperate stand that beat back the German attacks. The position in itself was of no more value than any other system of trenches.

It will be remembered that Fort Douaumont and Fort Vaux were no longer forts, but merely places in the lines of trenches. The great guns are no longer mounted in definite places. They are now scattered about on railway and caterpillar mounts, with every device of concealment and camouflage. The terrain is now a labyrinth of pits and trenches, with nothing left of the formal fortress. The whole structure of twenty-five hundred years has been overthrown in a few months.

What France Is Doing for Serbians

France, torn as it is by war, is supporting and giving refuge to 200,000 Belgians, furnishing them with the same kind of quarters as those allotted to French refugees from occupied territory; it has likewise gathered in many Serbians driven from their homes by the invader, and has set about preparing for the restoration of their unhappy kingdom by giving to Serbian youth the education best suited to the needs of national renaissance. A treaty signed at Corfu on Nov. 9, 1916, which the French Parliament has ratified, gives an official organization to this fraternal enterprise. It regulates the distribution of the young men among the universities and French normal schools, and arranges for the Serbian Government's nomination of Serbian professors to teach the literature, language, and history of their country. The treaty also provides for instruction of French students by these Serbian professors, exempts a certain number of Serbian students from the educational laws, and appropriates funds for their maintenance. This treaty is valid for three years and can be renewed for similar periods by tacit continuation.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, N. G. N. Y.; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

IX.—The Battle of the Somme

THE opening of 1916 was an anxious period for the Allies. France had held fast at Verdun against the most terrific attacks, but gradually the assailants pressed in closer, until at the end of May it seemed that even the heroic devotion of that marvelous defense must succumb. The world began to fear that England for some reason was unable to create the much-needed diversion in the north. Contemporary writers are contending that the Allies deliberately delayed their northern offensive in order to compel the enemy to maintain strong armies along the whole front to meet the attack which every one knew was soon to come.

It seemed that their well-known superiority over the Germans in both men and munitions ought to have made it possible to make strong feints at several places, in addition to launching a real attack on a great scale. Verdun, although an important link in the frontier defenses, was not, after all, a place whose loss would have been fatal to France. The moral effect, however, of a German success at Verdun might have been a serious matter. Such a result would have renewed Teuton hopes, and would certainly have disheartened many of the neutrals weary of waiting to see the Germans defeated. Whatever the real reasons may have been, it is safe to say that the Allies delayed their northern attack to the very last moment if the diversion was intended to save Verdun. When they did strike, however, their attack was on a scale both in extent of front and duration of effort far beyond anything they had previously undertaken on the western front.

A remarkable feature was the great part played by the French, who proved their ability to develop a major offensive on a wide front while continuing to hold the defenses at Verdun with forces strong enough for frequent counterattacks. The

vitality of the French after the trying defense of Verdun was one of the surprises of the war.

The weeks immediately preceding the great attack in Picardy seemed full of promise for the Allies. In June Italy had checked the dangerous Austrian attack on the Trentino, and in the first week of the same month Brusiloff began the attack on Galicia and Bukowina which threatened to crush Austria.

The struggle had raged steadily in Flanders and Artois through two hard years. Whenever the thunder of guns quieted elsewhere in Europe, Asia, or Africa, attention always returned to Ypres, Loos, Souchez, Vimy, Hulluch, and the Labyrinth, where the war gods never ceased to gather their steady toll of British, French, and German lives. A little further to the south lay Picardy, the Santerre, a sobriquet reminiscent of the old wars, when the fair fields were the sang terre of a hundred bloody campaigns. But since the Autumn of 1914, when Castelnau and Maud'huy had won the race for the coast by extending and covering the allied left flank, the lines which congealed then into the intrenched positions in Picardy had been the quietest of all.

Germans in the Ascendancy

London had been whispering for months about the "great push" which was to come, but all through the Spring there was very little activity along the British front, except for mine explosions and tunneling, mingled with small trench raids. In April, May, and June there were a number of brilliant small exploits, but mostly distinguished as sharp counterstrokes recovering trenches which the Germans had stormed. There was a noticeable lack of initial attack, and the best that could be done appeared to be the prevention of any large permanent gain by the enemy. If the game of mili-

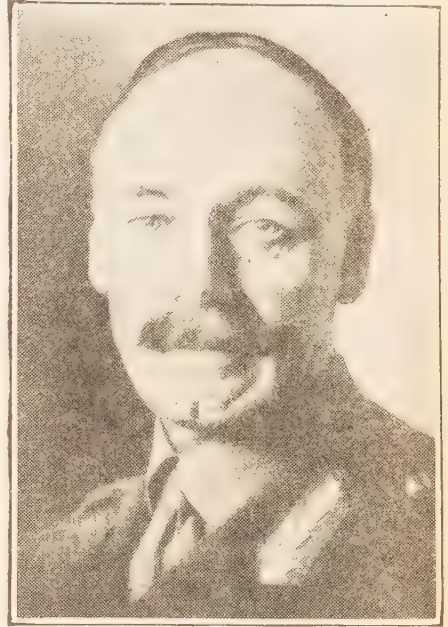
tary supremacy was to be the ability to maintain the initiative it had to be confessed that the decision would rest with the Germans. The great attacks were theirs in Russia, the Balkans, and at Verdun, while in the east their defenses had been much more than negative successes in Gallipoli and Mesopotamia. Only in Armenia had victory rested with the Allies when the Russians took Erzerum and Trebizond. In June the Italians just managed to stop the Austrian attack in the Trentino.

It was high time for the Allies to force the rôle of the defense upon the Germans. The saving of Verdun was an immediate and obvious necessity, but demonstration of an ability to maintain a successful aggressive campaign against the enemy was a greater and more important need. The situation was realized and the Winter and Spring had been used to perfect the equipment necessary for a great offensive. Both England and France poured men and munitions into the sector north of the Somme, where the enemies faced each other on a wide curve running from the river east of Maricourt and west of Mametz, Fricourt, La Boisselle, Ovillers, Thiepval, Beaumont, Hamel, Serre, Gommecourt, and Monchy to the railway from Bapaume to Arras.

Above Thiepval the Ancre crossed the battle front, flowing south to join the Somme back of the French front. As the battle developed into its later stages the shallow valley of this little river was the scene of long, hard battles about Grandcourt, Pys, and Miraumont. South of the Somme, just before the great battle opened, the Germans scored some gains at Frise and Dompierre, which indicated their appreciation of the fact that a storm was brewing whose force they desired to judge by reconnoissance in the region where they doubtless anticipated it would break.

Earlier in the Spring they felt out the French positions in the region of Roye and Albert, but the perfection of their fortifications in the chalk hills of Picardy made the Germans confident that any allied effort there was doomed to certain failure. They had not been idle while

the fighting paused for long months in this region, for they had eagerly seized the opportunity to convert every hill and village into a scientific fortification provided with intricate approaches and numerous supports. The hill villages were



GENERAL SIR HENRY RAWLINSON

real fortresses, with deep-sunk refuges for the garrisons in time of bombardment, and artfully concealed machine-gun nests only to be disclosed when attacking infantry presented a worth-while target.

General Haig's Preparations

While the Germans were digging in, General Sir Douglas Haig was improving roads, building military railways, dug-outs, field hospitals, and magazines. More than a hundred pumping plants were installed to provide an adequate supply of water from many new wells, and when the engineers were not boring wells they were driving mines under the enemy's front line works. General Sir Henry Rawlinson commanded the troops assigned for the attack, with his left flank below Gommecourt and his right in touch with the French above Maricourt. On this front of less than fifteen

miles the British had five corps, with a reserve army lying ready behind. The co-operating French army, (the Sixth,) formerly that of Castelnau, was commanded by General Fayolle, and comprised three corps of war-tried veterans, including the famous Twentieth, which at Verdun had won great fame in Douaumont and Avocourt.

While these great armies, with their enormous artillery equipment, were being assembled it was essential that the German air scouts should be prevented from discovering the location of the concentration. Apparently the allied airmen won the control of the air in Picardy, for the Germans were for some weeks brushed out of the sky over that area. Through the latter part of June both British and French batteries began to bombard the enemy lines along the whole front, through Picardy, Artois, and Flanders, and it is believed that the enemy was led to expect the attack much further north than the Somme sector, probably somewhere between Albert and Arras. Rain in the last week of June delayed the operations for several days, but more than seventy trench raids were made, in addition to a number of gas attacks and mine explosions.

As the battle was planned, the British objective was the high ground between the Ancre and the Somme, through Thiepval, Longueval, and Ginchy, in the direction of Combles. The French were to attack below Combles and across the Somme. As the northern part of the British objective was commanded by the enemy positions on the further side of the Ancre, it became necessary to increase the scope of the British assaults by extending the attack to include Gommecourt, five miles above Beaumont Hamel.

Beginning of the Great Battle

At 7:15 on the morning of July 1, 1916, the bombardment reached the utmost fury. At half after the hour there was a pause for a few seconds, and then the bombardment shifted to a barrage, and on a front of twenty-five miles the allied infantry leaped from their trenches and rushed to the attack.

The immediate objective of the British infantry (six divisions) was the high

ground bisected by the Ancre, and despite the utmost gallantry these brave troops were doomed to a costly defeat. The fortified villages of Thiepval, Beaumont Hamel, Serre, and Gommecourt had withstood the hurricane of shell fire and remained practically impregnable. The extraordinarily deep shelters for both men and machine guns enabled the garrisons to return to the surface when the assault developed in time to sweep the advancing lines with rifle and machine-gun fire. Back of the villages the German artillery had excellent observation posts on high ground, and the ranges were figured with mathematical precision. Just before the assault the heavy German guns fired a cloud of six and eight inch high explosive shells into the British front line trenches, and their shrapnel barrage moved with the troops as they advanced.

At Beaumont Hamel a mine which had been seven months digging was exploded under an enemy redoubt, which was blown to pieces with all the ground about it. Nevertheless the German battalions showed splendid morale by immediately getting their automatic rifles and machine guns into effective action.

The British regiments advanced in many successive lines, and in spite of terrible losses some detachments penetrated deep into certain parts of the enemy positions. None, however, were able to hold the ground gained, and by nightfall the remnants of those splendid divisions were back in the old British trenches. Of the groups which fought their way into the German lines nearly a thousand were captured by the enemy, and even on the next day some others succeeded in fighting their way back.

Further south, where perhaps the Germans had not anticipated the attack, real successes were scored. Mametz and Montauban were taken, as well as the outlying defenses of La Boisselle. Fricourt was seriously threatened, and below Thiepval the Leipsic redoubt fell into the hands of the British, which proved a great point of vantage in the later operations. On July 2, about noon, another division was hurled at Fricourt, and that well-nigh impregnable fortress was taken.

On the first day the marvelous French infantry charged with characteristic speed and effect, which won complete success. They gained the outer defenses of Curlu and Hardecourt on the 1st, and completed the captures on the 2d of July. South of the Somme the French succeeded in surprising the Germans and captured Dompierre, Becquincourt, and Bussu, as well as Fay.

Results of the Opening Phase

In summing up the results of the opening phase of the great battle of the Somme, we may say that the Allies captured German first-line positions from Mametz to Fay on a front of about fourteen miles, with 6,000 prisoners and a large quantity of guns and stores. In the northern sector, where the enemy had anticipated an attack, the ground won could not be held because every position was rendered untenable by the perfect arrangement of secondary and flanking defense works. There the great battle resolved itself into a long series of siege operations, much like the German attacks at Verdun, only much more successful.

In the southern area of the battlefield on Sunday, July 2, the French followed up their initial successes by capturing Curlu, Frise, Mereaucourt Wood, and the powerfully fortified village of Herbecourt. At some places south of the river they broke through the German second-line positions, besides gaining the command of the railway from Combles to Péronne, and their advanced positions were not more than four miles from the latter city. For a short time it seemed as though a quick success might carry the French into Péronne and the British on to Bapaume by the southern approaches, but the arrival of strong German reserves, as well as the great losses incurred by the British in the northern sector, combined to defer the realization of those hopes for long months.

On July 3 and 4 the British infantry fought desperately and won La Boiselle, after suffering severe losses. Thiepval resisted all efforts to capture it, and although Contalmaison was stormed on July 7 it was recaptured by the Third Prussian Guard Division, (the "Cock-

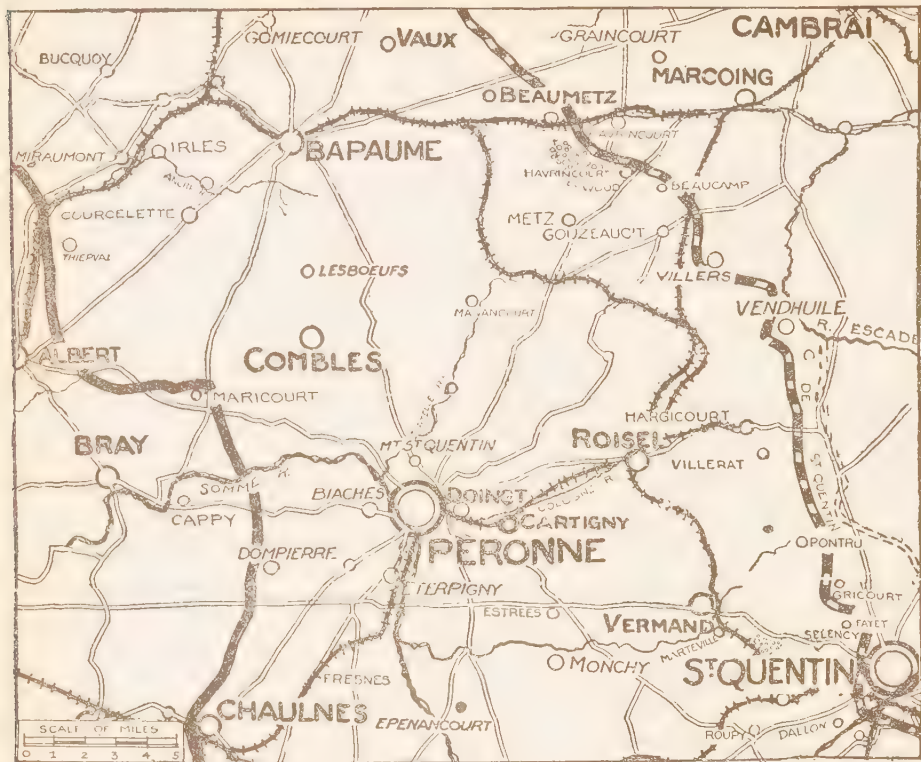
chafers,") who lost 700 prisoners when the village was first taken by the British. In heavy rain progress was made east of La Boiselle along the Bapaume road, and part of Leipsic redoubt was captured. Hard battles raged about several small wooded positions, and after several days of heavy battling Contalmaison was again stormed, and on July 10 captured, after bitter house-to-house fighting. On Sunday, July 16, Ovillers was taken, with 2 surviving officers and 124 soldiers of the Guards.

Through the early days of the month battles were fought for Fricourt Wood, Mametz Wood, Trones Wood, and it was not until July 12 that the British infantry fought their way through Mametz Wood so as to face the German second line positions. Even then neither side could claim Trones Wood.

Meanwhile the French, continuing to fight splendidly along the line of the river, after taking Belloy-en-Santerre, forced their way into part of Estrées and defeated numerous counterattacks. On Sunday, the 9th, Fayolles men took Biaches and were only a mile from Péronne. In less than two weeks' continuous fighting the French forced their way through to the German third-line positions on a front of approximately ten miles, capturing 85 guns, 12,000 men, and 236 officers.

Haig's Drive on Bastille Day

On Bastille Day (July 14) General Haig celebrated the great French fête day by a grand attack on a front from a point below Pozières to Longueval and Delville Wood, approximately four miles. Soon after 3 o'clock in the morning the Third and Fifteenth Corps attacked after a tremendous bombardment, and in the darkness before dawn reached the German positions with almost no loss. This attack was everywhere successful, and by evening the British occupied the whole of the German second line between Longueval and Bazentin-le-Petit. Trones Wood had been cleared, most of Longueval captured, and the British infantry had pushed up the road to within less than six miles of Bapaume. Cavalry had been brought close up the night before, to be ready in case an opening might be



MAIN AREA OVER WHICH THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME WAS FOUGHT

made toward the rear, through which the mounted men might ride to their long-hoped-for opportunity. That hope was not realized, for no break in the enemy line resulted, such was the perfection of his interior lines of defense.

In Trones Wood 170 men of the Royal West Kents were found surrounded by the enemy, but holding on grimly to a valuable point of vantage gained in the night attack. In the early evening of the 14th a troop of Dragoon Guards and a troop of Deccan Horse made their way up a shallow valley and intrenched in a cornfield at a point where they were able to cover the flank of the infantry attacking the formidable enemy positions in High Wood. The fight for this fortified wood continued on the 15th, but strong counterattacks by a German division compelled the British troops to abandon this very difficult position.

The Fight for Delville Wood

A hard battle raged for two weeks

about Longueval and Delville Wood, east of the little town. The British fought their way into the woods without great trouble, but found it impossible to retain the ground gained because of the machine-gun fire from powerful field works near by. The fight for this wood was among the deadliest episodes of the whole Somme battle. The South African brigade fought desperately for a foothold for several days, but finally was relieved, after suffering enormous losses. One splendid battalion, after losing all its officers, repulsed a powerful attack by a crack Brandenburg division; the long battle in this wood was as glorious for the South African troops as Ypres for Canadians or Gallipoli for Australians. Delville Wood was not completely conquered until the last week in August.

On July 16 Ovillers was captured, also Waterlot Farm, a strong fortification southeast of Longueval. Four days later the British renewed the assault upon

High Wood, and made considerable progress in that very difficult sector. The furthest corner of this wood was defended by a division of the Magdeburg Corps with the utmost bravery, and it required two months of hard fighting to finally wrest the last trench from its stubborn defenders.

At midnight on July 23 a bitter struggle began about Thiepval, and an Anzac division of Australians fought again as they had the year before against the Turks in Gallipoli. It was not, however, until the 26th that General Haig was able to announce the capture of this fortified town, to which the Germans clung with heroic tenacity. In the last days of July the capture of Longueval was completed, and hard fighting in Delville Wood won some gains. The Germans repulsed an attack on Guillemont, and as the month ended they defeated powerful attacks at Pozières, although they could not prevent the Australians from gaining a position on the edge of their intrenchments after furious hand-to-hand fighting.

On Aug. 4, at 9 in the evening, the Australians rushed the fortified windmill on the crest of the ridge northeast of Pozières, and won as well the German second-line trenches. A counterattack with liquid fire temporarily dislodged them from a small section; but even that was again taken, and in the following week, in spite of very heavy losses, these splendid British soldiers drove their attack still further into the Teuton lines about Pozières and in the direction of Mouquet Farm, a strong fortification commanding the northwest approach to Pozières and the highway from Albert to Bapaume. The troops who won these successes at great cost continued to suffer heavily from a deadly flanking fire from the German fortifications at Thiepval and heavy batteries further to the north and northeast.

The Situation in August

Before the middle of August the French had conquered all the German positions south of the Somme, and on the 12th, in a perfectly planned assault on a front of fully four miles, penetrated German positions to an average depth of about 1,200 yards. This advance aimed

straight at the main road from Péronne to Bapaume, reached the edge of Maurepas, and below that town cut well across the Maurepas-Cléry road. Still further south they won the Monacu Farm position and drove the enemy fully 700 yards beyond. A few days later they linked up their left flank with the British right north of Maurepas.

In the middle of August the British continued to fight hard at Pozières, High Wood, and Guillemont in heroic efforts to win better protection for the left flank of forces holding the trenches won earlier in the month. Gradually gains were reported northwest of Pozières and in the region of Bazentin le Petit and Martinpuich. About the same time the Germans were compelled to yield some ground near Mouquet Farm and Ginchy. At 8 A. M. on Aug. 18 two British battalions charged suddenly and captured the powerful Leipsic redoubt, south of Thiepval. This attack was so well planned that plenty of machine guns were immediately available to repulse the enemy's counterattack. Elsewhere that day progress was won close to Martinpuich and Longueval, but after capturing the stone quarry close to Guillemont this strong fortification was lost in a counter-attack.

The French, co-operating with great success, carried part of Maurepas and stormed a hill position southeast of the town, which was defended by a division of the Prussian Guard newly arrived on the battle line. Although the whole of the First Guard Corps of Prussians was now confronting the French between Maurepas and the Somme, the wonderful poilus yielded never an inch of ground once recovered from the invaders.

On Sunday, Aug. 20, after a severe bombardment the Germans recaptured some trenches lately lost to the British near High Wood and Mouquet Farm, but failed to hold their own when in turn counterattacked. Several days later the Germans repeated their efforts at Guillemont, but failed, and on the 24th the British carried in a fine attack the Hindenburg trench, an outlying defense of Thiepval, and on the same day the French completed the conquest of Maurepas and kept touch with the British

between that town and Guillemont, thus continuing their drive toward Combles. Five German attacks were repulsed on the last day of August by a battalion of the Sussex regiment, between Ginchy and High Wood.

Sunday, Sept. 3, saw the next great concerted attack by the Allies. British and Australian troops took but could not hold High Wood, Ginchy, and Falfemont Farm, a mile southeast of Guillemont. The Prussian Guards opposing them proved themselves foes worthy of the best soldier traditions in courage and tenacity. A number of positions were won and held east of Mouquet Farm.

Fighting for Their Own Homes

Further to the south the French First Corps, recruited from the northeast of France, and consequently fighting to redeem their own homes, attacked gloriously in the sector from the Somme to Maurepas, where they stormed and held the villages of Le Forest and Cléry. Above Le Forest the French drove their attack to a point above the crossroads on the southern edge of Combles.

The Irish Guards captured Guillemont, the strong fortified village in the second line of the German defenses, which had withstood every previous attack. This British success a mile and a half west of Combles helped consolidate the splendid French victories south of the town, although the loss of Falfemont Farm left the Prussians in a salient between the heads of the allied advance. On Sept. 4, however, the British made some new progress near the farm, and, pressing on at night in heavy rain, they gained Leuze Wood and all of the farm position, thus getting within a thousand yards of Combles on the west and northwest.

At the same time a new French army—General Micheler's Tenth Army—attacked the Germans south of the Somme, and in one sudden rush on a front of three miles carried the German first line from Chilly to Vermandovillers and took several thousand prisoners. The next day the French attacked on both sides of the Somme, and won a number of woodland trenches and the ridges between Bouchavesnes and Cléry, as well as the village of Omiécourt.

The Germans made a number of powerful counterattacks on Sept. 7 and 8 along the whole front, but failed completely in the face of the greatly superior allied artillery. On Sept. 9 the Irish regiments which took Guillemont captured Ginchy, but a number of other attacks broke down, notably one aimed at a field fort called the Quadrilateral, east of Ginchy. Nevertheless, the Allies were pressing hard upon Combles, north of the Somme, and the new French army south of the river was less than half a mile from Chaumes, an important centre of roads and communications. The Chaumes-Roye railway was cut and the Germans seemed quite unable to halt this new French force, which was so greatly extending the scope of the attack on the German line.

Thiepval a Hard Problem

It was evident that renewed efforts must be made by the British to drive the enemy back in the region from Thiepval north, where the Germans had defeated all efforts to dislodge them. Unless that could be done there would be a dangerous exposure of the left flank of forces pushing on toward Bapaume beyond Pozières and Longueval. The danger of salients is a lesson well taught in this war.

As the Germans lost ground in July and August, they busied themselves with new lines of defense back of what was the third line in their original scheme. This new line assumed the characteristic form of the later German defenses, in which prominence is given to powerful field forts mutually supporting rather than continuous lines of intrenchments. Thiepval was a notable example, and the Germans made every effort to similarly fortify Courcelette, Martinpuich, Flers, Lesbœufs, and Morval. This series of defenses was particularly interesting to the student of fortification, because it followed the plan which was so successful in Champagne in the Autumn of 1915. It will be remembered that the field works which stopped the French then were on the reverse side of the hills and so close under them that the entanglements and trenches were practically uninjured by the preliminary bombardment.

SNAPSHOT OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS IN DISORDERLY RETREAT



A Scene During the Russian Retreat in Galicia. The Russian Flight Seen in This Photograph Was caused by the Cry, "The German Cavalry Have Broken Through"

(Copyright 1915, by the Associated Press)

GERMANS CAPTURED IN THE BATTLE OF FLANDERS



A Large Haul of German Soldiers Captured by the British During the Great Battle in Flanders. The Prisoners Are Being Marched to the Railroad

So here these villages lay on the reverse side of the main ridge, hidden from view except to aerial scouts. In addition the Germans fortified Gueudecourt, Le Sars, Encourt l'Abbaye, on a still further interior line, with an additional back stop along the Péronne-Bapaume road in the region of Le Transloy and Sailly-Saillisel. All these must be reduced before Bapaume could be taken, but again allied hopes were running high.

When Rumania Entered

In the end of August Rumania entered the war on the allied side, an event hailed by all who longed for the defeat of the Teutons as a sure factor toward the accomplishment of that end. Brusiloff's successes were so impressive, and at that time looked so permanent, that Rumania felt it needful to get in at once if she was to be reckoned among the victors, for just then Sarraill seemed ready to contribute toward a conclusion by sweeping up through the Balkans. In the light of what soon happened to Russia and Rumania, it seems difficult now to remember that a great majority of the onlookers held strongly to these opinions. The first of September, 1916, looked as though it might be the beginning of the end, for in addition to all the hoped-for things in the east, it had been proved that in the west the French and British had men, guns, and munitions sufficient to push the German out of his most skillfully designed defenses.

In the Somme battle the German higher command had used the finest troops at their command, but Prussians, Brandenburgers, Bavarians had all been compelled to yield ground. Most important was their inability to recover any of the ground. Pushing them back was a sure, although slow and very costly, process. Of course, the hope under the surface everywhere was that their defense somewhere would crack and permit a great manoeuvre battle on the open field. The immediate objective of all this welter of blood and treasure was the quite unimportant town of Bapaume, in front of the British, and Péronne, facing the French. Many miles back from those places lay the points of real importance—

Lille, Douai, Cambrai, St. Quentin. That was (and is) a line of French cities where the Tricolor must float again before the days of the German on French soil could begin to be numbered. It is hard to realize that the battle of the Somme, one of the hardest in all history, was an attack upon an outer line of defenses only. However, as the Allies were definitely committed to the plan of pushing the German front back rather than attempting to roll his line up from a flank, it was evident that the work of the Summer must be continued with grim determination.

Coming of the "Tanks"

For the renewal of the struggle Britain brought up the corps d'élite of the army. Old regulars, Guards, and new army men, although of different designations, were all by now war-tried veterans with proud histories of hard fighting. Australians, New Zealanders, and the men of Newfoundland contributed famous units to fight side by side with Scotch and Irish regiments.

For the new offensive a new weapon appeared, officially called "Machine Gun Corps, Heavy Section," but soon to become widely known by their frolicsome nickname, "tanks." Looked upon as an experiment, the British had faith enough in their possibilities to make a very considerable number of these heavily armored vehicles, propelled on caterpillar wheels by powerful motors, and armed with machine guns. The German Secret Service seems to have known of their preparation long before the British troops on the firing line had ever seen one, and when the "tanks" got into action they met a new armor-piercing bullet especially intended to stop them. The story now widely told is that a certain lovely woman spy in Paris and elsewhere gleaned the knowledge from an indiscreet officer of the "tank" service who fell under the influence of her wiles.

Nevertheless, the huge leviathan-like creatures waddle over the battlefields, crushing entanglements, straddling trenches, and rumbling up the streets of battle-torn villages, always spitting showers of machine-gun bullets and often adding a material terror for those facing

them in the trenches. Of course, the optimistic accounts of widespread terror and panic created by their appearance were gross exaggerations. If all that was claimed had been true, there would have been nothing for the British infantry to do but gather up herds of frightened Germans and shepherd them back to the prison pens.

Combles and Thiepval

By the middle of September all arrangements had been perfected, and on the night of the 14th the Fifth Army began by storming the Hohenzollern Trench and a redoubt called the "Wunderwerk," southeast of Thiepval. For three days the British bombardment had continued, and at 6 o'clock on the morning of the 15th it developed into absolute fury. A few minutes later the British infantry were over their parapets, with the queer mottled tanks, spitting fire, rumbling along with them. That afternoon the Canadians carried Courcellette, and it was a proud day for French Canadians to help win back some of the ancient motherland. The Scotch stormed Martinpuich, a position of great strength. After a terrific battle the London territorials finally cleared the Bavarians out of High Wood, although their losses were very heavy. The New Zealanders took Flers. On the right flank the Germans in the Quadrilateral and Bouleaux Wood defeated the best efforts of the Guards brigades, assisted by an old regular division and London territorials.

As a whole the day was a great triumph for the British. Of the twenty-four tanks which crossed the German line seventeen kept in action all day and were undoubtedly a great help in attacking machine-gun nests and concealed trench refuges. The allied air service at this time seemed distinctly to master the Germans and contributed greatly to the efficiency of the British artillery fire. Among the long list of casualties, England's Prime Minister mourned his son, Lieutenant Raymond Asquith of the Grenadier Guards.

When the British charged, the French were never idle, and on the 13th Fayolle's men stormed Bouchavesnes and took more than 2,000 prisoners. On the 14th they

took a fortified farm southeast of Combles, and on the 17th and 18th below the Somme these splendid fighting men won Vermandovillers, Berny, and Deniécourt. In the next few days both British and French withstood hard counterattacks, and on the 18th the British finally won the Quadrilateral, after stern, close fighting.

At high noon on Sept. 25 another great attack began. The guards this time triumphed and took Lesbœufs and a regular division stormed Morval, on the road north of Combles. The French captured Raucourt, east of Combles, and thus nearly completed the circle about that strongly fortified place. On the 26th the British were masters of Gueudecourt, and the French stormed Fregicourt and Combles.

Further to the north, Thiepval, that long-sought fortification, was finally captured by two divisions of the new army. Mouquet Farm and Zollern redoubt were also won. September was a month of great triumph for the Allies on the Somme. With October bad weather came, and heavy gales with drenching rain greatly delayed projected attacks, as the country roads became almost impassable for transport and communications.

Last Phases of the Battle

Early in October some ground was gained beyond Le Sars along the Albert-Bapaume highway. Then for a month a wearisome struggle went on up the slopes of Warlencourt, where the Germans had installed their machine guns with great skill. On Nov. 5 the British gained the crest, but were driven out that night by a newly arrived German Guard division.

After Thiepval was taken, it was still needful to face strong nearby defenses above the village, where two redoubts, Stuff and Zollern, were not reduced for some weeks. Late in October both were finally captured, with the top of the ridge between Upper Ancre and Courcellette. The French in this Autumn fighting took Saint Pierre Vaast Wood, and on Oct. 8 won a way across the Bapaume-Péronne road. In turn they won Ablaincourt and the approaches to Chaules. About the middle of October

Fayolle took Saily-Saillisel after a series of hard battles, but the Germans regained Saily at the end of the month.

In the middle of November, when the frost had stiffened the roads, the British renewed the attack against the high ground above the Ancre, where the Germans held fast at Serre, Beaumont Hamel, and Beaucourt, with a powerful position in the rear at Pusieux-du-Mort. Hard fighting followed at all of these places, and especially about Beaucourt, but the British would not be denied a

firm grip on these essential heights commanding Bapaume, and by the time the Winter storms ended the battle of the Somme they were well established east of Beaucourt and above Grandcourt.

Five months of fighting had won back only a rather narrow strip of French soil, but one in which the enemy had exhausted every defensive device. The ground was ready for greater things in the next year, and the battle of the Somme had sealed the fate of the great German offensive at Verdun.

Harry Lauder at the Front

This poignant story, told by Dr. George Adams, describes a visit made by Harry Lauder, the singer and comedian, to his son's grave in France:

THE men went wild with enthusiasm and joy wherever he went. One day I was taking Harry to see the grave of his only child, Captain John Lauder of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, as fine a lad as ever wore a kilt, and as good and brave a son as ever a father had.

As we were motoring swiftly along we turned into the town of Albert and the first sharp glance at the cathedral showed the falling Madonna and Child. While we lingered a bunch of soldiers came marching through dusty and tired. Lauder asked the officer to halt his men for a rest and he would sing to them. I could see that they were loath to believe it was the real Lauder until he began to sing. Then the doubts vanished and they abandoned themselves to the full enjoyment of this very unexpected pleasure. When the singing began the audience would number about 200; at the finish of it easily more than 2,000 soldiers cheered him on his way.

It was a strange send-off on the way that led to a grave—the grave of a father's fondest hopes—but so it was. A little way up the Bapaume road the car stopped and we clambered the embankment and away over the shell-torn field of Courcellette. Here and there we passed a little cross which marked the

grave of some unknown hero; all that was written was "A British Soldier."

He spoke in a low voice of the hope-hungry hearts behind all those at home. Now we climbed a little ridge, and here a cemetery, and in the first row facing the battlefield was the cross on Lauder's boy's resting place.

The father leaned over the grave to read what was written there. He knelt down, indeed he lay upon the grave and clutched it, the while his body shook with the grief he felt. When the storm had spent itself he rose and prayed: "O God, that I could have but one request. It would be that I might embrace my laddie just this once and thank him for what he has done for his country and humanity."

That was all, not a word of bitterness or complaint. On the way down the hill I suggested gently that the stress of such an hour made further song that day impossible. But Lauder's heart is big and British. Turning to me with a flash in his eye he said, "George, I must be brave; my boy is watching and all the other boys are waiting. I will sing to them this afternoon though my heart break!" Off we went again to another division of Scottish troops.

There within the hour he sang again the sweet old songs of love and home and country, bringing all very near, and helping the men to realize the deeper what victory for the enemy would mean.

Joffre and Hindenburg: Their Methods and Battles

A Study by Gabriel Hanotaux

Member of the French Academy

M. Hanotaux, the historian and former Foreign Minister of France, has prepared a series of important articles on the early battles of the war, in some cases citing facts and documents not generally known. The following, translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, comprises interesting portions of M. Hanotaux's studies, including a luminous explanation of the battle of Tannenberg. First comes an analysis of the French retreat from Charleroi to the Marne, (August, 1914,) in which appears this sketch of General Joffre.

EYEWITNESSES have related that in those hours of secret anguish, when he alone could know how great was the peril, General Joffre remained his accustomed self, attentive, studious, busy, confident. His anxiety was apparent only in his greater application. With half-closed eyes he concentrated his mind, and words addressed to him found him silent.

The virtues of Joffre are, in the moral realm, calmness, and, in the intellectual realm, equilibrium. Such is his nature, in which reflection aids instinct: when he does not feel sure, he seeks. He feels every modification in the balance of forces, and, moving himself, so to speak, as a counterpoise, he revises his plans, re-forms the lines, and is not satisfied until he has restored stability.

In the terrible crisis in which he found himself, when the enemy had suddenly thrown to the west of him forces heavier than those which he could oppose to them, his first movement on learning the facts was to seek for a new equilibrium. Even before the enemy movement was completed he intervened. Not a moment did he delay in mending the raveled woof, in repairing the torn situation: he cut his cloth to sew it anew.

Many a commander would have been stubborn. Fighting foot by foot is a resource that tempts soldiers, if merely for its heroism. But Joffre realized that to stop his armies, even for battle, was to risk their destruction. Before all, they must escape in order to get a fresh hold.

He saw and acted at the same time—clear vision and promptness. Joffre in adversity revealed himself to himself and to the country. His figure then appeared as it will remain in history, grave, strong, and resolute. France found a man, a chief, a captain.

Joffre's Note to His Armies

[The historian goes on to retrace the measures taken by General Joffre to regain the initiative, citing this important official note, which contains all the essentials of a new tactic adapted to the circumstances. The comments in brackets are those of M. Hanotaux:]

General Headquarters, Aug. 24, 1914.

It appears from what we have learned through the fighting up to the present day that our attacks are not executed with a close combination of infantry and artillery. Every operation of a whole army should consist of a series of actions in detail aiming at the conquest of points of support. [Is this not a whole tactical philosophy?]

Every time that one wishes to capture a vital position it is necessary to attack with the artillery, to hold back the infantry, and to send it to the assault only at a distance which makes it certain that the objective can be attained. [From that time forth there were no more attacks without artillery preparation.]

Every time that it has been attempted to throw the infantry into the attack from too great a distance, before the artillery has made its action felt, the infantry has fallen under the fire of machine guns and has suffered losses that could have been avoided. [A measured criticism of the gravest of the errors that led to the first reverses. We have here the "binding-together of the different arms" and their

subordination to the end in view, not to more or less systematic theories.]

When a vital position is taken it should be organized immediately, trenches dug, the artillery brought up in order to checkmate all counterattacks of the enemy. [The use of intrenchments, the employment of artillery to organize the ground won; trench warfare has made its appearance.]

The infantry seems not to understand the necessity of organizing itself in battle for long endurance. [The idea of the tactics of the long breath and even of a company organized for duration is substituted for the earlier idea of a war of movement and spirited offensive. Joffre appears as he is, a genius of stability.]

Throwing into line numerous and dense units, it immediately exposes them to the fire of the enemy, which decimates them, summarily stops their offensive, and often leaves them at the mercy of a counter-attack. [Here already we have the grave danger of the counterattack. Now the counterattack, as the future will show, is the whole of this war.]

It is by means of a line of riflemen sufficiently spaced and continually supported [how much in two words!] that the infantry, sustained by the artillery, should lead the battle, holding on in this way until the moment when the assault can be judiciously delivered. [A reminder of the most beautiful French quality, judgment, discretion.]

The German cavalry divisions always go into action preceded by a few battalions in automobiles. Thus far the main bodies of their cavalry have never let themselves be approached by our cavalry. They travel behind their infantry, and from there send out cavalry detachments [patrols and reconnoitring parties] that seek the support of their infantry as soon as they are attacked. Our cavalry pursues these detachments and strikes against positions solidly held. [An exact picture of the tactics introduced by the German cavalry—also a lesson.] Our cavalry divisions should always have infantry support to strengthen them and increase their offensive powers.

The horses also should have time to eat and sleep; without that the cavalry will be worn out prematurely before having been employed.

The General Commanding in Chief.
J. JOFFRE.

[Upon the basis of this note there followed a regrouping of the French armies and the preparation of the offensive that saved France at the Marne. In another article M. Hanotaux continues:]

I have tried to indicate the origins of the battle of the Marne. It is admitted henceforth that what constitutes Joffre's

glory is to have been able to parry the German plan of encirclement, based on the doctrines of von Schlieffen; to have parried it on the right by his army of the east, which stopped the enemy before the forest opening at Charmes, and, on the left, by his decision to transport a part of his troops from the east to the west in such fashion as to seize the mastery of events on the Ourcq and throw the Germans back upon the Aisne.

These gifts were won for history, but in order to appreciate all their value I wish now to try to compare the events that took place on the eastern front at the moment when those just referred to were taking place on the western front.

As we shall see, the German military chiefs applied the doctrines of von Schlieffen there also; but there they won success with them. The campaign in East Prussia presents a positive proof that fully confirms the negative proof of the battle on the French frontier.

The Russians in Prussia

Two Russian armies had invaded East Prussia; one, commanded by Rennenkampf, followed the great railway that binds Petrograd to Berlin by way of Gumbinnen, Insterburg, Allenstein, Eylau, on toward Thorn on the Vistula. While besieging or masking Königsburg, Elbing, Danzig, it counted upon occupying East Prussia and there awaiting the success of the general manoeuvre aimed against Austria by the Grand Duke Nicholas.

The other Russian army came from Warsaw and the banks of the Narew. It advanced from south to north in order to march, like the other, upon the Vistula in the direction of Danzig, there to join Rennenkampf's army and clear the way to Berlin.

The preliminary mission intrusted to the two armies of the north was singularly facilitated by the fact that Germany, not foreseeing so rapid a mobilization of the first Russian armies, had left on that frontier only three active army corps and some reserve formations. The two Russian armies—separately weaker than the German army—would be much stronger than it when once united. Unfortunately, they were not in

close communication with each other, being separated by the almost impenetrable region of the Masurian Lakes.

The first commander of the German army, von Prittwitz, advanced on the frontier before Rennenkampf; he was beaten at Gumbinnen on Aug. 20. Rennenkampf advanced as far as Insterburg on the railway north of the Masurian Lakes; he installed his army in East Prussia and threatened Königsberg. Meanwhile Samsonoff, coming from the Narew, was debouching to the southwest of the lakes and skirting them with the object of joining Rennenkampf near Osterode-Eylau.

The German army, which was still facing Rennenkampf near Gumbinnen, saw its communications menaced by this advance of Samsonoff. It beat a precipitate retreat, and von Prittwitz believed he had no choice but to retire behind the Vistula. The population was fleeing as far as Berlin.

There was a great sensation in the headquarters of the German General Staff, which had staked everything on the western front, and which at that moment (Aug. 20-22) still had some painful fighting to do at Charleroi, in the Ardennes, and on the Lorraine frontier, so that it did not feel any too sure of victory.

The Coming of Hindenburg

It was in this hour of peril that a dispatch, dated at Namur, went to seek at Hanover in a tavern where he was smoking his pipe and drinking his habitual bock an old, retired General, Hindenburg, and named him at one stroke the commander of the army on the eastern front. For his second in command they gave him Ludendorff, who, leaving Namur with all necessary instructions, came to seek him at Hanover. The two men took the train together in the night of Aug. 22, studying their maps on the journey, formulating their plan, and writing their orders.

Far from thinking of retiring behind the Vistula, Hindenburg and Ludendorff decided to resume the offensive against the Russian armies, attacking them separately while they were still divided by the Masurian Lakes. Hindenburg first

turned his attention to Samsonoff's army, which had come from Warsaw and the Narew, and which most directly menaced his communications. Samsonoff was an impetuous man; having excellent troops, he was full of confidence, and was marching straight ahead; he was just the man to fall headforemost into the trap that his enemy was setting for him.

This was the trap: Hindenburg had arranged his troops in a vast semicircle formed by the lines of hills on each side of Allenstein, the one toward Usdau on the west and the other toward Willenberg on the east. The Twenty-second German Army Corps, at the entrance of the semicircle, at Soldau, on the railway from Warsaw, received an order to engage Samsonoff's army, and to retreat while fighting, thus luring it as far as possible into the curve of the German lines. At the proper moment the two sectors of the semicircle were to close in upon Samsonoff, envelop and crush him; it was Schlieffen's manoeuvre, the extension of the front and the action of both wings.

Samsonoff entered the semicircle in pursuit of the Twenty-second German Corps, the Twenty-second fell back, Samsonoff followed, forcing it westward, and finally establishing his headquarters at Allenstein. He believed he had won a victory. His right, finding no enemy forces before it, extended itself northward and reached the Petrograd-Berlin railway near Rastenburg.

Samsonoff's Army Trapped

The position of Samsonoff may be compared to that of the classic runner, with his right hand stretched high in the air toward Rennenkampf, the body in full career, but the left foot delaying in the rear toward Usdau. It was exactly at this moment when Samsonoff was hurling himself forward, that Hindenburg, beginning the real manoeuvre, seized him by that left foot. A German force, coming partly from Thorn, and reinforced by all the units available, appeared at Usdau and threw itself against the communicating lines of Samsonoff in the direction of Soldau.

Samsonoff failed to grasp the meaning of this movement, and went on pursuing his idea of breaking the German

front at the middle. He hurled himself against the Hohenstein-Tannenberg lines, which Hindenburg had garnished with his heavy guns and his best troops. The latter withstood the shock of Samsonoff's desperate assaults, which were renewed for three days—Aug. 26-29.

Meanwhile Hindenburg's extreme right wing continued its turning movement, gained the first advantage at Usdau, and marched next upon Soldau with the object of closing the door on Samsonoff at that point. In the other direction Mackensen, who held the eastern sector

of the semicircle, turned Samsonoff's flank on the east, defeated his right wing, and pushed on toward Willenberg, the other door. Without pausing in the pursuit he turned toward Samsonoff's main force, which was still fighting desperately in the direction of Hohenstein-Tannenberg, and fell upon its rear. It was the same as if von Hausen had succeeded in his Meuse manoeuvre on the western front and had fallen upon the rear of Lanrezac at Charleroi.

The Battle of Tannenberg
Apparently at that moment Samsonoff



SCENE OF THE BATTLES OF TANNENBERG AND THE MASURIAN LAKES

realized what was happening. He tried to snatch himself out of the trap; he evacuated Allenstein in haste and rushed toward Soldau to open a way toward the Narew and Warsaw. It was too late. Hindenburg's right wing had entered Soldau. The doors of escape were closed one after the other. In the swamps and network of little lakes Samsonoff's army was surrounded. It fought heroically, a hopeless fight. Even surrender, if it had been desired, was impossible. After the incredible efforts of five whole days of battle there remained only the shattered fragments of a great army, strewn about in the trackless maze of swamp lands; troops wandering through the woods, units mixed in a hopeless mob, cannon mired in the stagnant water, regiments formed from soldiers of all arms, the most vigorous débris gathered up by the most energetic officers in order to break through the circle by charging at random!

Some divisions got through. Others clung in rags to the thickets of thorn trees, or wandered in circles, completely lost. Samsonoff did not wish to survive the disaster; he placed himself in the first ranks and was killed by a shell, which also struck his Chief of Staff. Thus ended what the German historians call emphatically "the greatest battle of destruction in history." They all give the credit to the strategic teachings of Schlieffen. I have before me a German brochure explaining the battle of Tannenberg with diagrams; its title is "From Hannibal to Hindenburg," and it contains this sentence: "It was Schlieffen who before his death dictated the whole plan of the great war against France and Russia."

Battle of Masurian Lakes

For reasons that have not been explained Rennenkampf had remained motionless at Insterberg while Samsonoff was getting himself crushed at Tannenberg, two marches away. On hearing the news he felt the danger that now menaced himself. He adopted measures against it, but measures directly inverse to those of Samsonoff, and, in a different way, no less unwise. Samsonoff had attacked headlong and without manoeu-

vring. Rennenkampf resolved to defend himself where he was. He supported his right on the sea at Libau, his left on the Masurian Lakes at Lötzen; he fortified his centre on the Berlin-Petrograd railway, along which he expected Hindenburg to approach. He threw up earthworks all around him, and made of the space between Allenburg and Lötzen an enormous redoubt, in which were crowded four army corps. Thus prepared and equipped, in a position that seemed to him impregnable, he waited.

At only one point he thought of a sort of countermanoeuvre. Orders were given that fresh troops from Grodno should advance along Hindenburg's flank in the direction of Lyck, and should fall upon the German right wing in case it tried to debouch to the east of the Masurian Lakes.

Hindenburg, in spite of the difference of situation, undertook to repeat against Rennenkampf the manoeuvre that had just succeeded against Samsonoff. It is always the great idea of Schlieffen. The battle began on Sept. 6 and coincided exactly with the French battle of the Marne. Hindenburg had received from the western front two corps, the Eleventh and Guard Reserve, besides a division of cavalry. Thus he took all the reserves that the interior could furnish, and he threw every man of them into the battle. The troops went into the conflict wearied by terrible marches, but, thrilled by the triumph of Tannenberg, they had faith in their victory.

Hindenburg began with a feint. On his left the Königsberg garrison, reinforced by the sea route, made a sortie and threatened to cut off Rennenkampf in the direction of Tilsit. But the real attack was made on the right the next day, Sept. 7. Mackensen, von der Goltz, von Morgen, von François debouched by all the roads from the Masurian Lakes, advanced upon Lötzen, Gross Gablick, Goldhap, and undertook to cut off Rennenkampf from the Russian frontier. It was the manoeuvre of encirclement. The German right wing, ceaselessly reinforced, fought a series of terrible battles that lasted four days.

Here appeared the happy results of

the somewhat tardy manoeuvre which Rennenkampf had improvised; the fresh troops, the Third Siberian Corps and the rest debouched from Grodno. There followed an hour of anguish for Hindenburg, which sufficed to save Rennenkampf. The latter, assailed on both flanks and at the centre, did not do as Samsonoff had done; he did not become stubborn. Profiting from the hour of hesitation produced by the manoeuvre on his left, he retreated. His centre had been subjected to terrible assaults; he had lost his foothold at Allenburg, Gerdauen, Gumbinnen. He was barely in time. His army regained the frontier after a most painful retreat.

Here Hindenburg's success was incomplete. Schlieffen's system provides only for absolute crushing. Rennenkampf escaped. I cannot give the details of the military operations—they can be found in my "History of the War." But the point I am making is in the comparison of the

operations on the west and east fronts. Samsonoff took the offensive without manoeuvring, Rennenkampf stood on the defensive almost without manoeuvres, while Joffre, who knew his business, was manoeuvring all the time. He took the Schlieffen system on its weak side, that of rash extension of front. The Germans, held back first at the breach at Charmes, were finally beaten on the Marne.

Thus was obtained the greatest reversal of fortune, perhaps, that history has ever seen. The Yser, Verdun, the Somme, are the daughters of that initial thought. The battles of Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes throw light for us on the battle of the Marne. The Schlieffen system succeeded on the one hand and failed on the other. The manoeuvre of Joffre was one of the most beautiful intellectual operations of military genius in all time; it is a magnificent expression of French genius.

How Lorraine Was Saved in 1914

Told by Maurice Barrès

Of the French Academy

Among the valuable historical sketches called forth in France by the third anniversary of the Marne was one contributed by Maurice Barrès to L'Echo de Paris, describing the little-known battle in which General Castelnau hurled back the German invasion east of Verdun, two weeks before the Marne battle. The essential portions of the article are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

OUR enemies could believe themselves masters of the world in August, 1914. With what proud confidence they advanced after Sarreburg, after Morhange, after Charleroi! And yet they were stopped so hard and so definitely that they never tried to seize Paris, or Nancy, or the passage of the Moselle. Let us recall those days of our extreme peril and understand by what virtues of our soldiers and commanders, by what complete unity of the French people, we obtained that miracle of victory.

Visiting Lorraine to help my fellow-countrymen celebrate at Rozelieures, at Gerbéviller, at Mesnil-sur-Belvitte, the great deeds done by the armies of Castelnau and Dubail, I traversed daily the

scene of the "battle of Charmes," which others call the battle of Borville or the battle of Rozelieures. Aug. 25, 1914, the culminating point, decisive of a long battle which was itself the pivot of all the manoeuvres of the Marne, was a day of immense importance. It assured the safety of Lorraine and of France. * * *

The gratitude of Lorraine and of France ought to be inscribed upon the school of Pont Saint Vincent, where General Castelnau—working amid the absolute confidence of his army and of the people, because of his knowledge of Lorraine and his admirable character, seconded and supported by a General Staff whose chief was General Anthoine—directed the battles of Charmes and of

the Grand Couronné. It was on Aug. 22, one hour after noon, that Castelnau came to establish his headquarters in that modest structure, now venerable. Whence did he come?

On Aug. 19, 20, and 21 the armies of Dubail and Castelnau had fought at Sarreburg and Morhange—fought without success. Nevertheless, the Germans, who had suffered heavy losses in those battles, made no attempt to cut off our line of retreat. They had lost contact. Our two armies fought during their retreat by a combined movement in which the two commanders helped each other. I hope some day to be able to tell the story of General Dubail as he stood in the City Hall of Rambervillers and directed the victorious resistance of his troops and of the Twenty-first Corps.

From the Blandan Barracks at Nancy on Aug. 20 General Castelnau had, under pressure of necessity, taken all precautions to assure the defense of Nancy and to permit his main forces to establish themselves behind the Meurthe and the fortified front of the Grand Couronné. His wish was not to give battle until after all the army corps were completely remade. The country people described the scene to me along the routes of march—the columns finding their way, the isolated men regrouping themselves, the trains, the parks of artillery, the convoys winding along the left bank of the Meurthe. Recovery of contact with the Germans took place on the 22d; they had received reinforcements, and our rear guards and cavalry sought to check them and understand their direction.

Would there be time to finish the preparations on the heights of the Grand Couronné? And on the heights of Saffrais, of Belchamp, of Borville, where the work was dragging? Could the armies stop up the hole just in front of the forest opening at Charmes, that is to say, at one of the decisive points between Castelnau's right and Dubail's army? Would there be troops enough to guard that thirty-seven-mile front from Sainte Geneviève to Dorville? Those expected from the Alps—released

by Italy's assurances—could they arrive for the decisive hour?

All those problems were thought out and controlled by Castelnau in the little schoolhouse of Pont Saint Vincent, where, hour by hour, depending upon his air scouts and cavalry, he knew or divined what the enemy was doing or intended to do, leaving his maps only to walk back and forth with hands behind him, or to throw himself for a few hours fully dressed upon a couch in a corner of the room, surrounded by his staff.

On the evening of the 23d, and still more in the night of the 24th, he emerged from his keenest anguish, being convinced that he could stop the retreat, that his troops were in condition to fight. All his positions were ready and solidly held. To guard against every contingency, the destruction of the bridges over the Moselle and lower Meurthe was arranged for—even down in the forest opening of Neufchâteau—and the fort of Bourlemont was armed and reoccupied. In the region of Lenoncourt he got together a strong group which he held ready with all the available forces of the Twentieth Corps to execute a powerful counterattack.

Where will the shock come? The first part of the morning of Aug. 24 passes in the expectation of an assault by the Germans on the Rembêtant, that is to say upon Nancy, but behold! at 8 o'clock from all directions comes the information to Pont Saint Vincent that two German army corps are marching southward in all haste toward Charmes.

In place of attacking Castelnau on the heights, the Germans evidently have taken for their objective the possession of the bridgeheads on the Moselle. They are going to be able, in the neighboring woods of Charmes, to approach the river without being seen or touched. Even before reaching it they will seize, on the right bank, the line Vesoul-Epinal-Nancy, which at this moment has become one of the great arteries in which flow the life and hope of France. Ten miles further on, at Tantonville, on the left bank, is another artery no less active, the line of Chalindrey - Mirecourt - Nancy, which brings to the Grand Couronné night and

day the means for its resistance. Beyond lie Neufchâteau, Chaumont, the death of all our hopes.

In his haste Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria refuses to believe that Castelnau and Dubail have been able to re-establish themselves; he executes before them "the manoeuvre of scorn," as von Kluck was to do a little later before Gallieni and Maunoury; he does not try to join battle with them, but to outstrip them on their lines of communication. He rushes forward, he pushes his columns along, thus laying his flank open to the blows of the Grand Couronné.

Instantly Castelnau profits by this imprudence of pride. He orders an offensive upon the flank and rear of the enemy columns, yet a limited offensive, without engaging his principal force, without relinquishing the support of his positions, which he continues to reinforce for the reception of any attack. And at the same time (about 10 o'clock in the morning) his cavalry corps, which is commanded by General Conneau, and which includes the famous regiments from Lunéville, pushed by the Germans in the direction of Charmes, makes a stubborn stand on the crest of Morviller, on the Naquée Farm and in the Jointois Wood, inflicts serious losses with its artillery,

and, finally, in the evening, falls back in good order upon Dorville, thus assuring the union of Castelnau and Dubail and stopping up the neck of the bottle in the direction of the Moselle.

Borville! In the evening of the 24th, in the little schoolhouse of Pont Saint Vincent, General Castelnau, bending over the map of these regions, which, as a former resident of Nancy and a Lorrainer at heart he knows marvelously, repeats ceaselessly the name of that obscure village. Borville! His thought returns continually to that plateau—military students say that peak—a plateau in two parts, the Haut du Mont and the Bor-mont, which dominates the country, and upon which he wishes to establish his strongest artillery before daybreak.

During the whole night of the 24th, a night that is heavy and starless, the cavalry batteries of the Sixteenth Corps, all that could be called in time, are hurrying up that mountainside. We are going to see them, during the day of the 25th, hurling their thunderbolts from morning till night upon the German advance, barring its passage, making it vacillate, driving it back and saving the Moselle.

Elsewhere the troops from the Alps, freed by Italy, have arrived at the rear of the Charmes front.

To the Students of Liège

(August 1914)

By BERNARD FREEMAN TROTTER

[The author of this poem, a Canadian and a graduate of McMaster University, Toronto, was killed at the front in France, June, 1917.]

In old Liège, when those dark tidings came
Of German honor callously forsworn
And the red menace that should bring the scorn
Of ages on the Kaiser's name and shame
And crown their city with a deathless fame,
The students wrote, they say, that Summer morn
For their degrees, then joined the hope forlorn
Of Liberty, and passed in blood and flame.

O valiant souls! who loved not Duty less
Than Honor, whom no fears could move to shirk
The common task, no tyrant's threat subdue
When Right and Freedom called in their distress—
Not vain your sacrifice nor lost your work;
The World's free heart beats high because of you!

Lord Haldane's Mission to Germany

Important Official Conversations at Berlin in
1906 and 1912 Bearing on Issues of the War

RICHARD BURDON HALDANE, now Viscount Haldane, was British Secretary for War under the Premiership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and in September, 1906, he accepted an invitation from the German Kaiser to visit Berlin at the time of the military manoeuvres. He was working in close connection with Sir Edward Grey, then Foreign Minister, with whom, in December, 1905, he had begun the international discussions which led to the entente with France regarding military assistance in case France should be invaded.

Before his trip to Berlin he had conversed with the French General Staff. The idea of these conversations was that, if Germany attacked France, Great Britain should help with an expeditionary force to hold the French frontier opposite Belgium. Haldane was convinced that assistance could not be given within a reasonable time, and bent all his thoughts toward organization for extreme rapidity in mobilization and transport, which meant complete reorganization of the British Army. The system then established served as the effective basis for British military operations when war came eight years later.

Emperor William read a speech which Haldane had made to Germans in London, and invited him to attend the German Army manoeuvres. At Berlin the British War Secretary and his two assistants were allowed, at their request, to make a thorough study of the German War Office and its system. Afterward Haldane took part in several important official conversations on questions bearing upon the possibilities of just such a war as has since broken out. The British Government has never given the text of these conversations to the public, but they have been seen in printed form by men in Government positions, and on Sept. 1, 1917, *The Manchester Guardian*

published an article containing interesting portions of them. According to the writer of this article, Lieut. Gen. von Moltke, Chief of the German General Staff, in a conversation asked Haldane to put whatever questions he liked.

"In that case," replied Haldane, "I shall call for the plans for an invasion of England."

Von Moltke replied, "We have not one in the building," to which Haldane, looking out of the window toward the Admiralty, said, "Perhaps they are there." Von Moltke admitted that they were there, and that they were very good plans, too.

The Bagdad Railway

The article gives for the first time details of Emperor William's negotiations of the Bagdad Railway agreement. While visiting Windsor Castle in November, 1907, Emperor William took Haldane aside the first evening of his visit and said how sorry he was there was so much friction over the Bagdad Railway.

"My answer was we wanted a gate to protect India from troops coming down the new railway," said Haldane.

Asked what he meant by a gate, Haldane replied that he meant control of the furthest off section of the railway—the one nearest the Persian Gulf. To this Emperor William replied:

"I will give you the gate."

The Foreign Office regarded the negotiations favorably, but it was considered necessary to bring in France and Russia, whose interests also were involved. A conference in Berlin of the four powers was arranged with the support of Emperor William, but it was defeated at Berlin on the ground that an agreement about the Bagdad Railway was no business of Russia's.

This, says the article, was the first and clearest indication of two facts about German foreign policy—that the Emperor

was not quite master in his own house and that official Berlin was divided into two parties, one anxious for a working agreement between England, France, and Germany, and another, not yet avowedly a war party, regarding all these attempts as hopeless or dangerous, or both. Then, and for some time afterward, Emperor William belonged to the first party and genuinely was anxious for friendly relations with England. The Crown Prince, with Admiral von Tirpitz and the General Staff, and probably Prince von Bülow, belonged definitely to the second.

The party division became much sharper, and later was persisted in by Germany even after the war began. Haldane had German sympathizers in the same sense that Emperor William had English sympathizers, who believed it was for the good of the world that England and Germany should come to an understanding. The key to Haldane's whole policy was, while preparing against the eventual triumph of the anti-English party, to strengthen as far as possible those in Germany disposed to be friendly.

Haldane at Berlin in 1912

Viscount Haldane visited Berlin in the Spring of 1912, not to negotiate a treaty, but under instructions by Sir Edward Grey to discuss affairs freely and refer everything to the Cabinet. This visit was much more significant from the international point of view. It was after Agadir, when Germany realized for the first time that England meant to stand by France. It was brought home to the Kaiser by Mr. Lloyd George's statement at the Mansion House, as coming from the well-known pacifist of the time. The message was all the more significant, coming from him. But what really disturbed the Kaiser was the fact that Lord Haldane had mobilized—that is, he had had everything ready, and had but to touch the button to concentrate the troops. The Kaiser knew more about the mobilization scheme than English people did, and he did not like it. What he did not know was that the First Lord of the Admiralty at the time (Mr. McKenna) objected to providing transports to carry the expeditionary force to France. He

was in favor of military isolation. Mr. McKenna's opposition to the expeditionary force was the reason why he was moved from the Admiralty and Mr. Churchill put in his place. Mr. Churchill completed the transport arrangements in close co-operation with the War Office. Something like a joint staff was created.

The subjects of conversation at Berlin in 1912 were the general European situation and the German shipbuilding program in consequence of the growth and power of Germany as the head of the Triple Alliance. Naturally, there had been other powers which tended to approximate thereto, but there was no reason why the Triple Alliance and what was called the Triple Entente should not be friendly.

Viscount Haldane assured Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, who seemed skeptical, that Great Britain had no agreement with France and Russia except as had been published. Great Britain's military preparations were not hostile. Referring to Morocco, Viscount Haldane said that if Germany had intended to attack France and destroy her capacity to defend herself Great Britain would have had such an interest in the result that she could not have stood by and seen it done.

Chancellor Makes Proposition

Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg proposed as a formula that neither England nor Germany should enter into any combination against the other. Substantially the following conversation ensued:

Haldane—I don't like that way of putting it. Suppose Germany joined in an attack on Paris, or Belgium, or Portugal, which we are bound by our treaty obligations to defend.

The Chancellor, (satirically)—Or Holland.

Haldane—I am not clear about the treaty situation in regard to Holland, but supposing Germany were to pounce upon France and proceed to dismember her? England surely could not stand idly by.

The Chancellor—Yes, I suppose what you say is fatal to my formula.

Haldane—What about an undertaking against aggressive or unprovoked attack and against all combinations and plans directed to that end?

The Chancellor—But how can you

define what is meant by aggressive and unprovoked attack?

Haldane—How many grains make a heap? But one knows a heap when one sees one.

Haldane asked what good was an agreement if Germany was going to increase her battleships and force England to do the same. England, he said, certainly would have to lay down two keels to Germany's one.

Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg was anxious to meet Haldane, says the writer in *The Manchester Guardian*, but evidently was nervous about what the Admiralty would say. The next day the question was discussed at luncheon with Emperor William, Admiral von Tirpitz, and Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg.

Haldane made the point that an agreement would be bones without flesh if Germany went on with her new fleet. The Emperor was visibly disturbed at the suggestion that there could be no political agreement worth having unless there was an agreement about German shipbuilding.

Admiral von Tirpitz said it was hard for Germany to make any admission about Great Britain's two-power standard. Haldane said the initiative was with Germany. The conversation resulted in the dropping of one battleship from Germany's program. Count zu Reventlow in his book asserted that three were dropped.

Tentative Agreement Reached

The next day the conversation between the Chancellor and Haldane resulted in a provisional approval of Haldane's formula for the entente, with the addition of three important articles. These were:

If either side became entangled in a war in which it could not be said to be

the aggressor the other would observe benevolent neutrality and try to localize the conflict.

The neutrality should not apply where there were no reconcilable existing contracts. The contracting powers were to do all in their power to prevent differences between them and other powers.

The Chancellor offered England an exceptional position in the railway between Bagdad and Basra. Haldane asked for the controlling position. Germany was to recognize England's political interests in the Persian Gulf and Southern Persia and to help England get from Turkey a concession for an extension of the railway from Basra to Koweit. Germany asked certain territorial changes in Africa.

The article says that the proposed settlement was, on the whole, favorable to England, except that Turkey was drifting into the position of a dependency of Germany. Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg would have yielded on the naval difficulty for the sake of an agreement in the Near East, but Admiral von Tirpitz had his way for the sake of a few ships which have been of no value to Germany in the war.

The article concludes:

"Haldane tried by every means consistent with Great Britain's interest and honorable obligations to strengthen the hands of the moderates in Germany, while his enemies have strengthened the hands of the extremists and supplied them with arguments that England, despite her fair professions, was the real enemy.

"Considering the political forces at work, the war may have been inevitable, but those who tried to make headway against the current have no reason to regret their endeavor."



Secret Diplomacy of Two Autocrats

The Kaiser-Czar Correspondence

SIXTY-FIVE telegrams exchanged by the German Kaiser and the Czar of Russia in 1904-07 were discovered in the Czar's secret archives at Petrograd, where a correspondent of The New York Herald obtained and published them. The documents had been unknown even to the Russian Ministers of State, and the world would probably never have learned of their existence but for the sudden depositing of the Czar. They are vouched for by Vladimir Burtseff and M. Schegoloff, who have charge of the imperial Russian archives, and any lingering doubt of their authenticity was removed on Sept. 8 by the publication of a German semi-official communiqué in the Rhenish Westphalian Gazette and other Government organs in the following terms:

There was an exchange of telegrams between the Kaiser and the Czar in 1904 and 1905 with the object of defeating English pressure and maintaining peace. The exchange arose from the fact that Britain at that time put difficulties in the way of provisioning and coaling the Russian fleet on an Eastern voyage by German supply ships. The Kaiser's proposal for common action was met by the Czar with a far-reaching proposal for a treaty.

Probably the publication of this correspondence at the present moment will produce an appearance of autocratic action to support President Wilson's message to the Pope, but it should be realized that at that time the Czar held an autocratic position and the Kaiser would have been guilty of grave dereliction of duty if he had not exercised his personal influence with him. It is a great pity that the Kaiser's efforts failed, for otherwise the world might have been spared the present war.

Plot to Isolate England

The correspondence was carried on in English, and was so intimate that the two sovereigns signed themselves "Willy" and "Nicky." The period was that of the Russo-Japanese war, and the Kaiser made many suggestions as to how to conduct it. His chief object, how-

ever, was the formation of a triple alliance, consisting of Germany, Russia, and France, for the isolation of England. With this end in view, as the telegrams reveal, he made strenuous efforts to get the Czar to sign a secret treaty with him, which was to be unknown to Russia's ally, France, until after it was completed; then France would confront a *fait accompli* and would have to join. It appears that such a treaty was actually signed by both Emperors, but was afterward torn up when Count Witte discovered its existence.

But the real significance of the Willy-Nicky correspondence, as one commentator remarks, was neither in the Kaiser's disposition to meddle everywhere, nor in the Czar's weak willingness to betray France, but in the proof that two autocrats could thus plot in secret to dispose of vast national and international interests, very much in the spirit of two sovereigns planning to give each other a new uniform or decoration. Nowhere appeared an intimation that there was a Government to be consulted. The whole affair was kept from the knowledge of Chancellors and Foreign Ministers.

Paris and the British Fleet

The text of the principal telegram from the Kaiser to the Czar is as follows:

Berlin, Oct. 27, 1904.

For some time the English press has been threatening Germany that she must on no account allow coals to be sent to the Baltic fleet, now on its way out. It is not impossible that the Japanese and British Governments may launch joint protests against our coaling your ships, coupled with a summons to stop further work. The result aimed at by such a threat of war would be the absolute immobility of your fleet and its inability to proceed for want of fuel.

This new danger would have to be faced in common by Russia and Germany together, who would both have to remind your ally France of the obligations she took over in the treaty of the dual alliance with you in the event of a *casus*

foederis arising. It is out of the question that France on such invitation would try to shirk her implicit duty toward her ally. Though Delcassé is Anglophile and would be enraged, he would be wise enough to understand that the British fleet is utterly unable to save Paris.

In this way a powerful combination of the three strongest Continental powers would be formed, to attack which the Anglo-Saxon group would think twice. Before acting you ought not to forget to order new ships, so as to be ready with some of them when the war is over. They will be excellent persuaders during the peace negotiations. Our private firms would be most glad to receive contracts.

The Dogger Bank Incident

In the night of Oct. 21, 1904, Russia's Baltic fleet, on its way to Japanese waters, sighted what its excited officers believed to be two Japanese torpedo boats in the North Sea near the Dogger Bank, and opened fire on them—with the result that they sank one British trawler, killing two fishermen and wounding six. The Czar's next telegram to the Kaiser shows how the incident played into Germany's hands, so far as the desired anti-British treaty was concerned:

St. Petersburg, Oct. 28, 1904.

Of course, you know the first details of the North Sea incident from our Admiral's telegram. Naturally, it completely alters the situation. I have no words to express my indignation with England's conduct. I agree fully with your complaints about England's behavior concerning the coaling of our ships by German steamers. Whereas she understands the rules of keeping neutrality in her own fashion, it is certainly high time to put a stop to this.

The only way, as you say, would be that Germany, Russia, and France should at once unite upon arrangements to abolish English and Japanese arrogance and insolence. Would you like to lay down and frame the outlines of such a treaty? As soon as it is accepted by us France is bound to join her ally.

In acknowledging the draft of the Treaty, the Czar telegraphed to the Kaiser as follows:

St. Petersburg, Nov. 23, 1904.

Before signing the last draft I think it advisable to let the French see it. So long as it is unsigned one can make small modifications in the text. I ask your agreement to my acquainting the Government of France with this project, and upon getting their answer I shall at once let you know by telegraph.

Hoodwinking France

Then the Czar changed his mind about showing the treaty to France. On Nov. 26, 1904, the Kaiser telegraphed to the Czar as follows:

You have given me new proof of your perfect loyalty by deciding not to inform France without my consent. It is my firm conviction that it would be absolutely dangerous to inform France before we have both signed the treaty. It would have an effect diametrically opposed to our wishes. It is only the absolute and sure knowledge that we are both bound by the treaty to lend each other mutual help that will bring France to press upon England to remain quiet and keep the peace for fear of France's position being jeopardized.

Should, however, France know that a Russo-German treaty is only projected and still unsigned, she will immediately give short notice to her friend, if not secret ally, England, to whom she is bound by the *entente cordiale*, and inform her immediately. The outcome of such information would doubtless be an instantaneous attack by the two allied powers, England and Japan, on Germany, in Europe as well as in Asia. Their enormous maritime superiority would soon make short work of my small fleet, and Germany would be temporarily crippled.

This would upset the scales of the equilibrium of the world to our mutual harm, and, later on, when you begin your peace negotiations, would throw you alone on the tender mercies of Japan and her jubilant and overwhelming friends. It was my special wish, and, as I understood it, your intention, too, to maintain and strengthen this endangered equilibrium of the world through an express agreement between Russia, Germany, and France. That is only possible if your treaty becomes a fact before the previous information of France leads to catastrophe.

On the following day the Kaiser telegraphed to the Czar as follows:

Berlin, Nov. 27, 1904.

Today again serious news has reached me from Port Said and Cape Town. There is now no time to be lost. No third power must hear even a whisper about our intentions before we conclude the convention about the coaling business. The consequences otherwise would be most dangerous. I, of course, place full reliance on your loyalty.

The Czar Nicholas replied on Nov. 28, 1904:

I fully agree that both our Governments must now come to a permanent under-

RUINS OF LA COULOTTE, CAPTURED BY CANADIANS



All That Was Left of One French Village of La Coulotte Near L. When It Was Captured by the Canadians After 3 Days Fighting
(Canadian Official Photo from Western Newspaper Union)

IN THE CRATER ZONE ON THE WESTERN FRONT



Shells being filled with water after heavy rain have been one of the causes of numerous transportation difficulties during the British offensive.

standing. You may fully rely on my loyalty and my wish to arrive at a speedy settlement of this serious question.

The Secret Treaty Signed

During the following year the telegraphic correspondence continued at intervals, ranging over various international questions of the hour. Russia had been beaten and the peace negotiations were in progress at Portsmouth, N. H., but the Kaiser continued to offer advice to his pliable friend, seeking always to make capital for himself at the expense of France and England. The telegram which indicates that the Willy-Nicky treaty was actually signed, though never revealed to France, was sent by the Kaiser at the end of September:

Gluchburgostsee, Sept. 29, 1905.

The working of treaty does not—as we agreed at Bioerkö—collide with the Franco-Russian alliance, provided, of course, the latter is not aimed directly at my country. On the other hand, the obligations of Russia toward France can only go so far as France merits them through her behavior. Your ally has notoriously left you in the lurch during the whole war, whereas Germany helped you in every way as far as it could without infringing the laws of neutrality. That puts Russia morally also under obligations to us; do ut des.

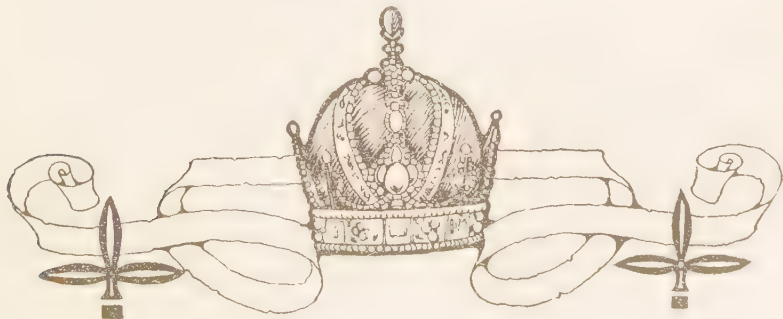
Meanwhile the indiscretions of Delcassé have shown the world that though France is your ally she nevertheless made an agreement with England and was on the verge of surprising Germany, with British help, in the middle of peace, while I was doing my best to you and your country, her ally. This is an experiment which she must not repeat again and against a repetition of which I must expect you to guard me. I fully agree with you that it

will cost time, labor, and patience to induce France to join us both, but the reasonable people will in future make themselves heard and felt. Our Moroccan business is regulated to entire satisfaction, so that the air is free for better understanding between us. Our treaty is a very good base to build upon. We joined hands and signed before God, who heard our vows. I therefore think that the treaty can well come into existence.

But if you wish any changes in the words or clauses or provisions for the future or different emergencies—as, for instance, the absolute refusal of France, which is improbable—I gladly await any proposals you will think fit to lay before me. Till these have been laid before me and are agreed upon the treaty must be adhered to by us as it is. The whole of your influential press, *Nowosti*, *Nowie Wremja*, *Russj*, &c., have since a fortnight become violently anti-German and pro-British. Partly they are bought by heavy sums of British money, no doubt. Still it makes my people very chary and does great harm to the relations newly growing between our countries. All these occurrences show that times are troubled and that we must have clear courses to steer; the treaty we signed is a means of keeping straight, without interfering with your alliance as such. What is signed is signed, and God is our testator. I shall await your proposals. Best love to Alix.

WILLY.

The exchange of telegrams continued intermittently until Aug. 2, 1907, but more briefly and with less cordiality on the Kaiser's part after the failure of his proposed triple alliance against Great Britain. The full story of how Count Witte, the Russian statesman, using the Berlin bankers as a lever, compelled the abandonment of the project still remains to be revealed when the German Kaiser's secret archives some day come to light.



How Turkey Joined the Germans

A Question of the Date Raised by a Secret Telegram From Berlin to King Constantine

TURKEY did not declare war against any of the Allies until Nov. 5, 1914, three months after the beginning of the great conflict. During that time the Entente Powers accepted Turkey's protestations of neutrality and sought to enlist Turkish sympathies on their side. Was Turkey deceiving the Allies all that time? The question is raised by the publication of a secret telegram in the Greek White Book, which was laid before the Chamber of Deputies at Athens on Aug. 18, 1917. The telegram is from M. Theotokis, the Greek Minister at Berlin, and is dated Aug. 4, 1914. On that day the Kaiser summoned Theotokis to an audience, read a telegram just received from King Constantine, and instructed the Greek Minister to reply as follows:

The Emperor informs me that an alliance has this day been concluded between Germany and Turkey. Bulgaria and Rumania also are taking their stand alongside Germany. German warships in the Mediterranean are to join the Turkish fleet and act with it. By this action the King of the Hellenes will see that all the Balkan States have joined Germany in the struggle against Slavism.

The Kaiser asks you to mobilize your army, place yourself at his side, and march with him hand-in-hand against Slavism and the common enemy. If Greece does not side with Germany there will be a complete breach between Greece and the empire.

The Emperor added: "What I ask today is the execution of what the two sovereigns have often discussed."

The next day Theotokis again telegraphed Constantine, saying Jagow had confirmed under seal of absolute secrecy the conclusion of an alliance between Germany and Turkey. Theotokis added that his impression was that the Emperor would not object to seeing Greece extend her territory at the cost of Serbia.

The London Times, always critical of the Asquith Government, accepts this "mortifying disclosure" at its face

value, holding that King Constantine and his Ministers knew of the German-Turkish alliance before Great Britain had even entered the war, whereas the Allies negotiated three months with Turkey while Turkey was already the sworn ally of Germany. "The Turks had actually to attack them before they would awaken to it," says The Times. "Our Ambassador at Constantinople was himself in England when the alliance was made, and seems to have returned to Constantinople with general instructions to work with the Turkish 'moderates,' though the Turkish Government, as we now know, was already committed against us. So late as Oct. 12 his anxiety was lest we should do anything which the Turks might interpret as aggressive, and thus weaken the resistance which these moderates were offering to Enver."

A diplomatic correspondent of The Westminster Gazette, however, presents an entirely different view, and in doing so reveals so much inside knowledge that the main portions of his article are here reproduced:

May it be pointed out that the so-called "documentary evidence" consists of the bare word of the Kaiser and his Foreign Secretary, speaking to a notably pro-German Greek Minister, with the avowed purpose of dragging Greece into the war on the side of Germany? May it be further suggested that what was at that date an obvious lie as regards Rumania and Bulgaria was possibly not an unimpeachable truth as regards Turkey, and that when this statement is confronted with the actual facts, such as eyewitnesses recorded them in Constantinople, the very different impression is created that the public is put in the presence, not of any sensational disclosure of diplomatic secrets, but of a characteristic instance of the constant Prussian practice of using falsehood and misrepresentation as tools in diplomacy.

As soon as the news of the German declarations of war reached Constantinople, a council of Ministers was summoned at the Porte to discuss the situation. In the course of that council the Minister

of War, Enver Pasha, moved a resolution that Turkey should immediately side with Germany. He found himself alone in his opinion, all the Ministers without exception declaring themselves against the proposal. Unfortunately, when Enver, as a subsidiary motion, proposed a partial mobilization, which he qualified as the pure precautionary measure which neutral neighbors always take, this was granted, and thus his personal power was dangerously enhanced.

That Enver Pasha henceforward became more and more troublesome, bullied his colleagues, and never ceased to advocate an alliance with Germany, there is not the slightest doubt. But there is also no doubt whatever that the Turkish dynasty, the great majority of the Turkish Cabinet, including the Grand Vizier, were steadfastly opposed to Turkey joining in the war, putting forward the reason that Turkey was already half ruined through the successive Tripoli and Balkan wars, and in the utmost need of rest and peace.

The Germans exerted all their cunning to help Enver. During the whole of August, 1914, they kept boldly asserting that Rumania had concluded an alliance with Germany and was ready to attack the Russians; in September, 1914, they asserted that the centre of the French Army had been broken through, the two wings routed, and France definitely put out of fighting condition. Even those tempting falsehoods did not prove persuasive. Not only did Enver fail to engineer a majority for war in the Turkish Cabinet, but some of his most important colleagues, the Grand Vizier included, openly declared that if ever such a majority was found they would immediately resign.

This lasted till the end of October, 1914, when the "coup" of the Black Sea was performed, that sudden aggression on the Russian harbors of Odessa and Theodosia by Turkish cruisers under command of German naval officers, which involved Turkey in the war. There is every reason to believe that it was accomplished by the Germans in understanding with Enver, because they realized that nothing but an unexpected and irretrievable accomplished fact could actually drive Turkey into that war alliance which they so ardently desired. With the exception of Enver, probably of the Minister of the Interior, Talaat Bey, and of the President of the Council of State, Halil Bey, and possibly of the Minister of Marine, Djemal Pasha, all the members of the Turkish Cabinet were taken by surprise, formally disapproved of war, sent a deputation to the French Embassy, begged

that the allied Ambassadors would not leave Constantinople, and offered apologies and an indemnity to Russia. They were told that either all the Germans must go—that is, all German naval and military instructors—or the Ambassadors would go themselves.

The Turkish Cabinet then begged that the mediation of America and Italy, still neutral, might be accepted, and that the Ambassadors would not leave. This was also rejected, and the Ambassadors left. Thereupon four Cabinet Ministers immediately resigned: Djavid Bey, Mahmoud Pasha, Oskan Effendi, and Boustani Effendi. The Grand Vizier declared that war was a "criminal folly," but was prevailed upon to remain in office by urgent and most likely threatening appeals to his patriotism. The aged and bodily and mentally weak Sultan was practically irresponsible. The Crown Prince Youssef Izeddin Effendi, receiving in audience of departure a personal friend of allied allegiance, commissioned him to convey to M. Poincaré and to Sir Edward Grey the expression of his deep sorrow and of his sympathy with the Allies.

The presumption is that, on Aug. 4, the Kaiser was trying to drag in Greece by the inducement and threat of a Turkish alliance, as he since tried to drag in Turkey by the inducement and threat of a Rumanian alliance, and, most likely, was endeavoring to drag in Bulgaria by the inducement and threat of a Greek alliance. It is quite possible that on Aug. 4 some secret undertaking was given by Enver, acting personally, to Liman von Sanders or to Wangenheim. But between a secret personal understanding with a Minister, and an alliance concluded with the Cabinet of which that Minister is a member, there is always, in constitutional practice, and in the facts of the case there is especially, such an abyss of difference that, before pronouncing against the keen and able diplomatists who fought to the last a hard fight in Constantinople, it were perhaps advisable to await more conclusive evidence than the obviously interested and palpably dubious assertions of Kaiser Wilhelm and Herr von Jagow.

The sudden death of the Turkish heir apparent, Prince Youssef Izeddin, in the Spring of 1916, is generally believed to have been due to his anti-German attitude. Though the official reports ascribed his death to suicide, the Prince's friends declared he had been assassinated. The facts discussed in the foregoing article seem to have a direct bearing upon his fate.

Germany and the Armenian Atrocities

Cowardice of the Policy That Permitted and Abetted the Crime Denounced by a German

Dr. Harry Stürmer, a former German army officer and war correspondent, has written a book entitled "Two Years in Constantinople," in which he describes the cruelties with which the Turks almost exterminated the Armenians, while German diplomats and military leaders looked on without a protest. Writing from Switzerland, Dr. Stürmer denounces the German Government and tells the story of how the sight of the Armenians' sufferings changed his life.

I HAVE spoken to Armenians who said to me: "Formerly Sultan Abdul Hamid massacred us from time to time by thousands. At stated intervals, in regular pogroms, we were turned over to the knives of the Kurds, and certainly suffered terribly. After that the Young Turks, at Adana, in 1909, showed they, too, could shed the blood of thousands of us. But since our present sufferings, rest assured we look with longing back upon the massacres perpetrated under the old régime. Now we have to complain not of a definite number of murdered people; now our whole race is slowly but surely being exterminated by the chauvinistic hatred of an apparently civilized, apparently modern, but, for that very reason, terribly dangerous Government. Now they are taking our women and children, who die on those long wearisome trips on foot that they have to make while being deported, or in the concentration camps without anything to eat. The few pitiful survivors of our people in the villages and cities of the interior, where the local authorities eagerly carry out the Central Government's orders, are then forcibly converted to Islamism, and our young girls are put into harems and houses of prostitution.

"Now that the Young Turks find themselves bleeding white in a disastrous war, they are trying to right the balance of the races and permanently establish themselves as the predominant element in the country. That is why these are not merely abortive outbreaks, but calculated political measures against our people; and therefore we can hope for

no mercy. Since Germany, weak and conscienceless, permits our extermination, if the war lasts much longer the Armenian people will simply cease to exist. And so we now look back with regret to Abdul Hamid's times, terrible as they were."

Was there ever any more terrific tragedy in the history of a race? And this was a race quite free of all illusions of nationalism, cognizant that it would be helpless crowded in between two great nations. The Armenians had felt no real impulse toward Russia until the Young Turks, whose comrades they had been in revolt against Abdul Hamid, foully betrayed them. They had been completely loyal to their Osmanli citizenship, more so than any other element of the empire, with the exception of the Turks themselves.

Torture of a Victim

I believe I have in these few paragraphs sufficiently characterized the spirit animating this policy of extermination, as well as its results. I only wish to put in evidence one more incident, which affected me most because it was a matter of personal experience.

One Summer's day in 1916, at about noon, my wife went alone to the Grand Rue de Pera to do some shopping. We lived only a few steps from Galata Serai, and daily could see the troops of unhappy Armenians enter the police station under escort of the gendarmes. Eventually you get hardened even to such sad sights and come to regard them not as individual but as political misfortunes. But this time my wife returned after a few minutes, all a-tremble. She hadn't

been able to go on. As she passed the "Caracol" she heard the sound of some one being tortured, muffled groans as of some animal in agony, half dead of pain. "An Armenian," was what a person standing at the entrance of the building told her.

At that moment the crowd was driven away by a policeman.

"If such things can be done in the bright light of day in the busiest part of the European city of Pera, then I wonder what they do to the poor Armenians in the uncivilized districts of the interior?" asked my wife. "If the Turks behave like wild beasts here in the capital, so that a woman can't go into the main street without meeting with this kind of terrible shock, then I can't go on living in this fearsome country."

Then she gave utterance to her boundless indignation at what, for more than a year, she had seen whenever we went out on to the streets: "You are brutes, contemptible brutes, you Germans, to allow the Turks to do this. You have the country absolutely in hand. Cowardly brutes you are, and I'm never going to set foot in your accursed land again."

At the moment when my wife, in her sorrow, indignation, and disgust at such cowardice, broke out into tears and flung at me her curse against my country, at that moment I mentally tore the ties that bound me to Germany. Truly, I had known enough for a long time.

German Assurances Distrusted

I remembered the conversations I had had with gentlemen from the German Embassy in Constantinople, and also with the American Ambassador, Morgenthau, about the Armenian question. I had never believed in the assurances, given out by the German Embassy, that it, the German Embassy, had done everything possible to stop the murderous persecutions of harmless Armenians, a long distance away from the front, who, from their very nature and social position, were in no position to meddle with political matters. I equally distrusted the German Embassy's assertion that it had done all it could to prevent the deported women and children—deported, no doubt, for that very purpose—from being al-

lowed to perish. On the contrary, I gathered the impression that the German Government's conduct in the Armenian matter was controlled by a mixture of motives—on the one hand, cowardice and lack of conscience; on the other, by shortsighted stupidity.

The American Ambassador, who warmly espoused the Armenian cause, naturally preserved a good deal of reserve when talking to a German journalist like myself, and would not give his real opinion of the conduct of his German colleague. Nevertheless, in my many conversations with this sympathetic person, who has done so much for humanity in Turkey, I heard nothing which would tend to destroy my impression of the German Embassy's conduct, and yet I gave some indication of my impression during my conversations with Mr. Morgenthau.

Germany's attitude gave evidence of the most shameless cowardice, I have said. We certainly had sufficient control of the Turkish Government in military, financial, and political matters to be able at least to force it to observe the most elementary rules of humanity. Enver, no less than Talaat, chiefly responsible for the Armenian persecutions in his capacity as Minister of the Interior and practical dictator, would have had no choice but to follow Germany unconditionally, once the alliance and war were entered into. They would have accepted an order to stop the Armenian massacres with gnashing of teeth, but unquestioningly, nevertheless. * * * I had been witness of the plight of a German lady, married to an Armenian deported en bloc with many others, who came daily to the embassy antechamber, weeping and asking for help. Yet the embassy always turned a deaf ear to her plea.

Even the Turks laughed at us for this boundless exhibition of cowardice; they said that the Russian Government, in spite of the abrogation of the capitulations, would, in Germany's position, surely have made a serious affair if the same thing had happened to a poor Russian Jew. Turks generally, in spite of their accustomed formal amiability, let me feel their contempt for our boundless lack of backbone. * * *

German Diplomats Blamed

I can't help imagining that, in spite of pretty official speeches, which I often heard at the German Embassy about the Armenian problem, the diplomats at bottom had very little interest in the salvation of this people. How do I come to make such a frightful charge? I was often at the German Embassy when the Armenian Patriarch, after some particularly terrible attack upon his people, came with tears in his eyes, and begged for help. And I never could discern anything in the excited hurrysings hither and thither of our diplomats except anxiety to preserve German prestige and wounded vanity, but never a worry for the fate of the Armenian people. I time and again heard from German lips from all sorts of individuals, from the lowest to the highest, expressions of hatred, based on absolute misunderstanding of the facts, against the Armenians, unconsidered repetitions of the official Turkish publications.

And, unfortunately, the fact has been established by nurses and doctors returning from the interior that German officers, more eager than some of the Turkish officials of local districts, who hated to carry out the instructions of the Committee of Union and Progress, light-heartedly took part in the extermination and expulsion of the Armenians. A well-known instance, and one sufficiently established by proof, was that of two traveling German officers who came to a little village in further Asia Minor, where some Armenians had taken refuge in the interior of a house, refusing to be driven away like animals. Guns had been placed in position to drive them out of their shelter. But no Turks were to be found with the courage to carry out orders and fire on women and children. These German officers, then, without any orders, took up the matter as a sporting affair, and seized the occasion to show their skill in artillery practice. Certainly such shameful occurrences were not taking place daily, but they exactly fit in with the spirit which inspired the utterances of dozens of highly educated, highly placed Germans—not military people—with regard to the Armenians.

Just such a case, however, of criminal interference by military persons, in the interior of Anatolia, was officially brought to the attention of the embassy. At that time Count Wolff-Metternich happened to be the German Ambassador, a man who, in spite of his years, and in contrast to Freiherr von Wangenheim, victim of a weak and criminal optimism and pro-Turk blindness, now and then dared to oppose the Turkish Government. In the present instance he reported the matter to Germany; whereupon this very crime which he reported was made the pretext for his dismissal. * * *

Policy Called Stupid

And, finally, it was a shortsighted piece of stupidity on the part of our officials to stand by and witness the extermination of the Armenians without raising a finger to interfere. For the rising tide of Turkish chauvinism eventually had to be faced by our Government. Nobody with any foresight at all could have had a moment's doubt, after the Summer of 1915, that Turkey would only stick to us as long as she absolutely needed our military and financial help; that there would be no room for us in a completely victorious entirely Turkish Turkey; that we wouldn't even have a commercial chance. Nevertheless, we allowed a large element of the population, 1,500,000 souls, to be wiped out; an element which was progressive, possessed of a European outlook, intellectually adaptable, without a spark of chauvinism or fanaticism, disposed to be our friend. We simply didn't worry at all about this people, which is bound, eventually, to recover from its fearful misfortunes, and will hereafter be our deadliest enemy, instead of, as formerly, sincerely in sympathy with German aims.

The mixture of "consciencelessness," cowardice, and blindness displayed by our Government in the Armenian matter, alone would suffice to undermine the loyalty of any thinking human being who believes in humanity and civilization. Not every German will light-heartedly, like those diplomats of Pera, face the shame of having history note that the refinedly cruel extermination of a civilized and worthy people coincided with

the period of Germany's hegemony in Turkey.

I frequently reported home to my newspaper matter concerning the Armenian persecutions and the fact that they were due to a guiding spirit of bestial Young Turk chauvinism. The Foreign Office followed these reports with interest. But I never saw any evidence in

my newspaper that my expositions of the situation were bearing fruit.

Finally, at the time my wife, in such dramatic fashion, flung her curse in Germany's teeth, I resolved no longer to represent my newspaper. I have to thank the sufferings of those poor massacred and tortured Armenians for my spiritual and moral-political enfranchisement.

Armenians Killed With Axes by Turks

Harrowing Account by President of Anatolia College

THE slaughter of all the Armenian Faculty members of Anatolia College, Marsovan, Northern Asia Minor, with 1,200 others, by Turkish peasants, whose pay for the work was the privilege of stripping the clothing off their victims' bodies, was described by the Rev. George E. White, President of the college, upon his return to the United States in the Autumn of 1917. The massacres were committed at night by order of the Turkish Government, he said, the Armenians being sent out in lots of a hundred or two hundred to their doom and their bodies rolled into prepared burial trenches.

"One group of our college boys asked permission to sing before they died and they sang 'Nearer, My God, to Thee,' then they were struck down," Dr. White said. The number of Armenians who have been massacred is estimated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief in New York City at from 500,000 to 1,000,000, while there are a million still living in need of immediate aid. Dr. White, who is now living in Minneapolis, was ordered to leave Marsovan by the Turkish Government. He was formerly pastor of the Congregational Church in Waverley, Iowa.

"The situation for Armenia," he said, "became excessively acute in the Spring of 1915, when the Turks determined to eliminate the Armenian question by eliminating the Armenians. The Armenian questions arise from political and religious causes.

"On the pretext of searching for de-

serting soldiers, concealed bombs, weapons, seditious literature or revolutionists, the Turkish officers arrested about 1,200 Armenian men at Marsovan, accompanying their investigations by horrible brutalities. There was no revolutionary activity in our region whatever. The men were sent out in lots of one or two hundred in night 'deportations' to the mountains, where trenches had been prepared. Coarse peasants, who were employed to do what was done, said it was a 'pity to waste bullets,' and they used axes.

"Then the Turks turned on the women and children, the old men and little boys. Scores of ox carts were gathered, and in the early dawn as they passed the squeaking of their wheels left memories that make the blood curdle even now. Thousands of women and children were swept away. Where? Nowhere. No destination was stated or intended. Why? Simply because they were Armenians and Christians and were in the hands of the Turks.

"Girls and young women were snatched away at every turn on the journey. The girls sold at Marsovan for from \$2 to \$4 each. I know, because I heard the conversation of men engaged in the traffic. I know because I was able to ransom three girls at the price of \$4.40.

"The misery, the agony, the suffering were beyond power of words to express, almost beyond the power of hearts to conceive. In bereavement, thirst, hunger, loneliness, hopelessness, the groups were swept on and on along roads which had no destination.

"I received word from Ambassador Morgenthau that our premises would not be interfered with. Next morning the Chief of Police came with armed men and demanded surrender of all Armenians connected with the college, girls' school, and hospital. We claimed the right to control our grounds as American citizens. More than two hours we held them at bay. They brought more armed men. They again demanded surrender of the Armenians. I refused. They challenged me for resisting the Turkish Government. They said any one who did so was liable to immediate execution.

"They broke open our gates, brought in ox carts, and asked where the Armenians were. I refused to tell. They went through the buildings, smashing down the doors. Then our Armenian friends, feeling that further attempt on our part to save them would bring more harm probably than good, came forth, professed themselves loyal Turkish subjects, and offered to do what was required.

"An oxcart was assigned each family, with a meagre supply of food, bedding, and clothing. The mother sat on the load with her children about her, the father prepared to walk beside the cart. I offered prayer, and then the sad procession, carrying seventy-two persons from the college and hospital, moved away.

"These teachers were men of character, education, ability, and usefulness, several of them representing the fine type of graduates from American or

European universities. The company went in safety for about fifty miles. Then the men were separated from the women, their hands were bound behind their backs, and they were led away. The eight Armenian members of the staff of instruction of Anatolia College were among the slain. The women and children were moved on and on. No one knows where, and no one knows how many of them are still living.

"The Government officers plowed the Armenian cemetery in Marsovan and sowed it with grain as a symbol that no Armenian should live or die to be buried there. No Armenian student or teacher was left to Anatolia College, and of the Protestant congregation in the city of 950 souls more than 900, with their pastors, were swept away. It was a Government movement throughout—a movement against the Armenian people.

"These things are typical of what took place through the six provinces of the Turkish Empire known as Armenia. The Armenians are the Yankees of the East—the merchants, manufacturers, capitalists, artisans, and among the best of the farmers. One-quarter of a million people succeeded in escaping into Russian Caucasus, and among them American representatives have done wonderful work in caring for the sick, giving bread to the hungry, clothing the naked, caring for orphans. Probably a million more went to Syria and Mesopotamia, where they have been dependent upon American relief, which is helping this worthy people to pull through alive."

The Appalling Plight of Serbia

A Chapter of Balkan Atrocities

DETAILS of the terrible plight of the surviving population in Serbia have penetrated the veil of silence in sufficient numbers to establish the certainty that in the Autumn of 1917 the unfortunate nation is rapidly perishing of starvation and cruelty. The

story of atrocities extends back to the very beginning of Bulgar-Teutonic occupation. Dr. Anthony Anthanasiados, a physician formerly in the service of the Serbian Government, furnished The London Times with the following narrative from Serbian Field Headquarters:

When the Serbian Army retreated in the Autumn of 1915 I was at my headquarters at Prishmina and decided to stay there. Bulgarian cavalry entered the town Nov. 11, followed by German and Austrian infantry. The first day the troops behaved well. On the morrow, seeing that the shops remained closed, the troops plundered them bare. The Germans led in the pillage.

The violence was not confined to the shops, but private dwellings, too, were looted. The houses then were torn down and the wood was used for fuel. Several forcible contributions were levied upon the town, provisions being seized whenever they were not forthcoming on demand. The Germans took all the beds from the Serbian hospitals, turning adrift the occupants, even those suffering from severe wounds. These beds they sent to Austria.

Soon the invaders began to intern townsfolk, principally school teachers and priests, of whom not one was left at liberty. The Turkish residents had been rejoicing before the arrival of the allies of Turkey, but they soon had cause to regret their attitude. One Turkish notable told me his people were exasperated beyond endurance by the dishonoring of their women at the hands of the Bulgars and Austro-Germans. German officers were among the criminals. Often the Turkish citizens were compelled to be the spectators of such scenes.

Finally I was able to leave and arrived at Belgrade, where I found conditions similar. The houses had been pillaged and many trainloads of loot sent to Austria. I was forced to proceed to Nish, where I became acquainted with several Bulgarians whom I attended in my professional capacity. One of them, Dr. Tendas, related that he caused twenty-four Serbian professors to be brought to a certain orchard, where, with his own hands, he brained them all. I overheard another Bulgarian telling quite calmly how he had killed two priests and two school teachers. All this was done with the object of eradicating the Serbian population.

A Lieutenant's Experience

The Serbian Legation in London issued in September, 1917, a harrowing account of the sufferings of the Serbian people as related by Vidak Koprivitsa, a Lieutenant in the Serbian Combined Division, who, as an invalid, was recently exchanged by the Austro-Hungarian authorities, and is now in a hospital in France.

Lieutenant Koprivitsa, writing to Serbian friends in England, says that he was taken prisoner along with other

seriously wounded Serbian officers in the advance of the Austrians on Vrnitsi. The enemy immediately conducted a search of all houses in all the villages and towns of this district and requisitioned all available food, leaving only half a pound of flour per head. Some days afterward the wounded officers who had been left on the road between Kraljevo and Bashka were brought into the hospital in which Lieutenant Koprivitsa was lying. They told terrible stories of what they had seen on the journey; the road was strewn with corpses of fugitives who had been killed by the Germans by the side of their carts and wagons. The Germans had done their horrid work to the cries of little children and the wailing of their mothers.

The German General who visited the town asked Prince Lopkovitch why he had not yet erected the gallows. The Austrians quickly took the hint and put up gallows in all the larger towns and villages, and pictures showing people hanging on them were soon circulated and distributed among the population. From Vrnitsi the Lieutenant and his fellow-sufferers were removed to Keczkemet, and some months later to a town called Briks, where was an internment camp for Russians. After a stay of five days at Briks they were removed to Heinrichsgrun, where in the earlier days of 1916 there had been 30,000 Serbian soldiers and 200 Serbian officers. In this camp the misery was appalling. At first from twenty-five to thirty persons were dying daily, and the number grew rapidly. Many of the unhappy Serbian soldiers found their graves there through starvation, disease, and hard labor in the mines. Officers as well as soldiers were barefooted and in rags—mere ghosts of men.

The Camp of Death

The wounded men were given some wretched wash, which went by the name of soup. The "bread" they could hardly swallow, it was so bitter. It was made out of horse chestnuts, acorns, and potato peelings. The officers in the hospitals four times a week received as a special favor about a quarter of a pound of horseflesh and some rye bread. The huts were deadly places, and the nights

were bitterly cold, not only because of the wretched shelter, but owing to the lack of covering. There were 3,000 men affected by tuberculosis who were absolutely without care or attention. Heinrichsgrun was just a Serbian cemetery, rows of graves being continually added with due regularity as fresh batches of prisoners came in. Here died more than 20,000 victims. The complaints and cries for help of the dying men directed to the Serbian Red Cross and to the Spanish Ambassador in Vienna brought no response.

In August, 1916, Bulgarian officers visited this camp and began to pick out as "recruits" those men who hailed from the territories in Serbia occupied by the armies of King Ferdinand. At the beginning of September, 1916, the Lieutenant was removed to Aschach, where 150 officers and 25,000 soldiers were crowded together. Here there reigned the same grim horrors. From this camp, as well as from others, the Austrians carried away Serbian soldiers to the Italian front in order that they might work on the construction of fortifications and in trench digging. In these camps are placed along with the prisoners of war interned civilians—women, old men, and children—a great many children between 10 and 12 years of age. The Lieutenant saw with his own eyes these wretched boys and girls picking up scraps of food from the drain-courses.

Letter Written in Blood

A letter in possession of the Serbian authorities, written by a Serbian who had barely escaped hanging by the Bulgarian authorities, was published in the Paris newspapers in August, 1917. It revealed the fact that there had been a futile attempt at insurrection in April, 1917, followed by even greater cruelties than those which had provoked it. The writer was a refugee in the mountains, and the letter, written with his own blood for ink, was smuggled out by a Serbian sentry. It advises all Serbians to kill themselves rather than submit to capture; it tells of the forcible deportation of thousands of children to Constantinople; of the frightful tortures inflicted upon prisoners before they are

executed by the Bulgarians, such as hanging by the tongue; of gibbets erected everywhere to dispose of Serbian prisoners of war, especially of insurrectionists.

The names of both sender and recipient have been suppressed for obvious reasons, but both are on file in the Serbian archives with the original of the letter, which runs in part as follows:

I escaped April 25 from the Bulgarian prison where I was incarcerated with twenty comrades after having been surrounded and captured in the revolt near ——. I was taken, put in prison and condemned to be hanged, but during the night my friend — arrived with a band in Prokouplie, killed the sentinels and rescued me. In consequence I was able to reach the mountains. There are more than 5,000 of us insurgents. Nearly all of the other mountains are filled with insurgents.

The Bulgarians had summoned all the male population between the ages of 16 and 65 in order to incorporate them in the army and send them immediately to the front. At the same time they had gathered together all the young people between 13 and 16 and had sent them to Constantinople. It was this vandal process of these monstrous Mongols that provoked the revolt.

The unfortunate mothers, exasperated by the cries of their children as they were carried off by force, attacked the Bulgarians with stones. This was a genuine revolt, to which the Bulgarians replied with gibbets to which they hanged women and children. Finally the people, exhausted and revolting, threw themselves upon the Bulgarian depots. Men and women carried off arms and ammunition, first to Prokouplie, then to Leskovatz, Lebane, Vrania, Viassotintze, Zayetchar, Kniajevatz, Pojarevatz, and the villages.

Meanwhile two Bulgarian divisions arrived, and a bloody battle developed; we should have been able to defeat the Bulgarians as we had defeated the Germans if they had not used a cowardly strategy to prevent us from attacking them; they forced the women and children to march in front of their ranks. Unable to fire upon our own people, we withdrew as far as Korvingrad, where a new battle began and where the Hungarians attacked us from behind. We made an opening and took refuge in the mountains. Since I was dead from fatigue I was taken prisoner, and with a dozen other insurgents was condemned to be hanged. Waiting while the gibbet was prepared, we were incarcerated in the prison of Prokouplie, but one of our bands killed the garrison and rescued us.

So here I am in the mountain of ——. It may be that when you read these lines I shall no longer be among the living, but the insurrection cannot be snuffed out so easily, for the Bulgarians are proceeding systematically to exterminate our nation. On the 25th of April they placed aboard trains at Belotintze 8,000 children between the ages of 12 and 15, bound for Constantinople. Many of the children jumped from the cars along the way, and found death in that manner.

Victims of Exploitation

The Serbian Government on Aug. 29, 1917, issued a protest to the world against the treatment of Serbia by the Austrian and Bulgarian authorities. Referring to the economic exploitation of the occupied territory the protest said:

They (the Austrians and Bulgarians) change the laws on taxation and customs; they introduce new monopolies, abolish the moratorium; force the inhabitants to subscribe to their war loans and make donations to their Red Cross. From an economic standpoint they consider the regions occupied as definitely acquired by them.

The evident aim of their economic administration is to bring about the ruin of the inhabitants of the country under occupation. They have crushed with new taxation a people which was economically exhausted, and have forced on them new customs duties and fresh monopolies. They are extorting more than 100,000,000 crowns from this people for debts due to Austrians and Germans and in addition several million crowns for subscription to war loans. Serbian money (the only money in which our population could make its payments) has been arbitrarily reduced to one-half its value.

At the same time the Serbian Government gave notice that at the peace negotiations after the war Serbia would demand indemnities both for the Serbian State and for individuals.

Serbs Robbed of Harvests

According to a statement issued on Sept. 4, 1917, by the Serbian Press Bureau in London, the Austrians, Germans, and Bulgarians carried off all of this year's harvests in Serbia, depriving the surviving families of food. Meat, lard, butter, and spices are altogether unobtainable. Most families have only one loaf of bread a week. There is virtually no milk in Serbia, and thousands of women and children whose men folk perished

in the war are doomed to starve. According to this report, 80,000 Serbian prisoners have perished in Austria and Hungary.

The Journal de Genève, published in Switzerland, commenting upon Lord Robert Cecil's assurance of Serbia's ultimate liberation, grimly remarks that there may be no Serbs left alive to benefit by reparations and restitutions unless something is done in the meantime to save them. It continues:

Nobody knows the exact returns of the Serbian losses, but, according to the most optimistic estimates, one-fourth of the population has already perished owing to the war, to epidemics, to want of food, and to privations of all kinds. If we consider only the men, and more especially those of the educated classes, the proportion is even far greater. On account of this the birth rate will decrease for years, and of what value for the population will be the children who have lived or are born under the influence of such physiological distress? * * * Serbia is not being supplied with food, and her fate is therefore many times worse than that of Belgium.

The Americans and the Swiss gave her some help last year, but this work of charity is now interrupted because the Americans have themselves entered the war, and no longer have access to Serbia, and because Switzerland, being rationed, no longer disposes of foodstuffs for export, and is no longer permitted to procure them elsewhere to convey them to the necessitous Serbs, although she could do it in perfect safety, thanks to the facilities granted her by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

The same applies to the Serbian prisoners in the German and Austrian camps; there the last representatives of the flower of the manhood of the Serbian population are dying by inches. In Geneva one has seen several convoys of repatriated Serbs, all tubercular or scrofulous in consequence of their long privations and insufficient food.

Some Terrible Figures

Under the title "The Agony of Serbia" an article appeared in the September issue of Justice, signed by Kosta Novakovitch, Secretary of the Serbian Trade Unions in France and editor of the Journal Ouvrier of Belgrade, containing the following figures and statements:

As to Serbia itself, the state of things is more hopeless than ever. The official

statistics are published in several Austro-Hungarian journals and fully in the Official Journal at Belgrade, the *Belgradske Novine*. There it was stated that the Serbian population in the territories occupied by Austria-Hungary a year ago was only 2,218,027. The population normally would have been 3,170,000. There is, therefore, a reduction of 951,973, or 28.2 per cent. The male population has been reduced by 38.3 per cent. In some towns this percentage is much greater. At Belgrade it is 65.6 per cent.; at Chebatz 47.6 per cent. There are now in Serbia 144 women to 100 men. At Belgrade even the female population has gone down by 21.6 per cent.

In the Segedi Naplo of Aug. 2, 1917, the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce at Segedin states that the difference between the official Serbian statistics of 1910 and the returns now made by the Bulgarians in the territories they occupy is 300,000. The same authority states that all the males from 18 to 60 are away from their homes. In 1910 the population of Serbia was 4,300,000. It is now reduced by 1,352,000. Then there are the massacres committed by the Bulgarian military authorities after a revolt of the Serbian people against enforced recruiting. The revolt was crushed in blood. Those left were deported. This fact is admitted by the Bulgarian War Minister in the document sent to the Bulgarian Headquarters, (No. 763, May 20, 1917, Sofia.)

Dr. Otokar Ribar, the Austrian Reichsrat Deputy, declared in the Vienna Parliament on June 26 last: "Serbia will be saved, but there will no longer be Serbs." He said these words when protesting against the greatest crime committed in this war, the deportation of 30,000 Serbian women, children, and men from the departments of Vranje, Nish, and Pirot, and their internment in Asia Minor. Fugitives relate that, among those 30,000, there were 8,000 women and young girls delivered over to the Turks. Of these a great number courted death by throwing themselves out of the trains conveying them to Asia Minor. War prisoners and those interned are suffering actual martyrdom. They are ravaged by hunger and disease. Their number decreases daily. The deaths are put by all at 60,000, by some as high as 80,000. After the retreat from Serbia, and during the reconstitution of the Serbian Army, quite 20 per cent. died at Corfu. Our losses on the Saloniki front have been about 50 per cent. of the Serbian forces which have taken part in the operations of General Sarraïl's armies.

Imagine, then, the state of mind of those surviving in France and near Saloniki who receive every day letters from their families remaining in Serbia appealing

for bread, and money to buy bread; requests, too, from prisoners and those interned, who cry: "Send us bread, or you will not see us again alive." Unfortunately, very little is done to help our population. The Swiss Central Committee at Geneva sent provisions to the value of something over £11,000 in 1916. Seven hundred thousand kilogs. of maize were brought from Rumania, but of this quantity only 200,000 kilogs. have been milled. The American Committee has sent twenty-two wagons of provisions, clothing, and boots. This is all for last year. From last October our Government began to send regularly £6,000 a month for the entire population of Serbia. What is this among 2,000,000 people?

Starvation in Montenegro

The following statement was duly sworn and attested before the American Consul at Bordeaux by a native of Montenegro, who, as an American subject, was able to leave that country before war was declared by the United States:

I, Sabonovic John, American citizen, of Montenegrin origin, was born in Montenegro March 13, 1886, at Grahovo, Montenegro, and I went to the U. S. 1906, where I stayed until 1914, when I returned to Montenegro in April to get my wife at Cetinje, staying there for three years until 2 May, 1917. During this time I visited Grahovo on 26 April, 1917, when I saw 182 persons, women, children, &c., die in twelve days because of lack of food, there being no food in the country whatever except a mixture of grass and millet, and not enough of that. The people have eaten up all the dogs, &c., they can find; Nicksich city is like this, also Drobnjaci, Piva, and Kolasin, and all the people are in the same condition, rich as well as poor, as money will not buy food.

I believe there are certainly 200 people a day dying of famine in the country. The Austrian authorities allow each person in Cetinje to buy 10 "dek" of cornmeal a day, (a handful about,) so the situation there is a little better than in the rest of the country, where no such food can be bought. I believe that there are but two battalions of Austrian soldiers, one in Cetinje and the other spread around the country, in all Montenegro, and about 20,000 in Albania, Scutari, and Droc, which are all I know of.

The soldiers treat the population badly, making all the men work on the roads, and if from fatigue or thirst a man stops work to rest or drink he is shot on the spot. Work is about ten or twelve hours a day, and pay of 2 kronen paper a day. A person in 1916 (there is no food now) would buy something to sell, food, &c., and soldiers would take it without money.

They treat the people better in Cetinje than other places, but everywhere the people are too poor and badly nourished to try to revolt. The Austrian soldiers in the country are perhaps more badly nourished than the people, and I have seen in the same villages above mentioned myself, from March until May 2, 1917, 200 soldiers, Austrians, die of starvation in Cetinje alone. The men on the front are a little better than those in the interior, but there they are also dying of starvation, as from time to time soldiers return from the front in starved condition.

The Governor of Montenegro, von Webber, who stays at Cetinje in the King's house, is a civilian, and does not try to misuse the people, the reason the condition of the population in the capital

is better than that in the rest of the country, perhaps. I believe that from 10,000 to 15,000 persons have died of starvation in Montenegro. I am sure that the Austrians can get no food, as they are dying, and also the soldiers talk to the population and tell them that they know the war cannot last more than a month or two more, as we ourselves can get nothing to eat.

All the country is in the same impoverished, starving, and subject condition, the only city a little better than the others being Cetinje, above stated.

I hereby certify that the above statements are all true and correct to my best knowledge, and that I actually saw and know the things which I have related above.

What Is Meant by "Freedom of the Seas"

F. Sefton Delmer, late English Lecturer in Berlin University, recently gave a London paper the following account of a lecture delivered by Count zu Reventlow and never reported in the German press:

During my recent stay in Berlin I heard the words "Freiheit der Meere" bandied about often enough, and reams of newspaper sermons were preached on the text. In a Socratic vein I asked various Germans of my acquaintance what the expression really meant, but I could never get a satisfactory answer.

In England the man in the street takes the term to mean freedom for the Germans to coal at our ports in times of peace and to run in and out of our harbors in the same uncontrolled fashion as before the war. The jurist, on the other hand, says that the term can evidently not apply to times of peace, but can only mean that the German wishes us to forfeit our right of search and blockade in time of war.

Count zu Reventlow, however, at a great public meeting in March, 1917, in the Berlin Philharmonic Hall, gave quite a different interpretation, and as everything he said that evening had been memorized from a carefully censored manuscript, not a word of which he would have been allowed to utter unless his ex-

planation had been in harmony with the ideas of the Government, I think I am justified in calling the following definition the official one:

"What do we Germans understand by 'the freedom of the seas?' he said. 'Of course we do not mean by it that 'free use of the sea which is the common privilege of all nations in times of peace, the right to the open highways of international trade. That sort of 'freedom of the sea we had before the war. What we understand today by 'this doctrine is that Germany should 'possess such maritime territories and 'such naval bases that at the outbreak of a war we should be able, with our navy ready, reasonably to guarantee ourselves the command of the seas. We want such a jumping-off place for our navy as would give us a fair chance of dominating the seas and of being free of the seas during a war. [Cheers.] The inalienable possession of the Belgian seaboard is therefore a matter of life and death to us, and the man is a traitor who would faint-heartedly relinquish this coast to England. Our aim must be not only to keep what our arms have already won on this coast, but sooner or later to extend our seaboard to the south of the Strait of Calais.'"

The Attempted Restoration of the Manchus in China

By W. Reginald Wheeler

Professor of English in the Christian College at Hangchow, China

Professor Wheeler is an American, a graduate of Yale, with a degree from Harvard as well. He is at present the head of the English department of Hangchow Christian College.

ON July 1, 1917, in the sixth year of the Chinese Republic, Chang Hsun, a provincial Governor and a "war lord" of the most extreme type, proclaimed from Peking that he had overthrown the existing Government and had restored the Manchus to the throne. On July 4 practically the entire country voiced its "declaration of independence" from this Manchu Government; on July 14 the victorious republican Generals entered the capital. This opposition and this victory of the Chinese republicans took place on the independence days of the American and the French republics; the coincidence is both significant and symbolical, and the story of the struggle is one of vital interest to republicans of both Orient and Occident.

The apparent cause of the breakup of the republican Government was the disagreement over the declaration of war against Germany; other issues involved a contest between the President and Premier, and the Parliament and Military Governors. But, fundamentally, the present situation is the outcome of the struggle which has been going on ever since the establishment of the republic; the contest between monarchists and republicans; between militarists and democrats. As C. T. Wang, Vice President of the Senate and a graduate of Yale, has put it: "The real issues are: Shall there be government by law or by force? Shall the will of the people as expressed through the Assembly prevail, or that of a privileged few? Shall the military forces of the nation be used to uphold the country, or to uphold certain individual Generals? Upon these issues the country and the free and democratic nations of the West should be called

"upon to pass judgment." These issues made this situation in Asia a part of the great world situation into which America has entered as one of the champions of freedom and law.

China and Germany

The account of China's relation with Germany since the latter's submarine declaration on Feb. 1 is rather complicated. On Feb. 4 the American Minister, Dr. Reinsch, notified the Foreign Minister that his Government had already severed relations with Germany, and requested the Chinese Government to follow the United States in its protest. Peking responded, and on Feb. 9 formally protested to Germany. The note concluded with a declaration of its intention of severing diplomatic relations if the protest were ineffectual. The immediate answer of Germany was to torpedo the French ship *Atlas* in the Mediterranean on which were over 700 Chinese laborers. On the evening of March 10 the German Government definitely replied, but on that very afternoon Parliament had empowered the Government to break with Germany.

The rupture occurred on March 14 at noon; the German Minister and his staff were handed their passports, and German interests were turned over to the Dutch Legation. The mildness of Germany's note of March 10 was rather a surprise to inhabitants of China, who remembered the seizure of Tsing-tau in 1898, and the appropriation of Shantung as the result of the murder of two German missionaries, and the ruthlessness of the German troops at the time of the Boxer uprising. A leading Chinese lawyer commented thus on the change of attitude:

The troops under Count Waldersee, leaving Germany for the relief of Peking, were instructed by the War Lord to grant no quarter to the Chinese; on the other hand, the latter were to be so disciplined that they would never dare look a German in the face again. The whirligig of time brings its own revenge, and today, after the lapse of scarcely seventeen years, we hear the *Vossische Zeitung* commenting on the diplomatic rupture between China and Germany, lamenting that even so weak a State as the Far Eastern republic dares look defiantly at the German Nation!

The breaking off of relations with Germany brought to light the state of discord which had existed for some time between the Premier, Tuan Chi-jui, and the President, Li Yuan-hung. The former is a military leader and has been trained in the Manchu type of government. The latter is a real republican in spirit and has insisted that every act of the State be carried out according to the existing Constitution. The Premier desired to break off relations without consulting Parliament; the President insisted on the latter step, and after Tuan had threatened to resign, and had actually left the capital for Tientsin, the President persuaded him to return and to present the question to Parliament. This was done with the result already indicated.

China's Distrust of Japan

Having taken two steps, the next move was to declare war. Here, however, appeared many difficulties. It is hard for a foreigner to judge Chinese public opinion, but after a trip through the coast cities and 800 miles into the interior as far as Chang-sha, the following factors seem to me to be involved:

The Chinese sympathize as a whole with the professed aims of the Allies, but they cannot reconcile with those aims the action of one of the allied nations—Japan. In the Orient, in Chinese eyes, Japan has stood for all that Germany, as depicted by its worst enemies, stands for. Japan's action in Korea, including the Korean conspiracy, and its present Government there; the taking of Tsing-tau in the Fall of 1914 and its retention after having publicly declared an opposite purpose; in 1915 the serving of the Twenty-one Demands, especially Group V.; and last Fall the demands following the Cheng

Chiatung affair in Manchuria—all these acts in Chinese eyes cannot be reconciled with the oft-repeated declaration that the Allies are fighting for the rights of small or weak nations and that each nation may shape its own Government and destiny. The present Terauchi Government professes to be friendly to China, but the Chinese feel that such a friendly attitude now cannot be reciprocated, unless reparation and restitution are made for the acts of the past. This is the program of the Allies in Europe: the Chinese cannot understand why such a program should not be applied in Asia. Accordingly there is a feeling of distrust, fear, and hatred in Chinese hearts for Japan that can hardly be overstated. And that is the chief obstacle to its belief in the aims of the Allies.

Other factors are a realization that their own military power is slight, and a fear of "losing face" by comparison with the Allies; the fear that food prices will increase; the devotion to peace, which is deep rooted in the nation; and finally the policy of "proud isolation," which until recent years has marked all China's relations with other nations. It is a long step for a people ruled for centuries by an alien dynasty to attempt republican self-government; it is an almost incredible act for China as a whole to grasp the present world situation and to take its proper place in relation to it.

Other Factors Against War

Added to these main factors are minor ones: the fact that Germany, despite its harsh treatment in the past, has energetically and nicely carried on a propaganda in the East, supplying military aids and arms to the Chinese Army, and sending out Consuls and diplomatic officers who are scholars in Chinese literature and philosophy with sufficient funds to entertain Chinese officials as they like to be entertained; on the other hand, the Allies have at various times, perhaps unconsciously, offended the Chinese. The opium trade, carried on by citizens of the British Empire; the recent Lao-Hsi-Hai affair in the North, where French officials attempted to appropriate property which the Chinese thought was theirs; the advice of the

American adviser, Dr. Goodnow, to return to the monarchy; the ineffectual enforcement of the "open door" treaty, which practically all the Allies, including Japan, have signed—all these facts have tended to produce a pessimism in the minds of Chinese regarding idealistic words which seem to be unbacked by deeds. This pessimism seems to be shared by many of the younger, foreign-educated leaders in regard to the favorable outcome of the conference at the close of the war—to many it seemed immaterial whether or not China should have a voice in that council. A final complication was the struggle between the military party and the democrats, each fearing to have the other gain the power which would accrue to it if it were in control when war was declared.

Despite all these difficulties, it seemed fairly certain that the "third step" would be taken in due time. Thus, on April 16, following the detention of the Chinese Minister at Berlin, the Peking Gazette, the most influential of the papers published by the Chinese, requested an early decision. But at this point the Premier thought fit to summon a council of Military Governors and their representatives to hasten the decision of the country, and the ultimate consequences were disastrous.

The outline of events was somewhat as follows: The conference met April 25. After much arguing and exhorting, the majority of the conference were won over to the view of the Premier. But signs of opposition on the part of the Parliament against the Premier and his supporters began to develop. There was also the feeling that the Premier had promised certain returns from the Allies, such as increase of the Chinese customs duties, and relief from the Boxer indemnity, but that on account of the opposition of Japan, and for other reasons, these returns could not be secured.

Parliament Threatened by Mobs

On May 1, however, the Cabinet passed the vote for war without asking conditions or returns, and on May 7 the President, through the Cabinet, sent a formal request to Parliament to approve of this declaration. Parliament delayed, and

then, on May 10, an attempt was made to force it into a decision by a mob which gathered outside the National Assembly and threatened the members of both houses. There seems to be little doubt that some official of the Government had incited and promised protection to the mob, as it collected at 10 o'clock in the morning, and was not dispersed until 11 at night, when the report was circulated that a Japanese journalist had been killed. The Peking Gazette openly accused the Premier of being behind the riot. Telegrams from all parts of the country poured in protesting against this attempted coercing of Parliament; all the Ministers of Tuan's Cabinet resigned, leaving him standing alone.

On May 18, the Peking Gazette, edited by Eugene Chen, a Chinese born and educated in England and a British subject, a brave opponent of Yuan Shih-kai and his monarchical schemes, and a staunch supporter of the republic, published an article entitled "Selling China," in which it accused the Premier of being willing to conclude with the Japanese Government an agreement which much resembled Group V. of the Twenty-one Demands of 1915. That night Mr. Chen was arrested, and later, without any fair trial, he was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. The case stirred up much comment, and finally, as a result of the intercession of C. T. Wang and others, on June 4, the President pardoned him.

Military Governors Revolt

In the meanwhile events were marching swiftly. The contest between militants and democrats was clearcut. Demands were made for Tuan's retirement from the Premiership; his military friends on the other hand urged his remaining in office. On May 19 the decision was reached in Parliament that there was a majority for war, but that the question would not be decided while Tuan was Premier. The Military Governors left on May 21 amid much speculation and some fear as to their future action. Before going they sent a petition to the President, indirectly attacking Parliament, by criticising the Constitu-



UNITED STATES SOLDIERS GUARDING THE LEGATION AT PEKING

tion which it had practically finished and asking that Parliament be dissolved if the Constitution were not corrected. The three points to which they objected were:

(1) When the House of Representatives passes a vote of lack of confidence in the Cabinet Ministers, the President shall either dismiss the Cabinet or dissolve the House of Representatives, but the said House must not be dissolved without the approval of the Senate. (The French system.)

(2) The President can appoint the Premier without the countersignature of the Cabinet Ministers.

(3) Any resolution passed by both houses shall have the same force as law.

Obviously these three points give more power to the President and to Parliament than an autocratic Premier and his supporters would desire. The answer to this petition was an increased demand for the retirement of Tuan and the formation of a new Cabinet. The Premier refusing to resign on May 23, the President dismissed him from office. Wu Ting-fang was appointed acting Premier, and there was a feeling of relief. Li Ching-hsi, nephew of Li Hung Chang, was nominated on May 25 for Premier, and on May 28 his nomination was passed by the House of Representatives, 388 to 56, and next day by the

Senate, 166 to 25. On May 30, C. T. Wang, Chairman of the Committee for Writing the Permanent Constitution, published a statement saying that the second reading was practically finished and reviewing the chief points of interest in the new document ready for promulgation.

The Chinese ship of state seemed to have weathered another of its many storms. But suddenly rumor came from Anwei that General Ni Shih-ching had declared independence, and that he was backed by most of the other Northern Generals and Governors, who, as Putnam Weale put it, looked upon Parliament and any Constitution it might work out as "damnable Western nonsense, the real, essential, vital, decisive instrument of Government in their eyes being not even a responsible Cabinet, but a camarilla behind that Cabinet which would typify and resume all those older forces in the country belonging to the empire and essentially militaristic and dictatorial in their character." This declaration of result was received without approval by the people of the country. I talked with men from many sections of the country and they all agreed that the Military Governors had no definite ideal

or purpose except their own glory and power.

The President's Answer

All waited for the President to speak. His answer to this defiance came in no uncertain tones and was received by patriots with enthusiasm. Would that he had maintained the same stand throughout the ensuing events! Some of the more important passages in his message were:

It is a great surprise to me that high provincial officials could have been misled by such rumors into taking arbitrary steps without considering the correctness or otherwise of the same. * * * You accuse the Cabinet of violating law, yet, with the assistance of a military force, you endeavor to disobey the orders of the Government. The only goal such acts can lead to is partition of the country like the five Chi and making the country a protectorate like Korea; in which case both restoration of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic will be an idle dream. You may not care for the black records that will be written against you in history, but you ought certainly to realize your own fate. * * *

I am an old man. Like the beanstalk under the leaf I have always been watching for any possibility of not seeing and understanding aright. Yea, I walk day and night as if treading on thin ice. I welcome all for giving me advice and even admonition. If it will benefit the country I am ready to apologize.

But if it be your aim to shake the foundations of the country and provoke internal war, I declare that I am not afraid to die for the country. I have passed through the fire of trial and have exhausted my strength and energy from the beginning to the end for the republic. I have nothing to be ashamed of. I will under no circumstance watch my country sink into perdition, still less subject myself to become a slave to another race.

Of such acts I wash my hands in front of all the elders of the country. These are sincere words from my true heart and will be carried out into deeds.

LI YUAN-HUNG.

May 31, 1917.

Southern Provinces Loyal

Following the declaration of independence of the northern provinces, most of the southern ones declared their opposition to this stand. They were led by Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwantung, and Kwangsi, who originally opposed the monarchical movement of Yuan Shih-kai

last year. Some of the loyal Generals' telegrams were hotly worded. From Tang Chi-yao, Governor of Yunnan:

Chi-yao is unpolished in thoughts and ignorant of the ways of partisanship or factionism. All he cares and knows about is to protect the republic and be loyal to it. If any one should be daring enough to endanger the Chief Executive or Parliament, I vow I shall not live with him under the same sky. I shall mount my steed the moment order is received from the President to do so.

From a General in Kwantung:

The reason why the rebels have risen against the Government is that they are fighting for their own posts and for money. That is why their views are so divergent and their acts so ill-balanced. It is hoped the President will be firm to the very last and give no ear either to threat or inducement. This is the time for us to sweep away the remnants of the monarchist curse and reform the administration. With my head leaning against the spear I wait for the order to strike and I will not hesitate even if I should return to my native place a corpse wrapped up in horse-skin!

Friendly Warning from America

The military party nevertheless met at Tientsin and elected Hsu Shih-chang, Generalissimo. But soon signs of dissension appeared among them. On June 7 was made public a friendly warning from America. The American Minister, Dr. Reinsch, transmitted the following message to Dr. Wu Ting-fang, the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

The Government of the United States learns with the most profound regret of the dissension in China and desires to express the most sincere desire that tranquillity and political co-ordination may be forthwith re-established.

The entry of China into war with Germany—or the continuance of the status quo of her relations with that Government—are matters of secondary consideration.

The principal necessity for China is to resume and continue her political entity, to proceed along the road of national development on which she has made such marked progress.

With the form of government in China, or the personnel which administers that government, the United States has an interest only in so far as its friendship impels it to be of service to China. But in the maintenance of China by one central united and alone responsible government, the United States is deeply inter-

ested, and now expresses the very sincere hope that China, in her own interest and in that of the world, will immediately set aside her factional political disputes, and that all parties and persons will work for the re-establishment of a co-ordinate government and the assumption of that place among the powers of the world to which China is so justly entitled, but the full attainment of which is impossible in the midst of internal discord.

This was welcomed by Chinese as a pledge to support the Central Government. By the Japanese it was received with varying degrees of disapprobation and suspicion, the chief grievance being that Japan had not been consulted beforehand.

The President Weakens

On June 9 an ultimatum was sent from Tientsin either by Chang Hsun or by Li Ching-hsi, threatening to attack Peking if Parliament was not dissolved. The President was isolated and members of Parliament and other democrats could not reach him. Rumor reported that he was about to give in and dissolve Parliament. The British adviser to the Chinese Government advised him not to do so. The Japanese adviser gave the opposite counsel. Wu Ting-fang, Acting Premier, refused to sign the mandate. Finally, on June 12, the mandate was issued, countersigned by General Chiang Chao-tsung, commander of the Peking gendarmerie. The next day an explanation was made by President Li in which he admitted he was forced to issue the mandate against his will, but that he did it to save Peking and the country from war and destruction. He declared he would resign as soon as opportunity came.

On June 15 Chang Hsun arrived in Peking with Li Ching-hsi. Eight of the provinces that week canceled their independence, stating that their desire for the dissolution of Parliament had been satisfied. The members of Parliament made their way, many of them in disguise, to Shanghai and there held meetings and sent out manifestoes. Affairs were apparently at a standstill with the country thus divided when the great coup d'état was carried out by Chang Hsun. Affairs thereupon moved swiftly.

On June 30 Kang Yu-wei, a known advocate of the monarchy, arrived in

Peking. He had traveled incognito from Shanghai. His first visit was to Chang Hsun. On July 1 at 4 A. M. Chang Hsun and his suite called on the Manchu boy Emperor and informed him of his restoration, and seated him on the throne. President Li Yuan-hung was requested to resign, but refused. He was then practically held prisoner. Numerous imperial edicts were issued, countersigned by "Chang Hsun, member of the Privy Council."

On July 3 Feng Kuo-chang repudiated any connection with the restoration, his name having appeared in the edicts as one of the petitioners. The Military Governor of Canton issued proclamations that the Cantonese would fight to maintain the republic. Many similar messages were sent by other provinces. Japanese troops proceeded to the Forbidden City, took President Li Yuan-hung out of the custody of Chang Hsun's men and escorted him to the Japanese Legation. On July 4 the President issued a pledge to fight for the republic. On July 5 hostilities broke out at Lang Fang on the Peking-Tientsin railway. General Tsao Kun arrived at Liuliho with 10,000 troops en route to Peking. The diplomatic body notified the Peking authorities that the Protocol of 1901 providing for open railway communication between Shanhaikwan and Peking must be observed. On July 5 trains out of Peking were packed to overflowing with Chinese fleeing to Tientsin. A special train with a foreign detachment was stopped at Lang Fang by a republican General, who requested the passengers to turn back, as Chang Hsun's troops had torn up the tracks a mile further on.

By this time the entire country, with the exception of three provinces, had declared its opposition to the Manchu movement. Tuan Chi-jui came out of his retirement, offering to take command of the republican army. Liang Chi-chao, who was such a force against Yuan Shih-kai, denounced the whole movement.

The Battle at Peking

The republican troops advanced upon Peking, and on July 7 American, Japanese, and British soldiers arrived at the capital, after having been detained at

Fengtai, where firing between the opposing Chinese forces was in progress; several bullets struck the train, and a Japanese postman was injured. An airplane later dropped a bomb over Fengtai station and wrecked the shed. Chang Hsun's troops at Paoma Chang retired inside the capital without fighting and concentrated at the Temple of Heaven. Another airplane flew over the Forbidden City and dropped bombs. Chang Hsun, on July 8, resigned, but the abdication of the Emperor was not published, his protector holding out for favorable terms.

Vice President Feng Kuo-chang assumed the office of Acting President at Nanking, which was declared the capital of the Provincial Government. Dr. Wu Ting-fang arrived in Shanghai with the seal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although on July 9 the Premier announced that he was dismissed from office. Several Ministers of the Manchu Cabinet on this day were captured while attempting to escape. Chang Hsun refusing to surrender and 50,000 republican troops having surrounded Peking, on July 12, at 4 A. M., the attack was begun in earnest. The battle continued nine hours. Several foreigners were wounded; fire broke out in the Forbidden City; Chang Hsun took refuge in the Dutch Legation, and the republican flag was raised over the Forbidden City. Several thousand of Chang Hsun's troops surrendered and were disarmed and sent back to Hsuehchowfu.

On July 13 Chang Hsun's troops offered to surrender their arms upon payment of \$80,000. General Tuan Chi-jui accepted the offer by telegraph and arranged for a temporary loan from the Yokohama Special Bank to make the payment. Chang Hsun's internment came about by his visit to the Legation Quarter, which is neutral territory. He was trying to arrange for mediation. On July 14 Tuan Chi-jui arrived in Peking. President Li left the Japanese Legation for his private residence. On July 15 Tuan Chi-jui assumed the office of Premier, though the southern provinces showed opposition to him. On July 16 Li Yuan-hung

entered the Peking French Hospital. Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his party arrived in Canton from Swatow. In an interview he stated it was desirable that the southwestern provinces should be joined together for the restoration of the Provisional Constitution. On July 17 President Li, in a telegram to the provinces, refused to resume office. Mandates were issued appointing Wang Ta-hsieh Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Premier Tuan Chi-jui concurrently Minister of War. The Chin-Pu-Tang Party at Tientsin voted to support the Tuan Government. Acting President Feng Kuo-chang expressed his willingness to succeed Li Yuan-hung.

The present situation still has possibilities of dissension, with the Parliamentarians backed by the southern provinces, and the Kuo-Ming-Tang, or Progressive, Party, opposed to Tuan Chi-jui, and the Chin-Pu-Tang, or Conservative, Party backed by the military Governors. But it has been proved, as one eminent journalist has affirmed, that the monarchy is "stone-dead." The Yuan Shih-kai dynasty lasted eighty-two days, Chang Hsun's lasted eight, and there is no question of the advance of public opinion and popular feeling in this regard.

Duty of the United States

To those who live in the Orient it seems that America is facing both a duty and a danger in this situation of China and Japan—a situation in which a great people is trying to work out a stable republic, with another people by its side avowedly imperialistic in policy and ready to take advantage of any weakness of its neighbor. The duty is to see that the slogan, "The world must be made safe for democracy," is not restricted merely to the Western Hemisphere. The danger is that, if Japan is allowed to control and use China's resources for its own purposes, the battle against militarism must again be waged in the East as it has been fought in the West.

To reveal the Chinese attitude in this regard I will quote, in conclusion, from the recent utterances of Chinese

statesmen and competent foreign critics. Dr. Wu Ting-fang, formerly Minister to the United States, and recently Chinese Secretary of Foreign Affairs, speaking at a tiffin given in his honor by the American University Club on July 13, said:

The war in Europe is being fought to put an end to Prussian militarism; and I want the Americans here to understand that China's present troubles are due to exactly the same causes. We are engaged in a struggle between democracy and militarism. Between 55 and 60 per cent. of the taxes of China are now going to support militarism in China. This must be changed, but the change must be gradual. I ask Americans to be patient and give China a chance. Democracy will triumph. Please be patient with us. Study China and try us from our own point of view instead of your own.

I hope to see the day when the Stars and Stripes and the fire-color flag of China will be intertwined in an everlasting friendship. These nations believe in universal brotherhood; in the rights of the people of small nations to manage their own affairs, as outlined by the great American President in his war declaration. I make this statement with hostility to no nation.

Hon. C. T. Wang, Vice President of the Chinese Senate, spoke in the same vein:

With the strongly ingrained love for democracy and the firm belief in the necessity of subordinating military authority under the civil, in the character of our people, we do not hesitate for a minute to affirm that in China, just as it is in free and democratic nations of the world, constitutionalism shall prevail over militarism. We, like the Entente Allies, have time on our side. We shall have to make the same sacrifices for the final victory of constitutionalism and democracy as they are making in their titanic struggle on the battlefield of Europe. Let us resolve that we will.

In an address delivered before the semi-centennial anniversary of The New York Nation, Dr. Wellington Koo, Minister to the United States from China, said in part:

In the first place, the people of the Far East feel that in any reconstruction which may take place after the war the Far East should be included; that the problems of the Far East should receive due consideration. * * * In the second place, the reflective minds of the Far East feel that not only the problems of the Far East should be given full consideration,

but also the voice of the Far East should be freely heard at the council board of nations. There is, in the third place, yet another thought which is quickening the hearts of a very large portion of the people in the Far East, particularly of the people in China, and that is, that in any reconstruction to take place hereafter, the base of the foundation should be built upon justice, international justice. The people of the Far East in general feel that every act of aggression, wherever arising, should be a matter of concern, not only of the victim and oppressed, but should also be of serious interest to the world at large; for every act of aggression and oppression, unchecked and uncondemned, is sure to react to the detriment of the international society.

Here between China and the United States, for instance, we have a concrete example of how two nations, always basing their mutual intercourse on justice, could get along in cordial relationship and in perfect understanding; more than a century of trade intercourse, eighty-seven years of missionary work, seven decades of diplomatic relations, and nearly half a century of educational co-operation, have all been characterized by a sustained feeling of friendliness and cordiality, so that Chinese and Americans, wherever they meet, can always talk to each other without hidden thoughts and with perfect confidence in the good-will of each toward the other. There is no suspicion or friction between them. The two countries are living in a happy state of friendship that grows from day to day. What two countries have done can be accomplished by the world at large.

The definite assistance which America could give China was described by C. T. Wang, in an article published July 28, in Shanghai. I knew Mr. Wang at Yale. He has had wide acquaintance with American affairs, and in China has stood for all that is best in its Christian and national life. His article deserves careful reading by American friends of China:

In this vital struggle, where shall America, the champion of democracy, stand? We entirely agree with Mr. Milliard in his views expressed through the editorial columns of his paper [Milliard's Review] on July 28, which we will reproduce here for emphasis:

"A primary requisite is that, as between reversion to an archaic monarchy, "or the retention of a military oligarchy, "or a graduated advance toward genuine "republicanism, the influence of the "United States ought to be thrown "definitely to bring about the latter alternative. If this leads to quasi-interfer-

"ence with Chinese politics, then that responsibility must be faced. It is becoming rather ridiculous, at a time when America is engaged in a world war, when the whole life of the American people is being readjusted to meet these war conditions, and with the avowed principal object of saving democratic principles of Government from being smothered by autocratic militarism, that the power and influence of the United States should be applied in one place abroad, and should not be applied in another place abroad; that direct American assistance should be accorded to some nations that are trying to cast off the yoke of autocracy, and be denied to other nations that are making the same effort."

At any rate, neither France nor Great Britain, we take it, would raise any objection to America giving substantial aid to China. By process of elimination Japan is the only power left whose attitude is doubtful. Will she object or will she not, if the United States renews her open-door policy? If she objects and does not wish China to grow strong and united and to establish and develop liberal and democratic institutions, then, as Mr. Milliard has well put it: "It is very important for China to know it, and for the United States to know it." In view of the repeated assurance given both by the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Japanese press, we are rather persuaded to believe that if the United States renews the open-door policy at this juncture Japan is likely to fall in with it.

Besides political assistance, America is

also in an excellent position to aid China financially, of which she stands so much in need.

A third way in which America can help China is to bring China a sufficient number of experts who can aid China to establish and develop large industrial plants and factories and to train and bring up a large force of native industrial and technical leaders.

Mr. T. F. Milliard, the foremost journalist and authority on matters in the Far East, on July 21 voiced his idea of America's duty very clearly. With it I will close:

Yes, it is very inconvenient for democracy, at the time when the issue of a world war is narrowing down to a test of the fate of democracy, to have two great nations like Russia and China trying republicanism for the first time, and under precarious conditions; for the difficulties of Russia approximate the internal difficulties of China with republicanism. But just because the local and general conditions are rather unfavorable, and further because of the linking of these experiments with the cause of democracy throughout the world by reason of the war, it becomes virtually impossible for the United States to remain a mere spectator of the course of events in Russia and China. Action to hearten, encourage, and support Russia already has been taken by the United States Government. Action to hearten, encourage, and support China in her effort to maintain a republic ought to be devised and undertaken without delay.

The Surrender of Chang Hsun's Army

A correspondent of The London Times, writing from Peking on July 17, 1917, gave this account of the brief battle that ended the dream of Manchu restoration:

PEKING has a population of a million souls, two-thirds of whom are contained within the three-mile square of the Tartar City and the other third within its southern attachment, the Chinese City. When 30,000 or 40,000 soldiers choose to fight a battle within so restricted an area it is plain that the inhabitants thereof must taste of the bitterness of death, even though they may happily survive the ordeal. If Peking huddled itself indoors on the night of Wednesday,

June 11, there was reason for it. Chang Hsun had refused to surrender, and the republicans were coming to smoke him out. The Legation Guards and the foreign volunteers were standing by. Foreigners resident outside the Legation quarter were coming in. The streets were filled with police pledged to prevent looting and to protect civilians. In the very dead of night the dread thing began to happen. At the various gates battalion after battalion poured in and filled the streets. Guns were laboriously dragged up the ramps and mounted on the walls. Chang Hsun made no attempt to hold the entrances. He let the enemy close in

upon him on all sides. Despite his reputation as a filibuster, he is a child in the art of war.

The roar of guns waked me while dawn was yet below the horizon. As I tumbled into my clothes I could hear the quivering treble of machine guns and musketry competing with the bass of the artillery. It was no affair of outposts, but a royal bombardment with all arms. The quarter-mile along the Austrian glacis was not pleasant walking, for many bullets near the end of their flight sighed past, some thudding into the walls of the adjacent houses and a few spurting up dust on the road before me. Never a soul to be seen except the police crouching at the corners, feverishly anxious for my company. In the telegraph office I found the whole staff strung up to concert pitch and all the wires down; that is not a witticism, but the melancholy truth. My intention of apprising the world of what was happening almost before it had happened was defeated because of those broken wires. Meanwhile the din was terrific and spent bullets were clattering in the veranda. I climbed to the roof, and there, high above the rest of Peking, I was able to survey the fairest of scenes.

Nothing in sight moved, yet the whole city reverberated to the continuous thunder of a heavy bombardment. Guns posted in the west were shelling a corner of the Imperial City close at hand, where Chang Hsun had his residence, with his men camped round him. His guns were replying in that direction, and firing eastward almost over my head. I could hear the rushing of the projectiles, as it were, screwing their way through a resisting medium. Bullets thinly wailed in the air above, and some thumped disagreeably into the iron roof rising behind me. One with a nasty scrunch took a corner of a brick out of a chimney beside me. There came a new sound, a droning as of a monster bee, rising and falling to the ear, as it reached one through the instable air. Into the blue above sailed an airplane, slowly and persistently pursuing its way. It was heading for Chang Hsun's corner, and I

eagerly watched until there streaked down from it a bomb upon which the sun momentarily gleamed. A roar, and a sudden rising cloud, showed that there had happened somewhere below what is a commonplace to you at home.

Chang Hsun had let himself be divided, half in the Temple of Heaven, half in the Imperial City, within which, in the Purple Forbidden Palace, the little Emperor, his empire hopelessly in the dust, crouched in terror. The two forces were separately attacked in overwhelming numbers, and, despite the handicap on the attackers so to manage that the Legation Quarter and the Manchu Palaces and the swarming, uncomplaining herd of the people might suffer as little as possible, the battle was soon won. The Temple of Heaven was surrounded and commanded by artillery. Rushing in the teeth of machine guns proved dangerous to life, and the besieging General sent men under the white flag to propose terms. The besieged agreed to capitulate, and to surrender their arms on payment of three months' wages, the money to be delivered before nightfall. Visitors later in the day inspecting the scene found royalists and republicans fraternizing, and disputing amicably over their tea as to who were the real winners.

At the Imperial City the attackers captured the eastern gate, and with that in their possession were able to scale the walls and to drive the defenders into the maze of lanes in rear. On the western side Chang Hsun's men were pressed back into the outer courtyard of the Forbidden City. At this juncture Chang Hsun realized the silence around the Temple of Heaven, and, conceiving the game up, went off to the Legation Quarter to ask for mediation. Meanwhile his men, now located where they were difficult to get at without damage to the palaces, kept up a desultory fire that made a noble noise, but constituted no real defense. When they were advised that their leader was detained in the Legation Quarter they surrendered gladly—to the police. Foreign visitors were on the spot to see, almost before the few dead were cold. Two of Chang Hsun's wounded had had their heads cut off. One man had been elec-

trocuted by a falling wire. The telephone wires streamed from the posts like a woman's hair hung out to dry. Chang Hsun's luxurious house was a burned-out shell. His armored motor car had been pierced by many bullets, and the horses of his bodyguard, tethered to a

wall, were strung up by the necks in fantastic positions, dead as mutton.

Now that all is over we know that the total for both sides, and including Chinese and foreign civilians and the legation guards on duty, is 25 killed and 45 wounded.

Japan's New Pledge Regarding China

Statement by Viscount Ishii

CHINA'S suspicions of Japanese aggression, mentioned in the foregoing article by Professor Wheeler, were the subject of an official denial by Viscount Ishii, head of the Japanese Imperial Mission to the United States. In the course of a noteworthy address delivered in New York on Sept. 30, 1917, at the Mayor's banquet in his honor, the Mikado's official spokesman assured his audience that the doors of both Japan and China were always open to Americans, and continued:

In spite of all the effort to make you believe that Japan as she grew stronger was always trying to close the door, I tell you that there never has been an hour when our common sense or our sense of our own responsibility failed us. Why close our door in violation of our pledges, or endeavor to close our neighbor's door, when we are in honor bound to protect it?

The opportunity for you to trade in Japan or China has never been an equal opportunity in its literal sense. As you went far afield and brought us knowledge of the West, taught us how to grow and how to trade, so we, as we gained wisdom, knowledge, and strength, went into other fields to trade and to learn. We went to China, where the door was open to us as to you, and we have always realized that there nature gave us an advantage. There was no need—there is no need—to close that door on you, because we welcome your fair and honest competition in the markets everywhere. We are trading there where we have a natural advantage, and where, unless we are very stupid or very inactive, we are bound to succeed, and we are trading here where your advantage is equally and naturally as great.

I am persuaded that the grumblings and the whisperings about a door closed in China by the Japanese against America did not come from the broad and generous heart of the enterprising American in

New York or elsewhere, but are the result of ten years of an enemy's effort to create prejudice and distrust. Gentlemen, I assure you that a closed door in China has never been and never will be the policy of my Government. The door is open, the field is there. We welcome co-operation and competition, all tending to the betterment of the equal opportunity.

But this propaganda of ill-will has by no means stopped with the persistent cry of "closed door." Much has been written about Japan's policy toward China as being one that sought only the aggrandizement of Japan and the confusion, disruption, or oppression of our neighbor. Here again let me reassure you. The policy of Japan with regard to China has always been the same. We want good government, which means peace, security, and development of opportunity in China. The slightest disturbance in China immediately reacts upon Japan. Our trade there is large and increasing; it is valuable to us, and China is our friendly neighbor—with vast and increasing potentialities for trade.

Circumstances for which we were in no sense responsible gave us certain rights on Chinese territory, but at no time in the past and at no time in the future did we or will we seek to take territory from China or to despoil China of her rights. We wish to be and to always continue to be the sincere friend and helper of our neighbor, for we are more interested than any one else except China in good government there, only we must at all times, for self-protection, prevent other nations from doing what we have no right to do.

We will not only not seek to assail the integrity or the sovereignty of China, but will eventually be prepared to defend and maintain the same integrity and independence of China against any aggressor. For we know that our own landmarks would be threatened by any outside invasion or interference in China.

For many years our common enemy has been the worst enemy of China. Since the outbreak of the war in Europe, China has

been a hotbed of German intrigue, and in all of this China has perhaps been the greatest sufferer. I cannot give you the positive proofs about the German in the Far East as you have had them placed before you by the alert authorities in Washington, but I can give you as my conviction that the German in China is responsible for most of the unfortunate occurrences and the malicious widespread misinformation scattered throughout the world for the purpose of impairing the relations of the countries concerned in China and securing the downfall of China to Germany's advantage.

When Japan or America appeared to make progress in China we always have had sinister rumor of oppression or the false suggestion of a policy directed against the integrity of that country; boycotts which have cost you first of all and then us ill-spaced millions; revolution, disturbances, and civil war have prevented a development by which China, first of all, and her honest friends might profit.

The Pacific Ocean is our common highway. It is guarded, and the highway has been swept by our ships of the pirates of the seas, so that our countries' trade may continue and our intercourse be uninterrupted. We guard the Pacific Ocean together with our ships, but more than this, and better than the ships or the men or the guns, is the assurance of the notes exchanged between your Secretary of State, Elihu Root, and our Ambassador Takahira, in 1908, in which it was mutually agreed and "formally resolved to respect the territorial possessions belonging to each other in the region of the Pacific Ocean." Gentlemen, Japan is satisfied with this. Are you? If so, there is no Pacific Ocean question between us. We will co-operate. We will help and we will hold, each of us, what is guaranteed under that agreement.

This notable utterance was characterized by some newspapers as the declaration of a Monroe Doctrine for Asia. In a speech to New York press representatives, two days later, Viscount Ishii said this was inaccurate, and went on to emphasize and clarify his meaning by this further statement:

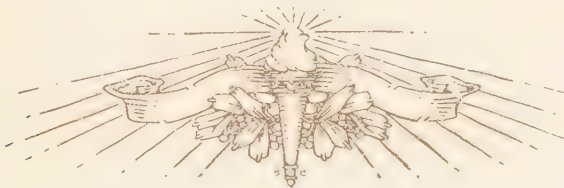
In a speech delivered on Saturday night I made particular reference to the policy of Japan with regard to China. This reference took the form of a repetition of the pledge and promise that Japan would not violate the political independence or territorial integrity of China; would at all times regard the high principle of the open door and equal opportunity. Now I find that this utterance of mine is taken as the enunciation of a "Monroe Doctrine in Asia." I want to make it very clear to you that the application of the term "Monroe Doctrine" to this policy and principle, voluntarily outlined and pledged by me, is inaccurate.

There is this fundamental difference between the "Monroe Doctrine" of the United States as to Central and South America and the enunciation of Japan's attitude toward China. In the first there is on the part of the United States no engagement or promise, while in the other Japan voluntarily announces that Japan will herself engage not to violate the political or territorial integrity of her neighbor, and to observe the principle of the open door and equal opportunity, asking at the same time other nations to respect these principles.

Therefore, gentlemen, you will mark the wide difference and agree with me, I am sure, that the use of the term is somewhat loose and misleading. I ask you to note this with no suggestion that I can or any one else does question the policy or attitude of your country, which we well know will always deal fairly and honorably with other nations.

Ex-President Taft, who was one of the speakers at the Mayor's banquet, referred in these words to the agreement made with Japan by President Roosevelt:

In Mr. Roosevelt's Administration what was called a "gentlemen's agreement" was made with Japan, and in my Administration the treaty then existing was succeeded by another treaty into which was incorporated that same "gentlemen's agreement," and it is only the truth of history to say that that agreement by the gentlemen of Japan has been kept as gentlemen keep agreements.



China's Treatment of Enemy Aliens

K. K. Kawakami, a correspondent of The New York Evening Post, wrote from Tientsin on Aug. 17, 1917:

THIS is a memorable day for China. For the first time since Western powers established extraterritoriality within her borders, China has ordered two European nations to give up that privilege, at least for the time being. Today 300 Chinese police invaded the German and Austrian settlements in Tientsin, and raised the flag of the Republic of China where till yesterday flew the ensigns of the Governments at Berlin and Vienna. The subjects of the Central Powers, some 300 in number, have accepted the inevitable in a matter-of-fact fashion and have surrendered themselves to the jurisdiction of the Chinese authorities.

The German settlement here measures 650 acres, and that of Austria-Hungary 184 acres. The idea of foreign settlements with extraterritorial rights originated with the British and the French, who, as early as 1860, secured 950 acres and 250 acres, respectively, for the purpose of establishing in China an imperium in imperio. In 1900, Germany, Japan, Russia, Austria, Italy, and Belgium followed suit. Last year France, by an exhibition of force, succeeded in adding a large area to her original settlement.

Germany's only other settlement in China is that in Hankow, with an area of 506,000 square yards. It is the largest of all foreign concessions in that city, and was established in 1895. This has also been taken over by the Chinese authorities.

Perhaps the greatest source of German influence has been the Deutsche-Asiatische Bank, with its head office at Shanghai and its branches at Tientsin, Peking, Hankow, Canton, Tsing-tao, and Tsinan-fu. Organized in 1889, the bank has been the financing agent in China for the German Government. Among its chief investments, amounting to some hundred million dollars, are: (1) Loan to the Chinese Government for military reform; (2) part of Anglo-German loan to the Chinese Government; (3) part of sec-

ond Anglo-German loan to the Chinese Government; (4) loan for currency reform; (5) part of five-power loan to China; (6) Hu-kwan Railway bond; (7) Tientsin-Pukow Railway bond; (8) second Tientsin-Pukow Railway bond.

When Chinese officials seized the office of the Deutsche-Asiatische Bank, it was found that the funds had been disposed of, only a pittance remaining in the coffers of each office. As the bank is obviously an organ of the German Government, its investments in China, as well as its property, are likely to be confiscated. The following regulations, just issued by the Chinese Government, indicate the course of action it will take in disposing of the interests of the bank:

(1.) All moneys deposited in the said bank by the German Government or Government institutions shall be confiscated.

(2.) Apart from whatever property or moneys in the said bank which are to be confiscated, the employees of the said bank shall liquidate all other accounts and hand to the Government officials a detailed statement thereof, so that the Government may appoint special officials to seal such property in order that it may be adequately protected.

(3.) All loans made to the Chinese Government by the said bank shall no longer be binding on the Chinese Government in case the concessions or rights secured on such loans are controlled by the German Government. In case such rights or concessions are exercised by German civilians, they should be held in abeyance until after the war, and until diplomatic relations between the two countries have been revised.

(4.) No payments shall be made on deposits in the said bank by enemy subjects.

At this moment there are at Shanghai six German merchant vessels, with a total tonnage of 15,431, and three Austrian vessels, aggregating 9,491 tons. At Swatow are four German ships, totaling 6,203, and at Amoy one German ship of 1,770 tons. All in all, fourteen vessels, of 32,895 tons, have been seized by the Chinese Government.

Of German employees of the Chinese Government, there are 126, not including German teachers employed in various

Chinese schools. These have already been dismissed, with their salaries paid up to the end of this month. As for German teachers in schools maintained by the Central or Provisional Governments, they will be permitted to remain in their respective posts as long as they live quietly and keep aloof from politics.

While the Britishers and Frenchmen in this part of the world are jubilant over China's entry into the war, they are

dissatisfied with China's decision not to expel or intern all Germans, civilians as well as others, but simply to register them with a view to securing their orderly, peaceful conduct. Roughly estimated, there are about 2,000 Germans in all China—500 in Shanghai, 400 in Hankow, 300 in Tientsin, 200 each in Tsing-tao, and Tsinan-fu, 100 in Peking, and the rest scattered in different parts of the country.

The War Record of the British Dependencies

THE British dependencies, that is, the various crown colonies and protectorates, which are distinct from the self-governing colonies, or dominions, have a war record which, if not so conspicuous as that of the other sections of the British Empire, is none the less remarkable in view of their resources.

The British West Indies have a male population of about 1,040,000 in all, of whom some 150,000 are East Indian coolies. The proportion of Europeans varies from 1 per cent. to 5 per cent. Practically every available man went to England to join the army, as is shown by the impossibility of finding European officers for the West Indian contingents. From the negro population, in addition to the two battalions of the old regular West India Regiment, there have been raised contingents forming the British West Indies Regiment, which is drawn from all the West Indian colonies, and is now a very considerable force. There are also local defense forces.

Europeans also returned to England from the Eastern colonies in large numbers to join the new army. Ceylon sent a contingent 230 strong in November, 1914, and has since sent smaller parties home to enlist. In Malaya, which has sent home a very large number of Europeans to join the army, commissions have now been appointed on the lines of the tribunals at home, to decide between volunteers for service and their employers, and similar action is being taken in Hongkong. In spite of the fact that there have been a rising in the Straits

Settlements and very serious riots in Ceylon, these colonies have released their standing garrisons by raising local volunteer forces, and have made, or are making, service compulsory for Europeans. Hongkong did not require compulsion, because every fit man volunteered.

Fiji, out of a total white population of about 4,000, has sent contingents to the British Army of 141 men, besides which about 280 men have joined the Australian or New Zealand expeditionary forces, or have enlisted in England.

Of the smaller non-African colonies Bermuda, out of a population of 6,700 Europeans, has contributed a company to a British regiment and a force of field and garrison artillery from the colored population, besides providing a militia regiment for the garrison. The Falkland Islands and St. Helena have raised volunteer regiments for garrison duty.

The British forces which operated in Togoland and the Cameroons were almost entirely natives of West Africa, and the campaign which ended in the conquest of the Northern Cameroons was carried out by the Nigerian regiment of the West African frontier force. Nigerian troops have been sent to East Africa, and a large number of carriers (for whom there is an urgent demand) are continually going. It is impossible to reduce the garrisons in West Africa below a certain number, as the possibility of local trouble is always present. The number of officers and noncommissioned officers who have had experience with West Afri-

can troops is limited, and to meet the shortage a large number of officials and other civilians with West African experience have been given temporary commissions. Native marine ratings have been recruited in Nigeria for service in Mesopotamia.

The conquest of Togoland, so far as the British share in that achievement is concerned, was carried out singlehanded by the Gold Coast; while the colonies of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast all sent contingents to assist in the operations in the Cameroons, (1914-16.) Since then the Gold Coast has sent nearly all its standing military force to East Africa to assist in the operations against the Germans, and the Gambia has sent the whole of the military force that it maintains to the same theatre. The standing military forces of Sierra Leone are being utilized as a garrison for Sierra Leone and the Gambia; other companies have been lent to Nigeria. On the other hand, Sierra Leone is now raising large numbers of carriers for service in East Africa.

Most of the Europeans in these colonies are Government officials (including military officers) and employes of trading and mining firms. As regards the latter class, many have returned to England for service with the army, and others have been drawn upon to accompany combatant troops and carriers to East Africa, or for service with the local garrisons. The East Africa Protectorate was one of the first parts of the empire to adopt the principle of compulsory service. As far as settlers of military age are concerned, more than two-thirds are on military service, while of the European officials some 40 per cent. have joined the colors. In Uganda and Ny-

asaland, although the European population is smaller, every available European of military age is on military service. Although the native populations are large, the tribes that are warlike and suitable for fighting material are comparatively scarce. The local native force (other than police) of the three protectorates of East Africa, Uganda, and Nyasaland, is known as the King's African Rifles. They are being fully employed in the operations against German East Africa. In addition, some irregular native troops have been raised in the East Africa Protectorate and Uganda for the local operations, and an immense number of carriers have been recruited. Zanzibar, which was formerly dependent for its garrison on the East Africa Protectorate, has now raised a defense force of its own, and provides for its own safety.

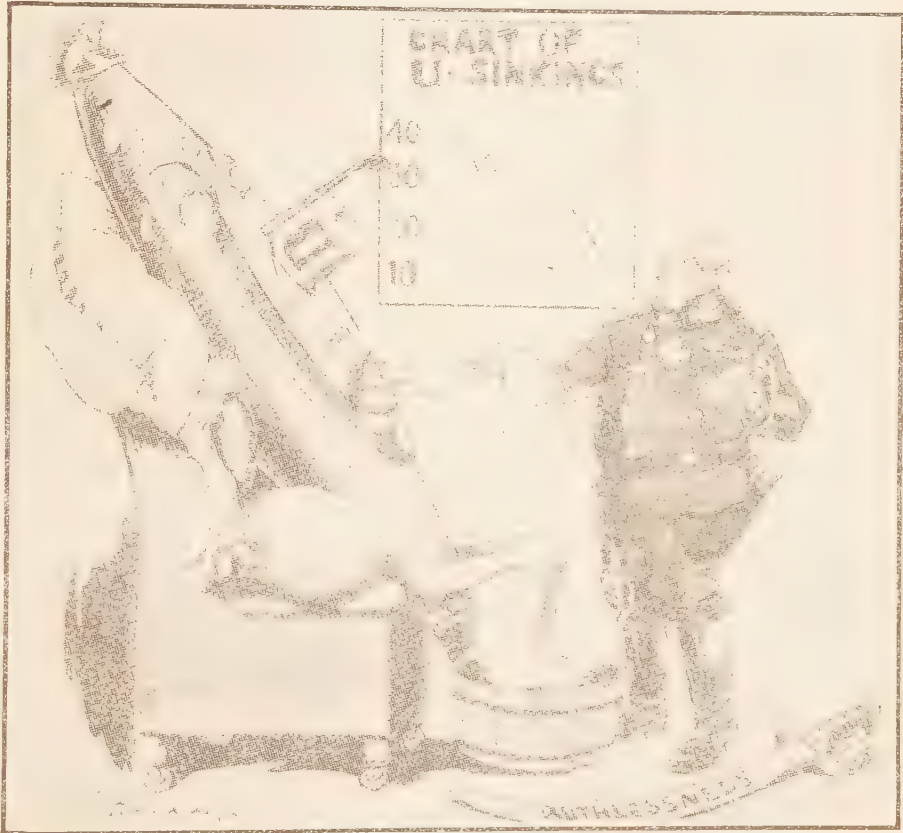
Rhodesia has provided a regiment which participated in the campaign against German Southwest Africa; and another Rhodesian contingent, nearly 1,000 strong, partly recruited in the Union of South Africa, was sent to East Africa, and has been employed in the operations. The Northern Rhodesia police and volunteer forces, and a native Matabele regiment, in addition to several thousand carriers, are also now engaged in the operations against German East Africa from the south, under Brig. Gen. Northey. Moreover, considerable numbers of Rhodesians have gone independently to England and joined British regiments. In a few of the colonies it is "impossible to raise a unit of any military value." In such a case all that can be done is to raise "labor battalions" as and when the military authorities require.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[English Cartoon]

Growing Weaker



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

The doctor is trying to keep up hope.

[French Cartoons]

Kerensky



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

It needs a strong grip to drive a chariot of State with such a team.

The Art of Camouflage



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

"And to think that before the war I was doing miniatures!"

[German Cartoon]

The Russian Napoleon



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin.

KERENSKY: "This is very unpleasant! My Napoleonic career seems likely to *begin* with the burning of Moscow."

[Spanish Cartoon]

Between the Devil and the Deep Sea



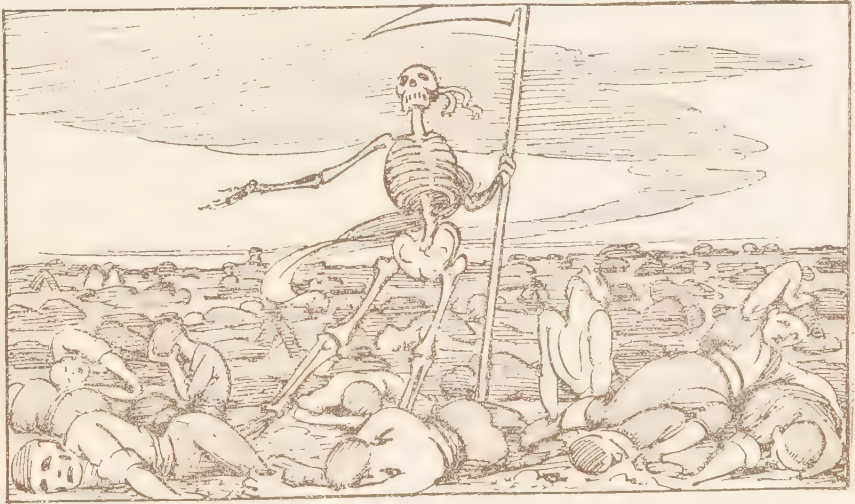
—From Iberia, Barcelona.

Chancellor Michaelis has to choose between "Disastrous Peace" and "Disastrous War." Which will he take?

Two Views of Freedom



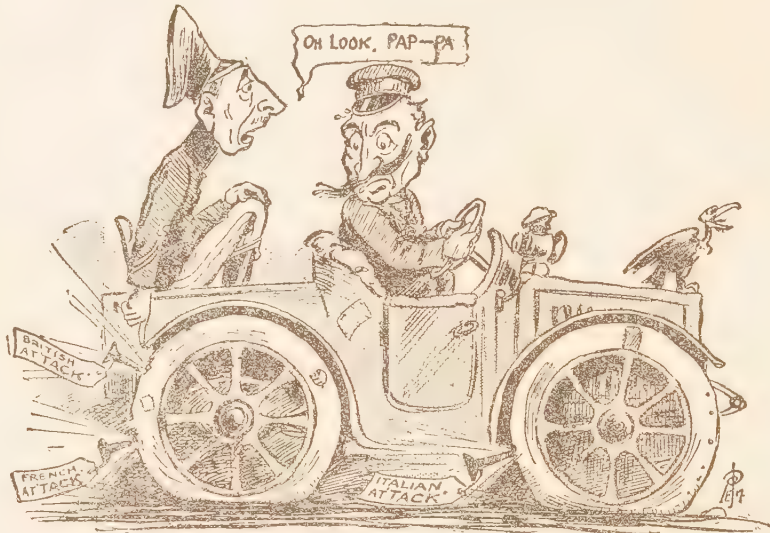
The people led by Freedom—and



From Nebelspatter, Zurich.

The people after they have been led by Freedom.

Forced to Re-tire



—From The People, London.

A Blighted Troth



—From The Sunday Evening Telegram, London.

PRESIDENT WILSON: "Sakes alive! D'you think I'd advise any Old World to hang its chances of peace on the word of a blighter like that?—only chance is to hang hi-m!!"

[American Cartoon]

“What Will You Give for Her?”

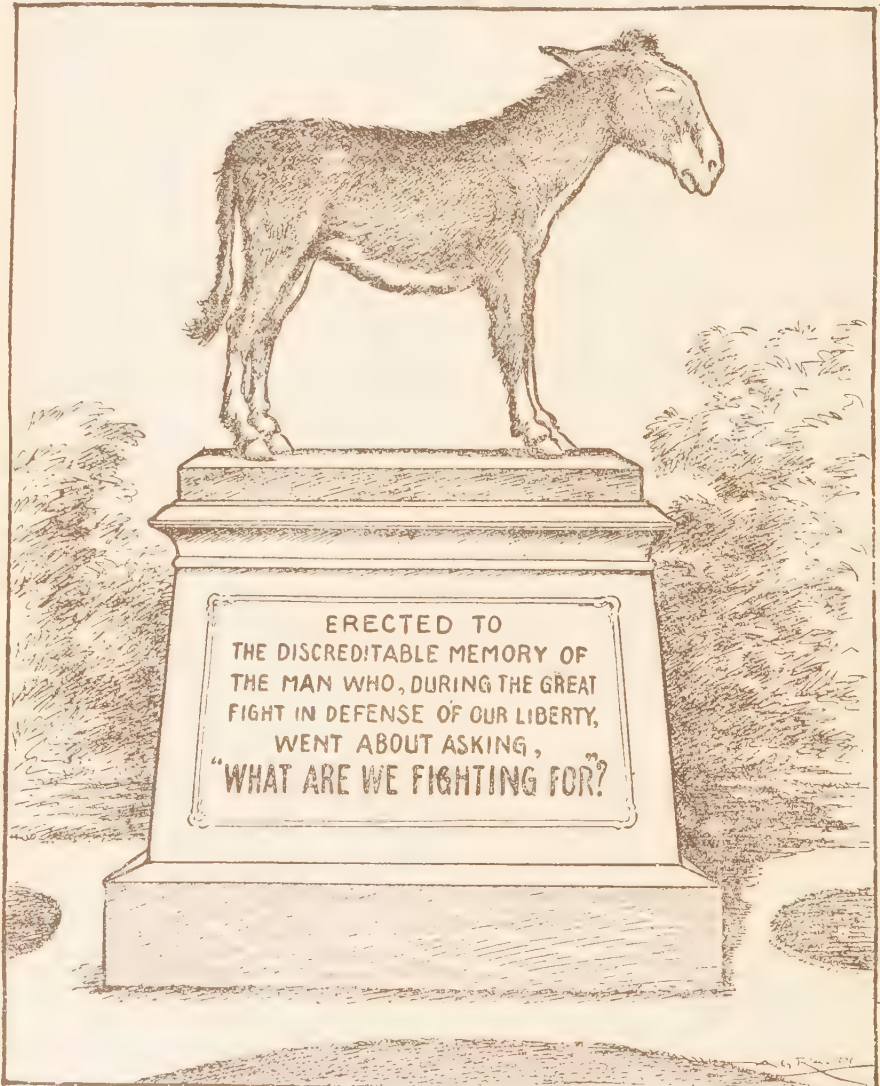


—From *The New York World*.

Germany wants “peace by negotiation.”

[Canadian Cartoon]

Post-Bellum Honors



—From The Halifax Herald.

A statue to be erected after the war.

[German Cartoon]

Time as England's Ally



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin.

“She takes such long steps, Tommy—we can’t keep up.”

Why We Are Fighting



For the Freedom of the Seas.



For the Republic to Which We Owe
Our National Life.



That Conquest Shall Not Enslave
Democracy.



That Might Shall Not Enslave Right.

—Robert Carter in Philadelphia Press.

[American Cartoon]
More Power



—From *The New York Times*.
Getting ready for a long run.

[American Cartoon]

Why We Are at War



—From The Chicago Herald.

[American Cartoon]

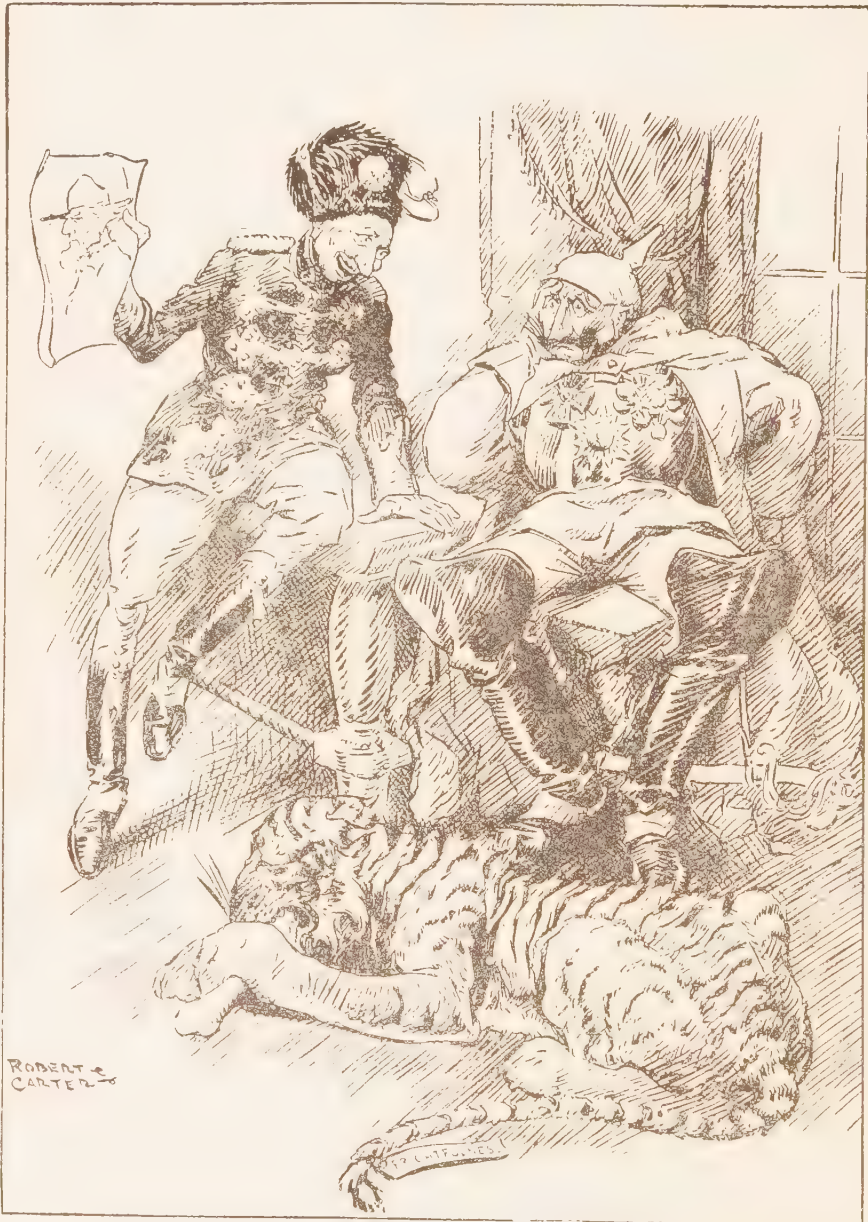
"Drink Up, and Let's Go"



—From The Chicago Herald.

[American Cartoon]

No Joking Matter



—From *The Philadelphia Press*.

THE KAISER: "Don't laugh, son. That's the man who ruined the royalty business."

[American Cartoon]

Kindred Spirits



—Rochester Union and Advertiser.

But the greatest of these is William Hohenzollern.

[English Cartoon]

Easier Said Than Done



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

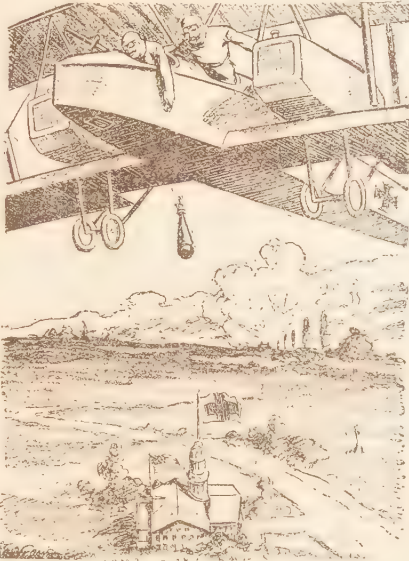
THE PRESIDENT: "Here is the road to democracy and you will find rest and peace when you reach the top."

GERMAN PEOPLE: "But that armed man bars the way!"

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, just throw him on one side."

[President Wilson's reply to the Pope's Peace Manifesto was to the effect that no negotiations could proceed until the German people adopted democratic institutions and removed their present rulers.]

Wilhelm: "Do Your Worst—
This War May Be Our Last"



—Baltimore American.

"Ach, That Dog, Now He Wants
the Moon!"



—Portland Oregonian.

The Blow Almost Killed Father Eventually, So Why Not Now?



—Washington Star.



—St. Joseph News-Press.

German Diplomacy



—Chicago Herald.

"I'll Give Up Belgium, See!"



—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

William Apologizes



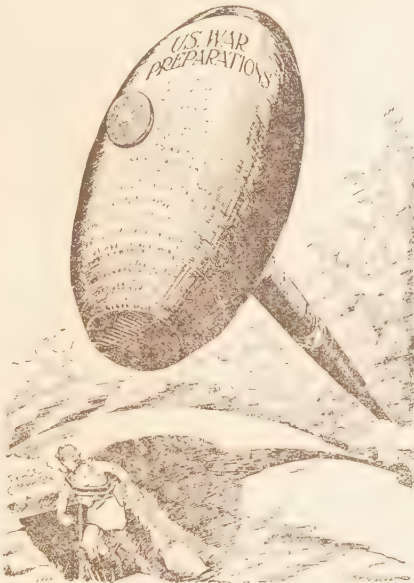
—Birmingham Age-Herald.

The End of the Trail



—Charleston News and Courier.

Only Yesterday 'Twas But a Argentina Proves That Republics
Speck on the Horizon Are Ungrateful



—Dayton News.



—Dayton News.

They Want the Case Dismissed



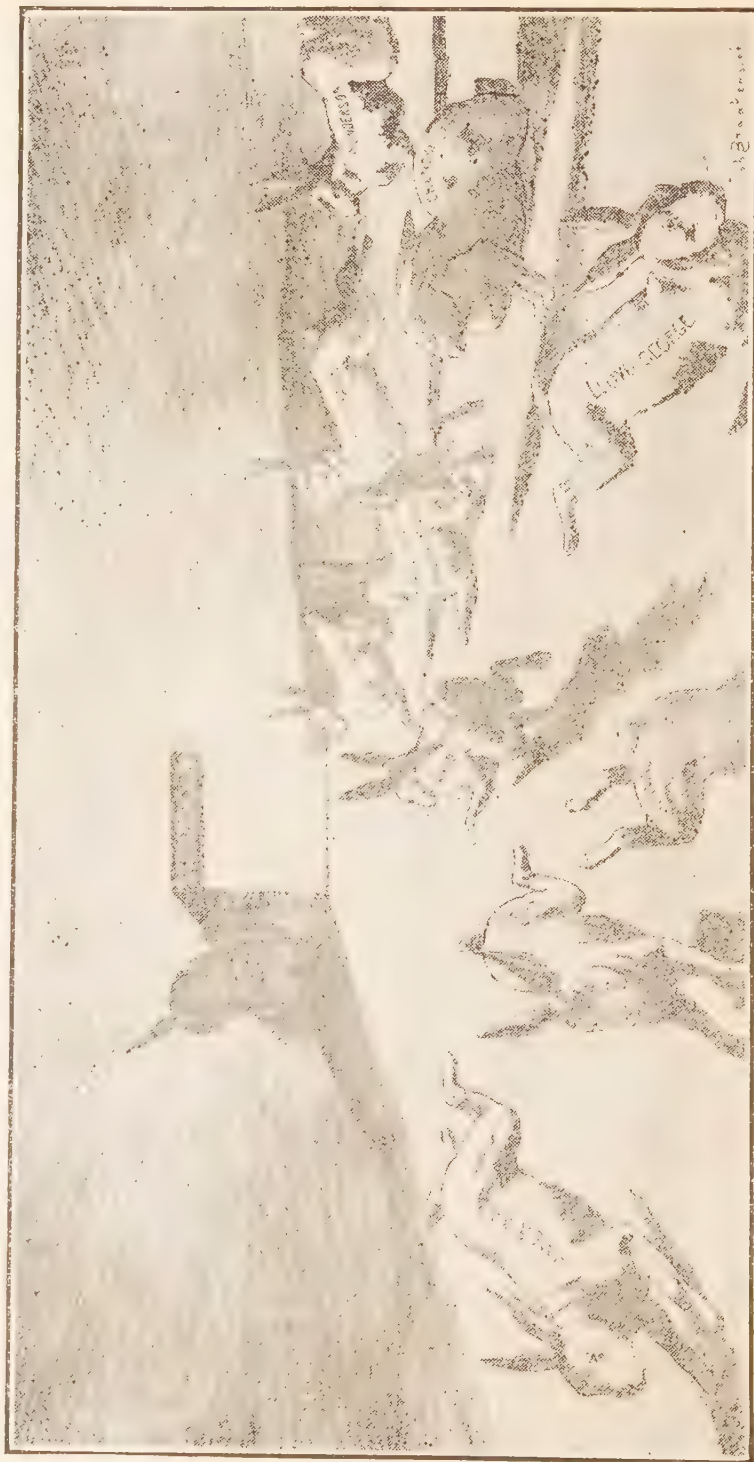
—Dallas News.

Next!



—Dallas News.

[Dutch Cartoon]
Another Failure—The Stockholm Peace Conference



The game refused to be lured into the trap by the bright light. —From the *Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

COUNT GEORG VON HERTLING



The New Imperial Chancellor of Germany in Succession to
Dr. Michaelis.

(Photo International Film Service.)

VITTORIO ORLANDO



Who Has Succeeded Bosselli as Premier of Italy. Orlando Was
Formerly Minister of the Interior.

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VII. } No. 3.
Part I. }

December, 1917

25 Cents a Copy
\$3.00 a Year

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WAR COUNCIL TRIUMPHS

Lloyd George Wins Parliament to the Allied Council Plan by Notable Speech

Premier Lloyd George delivered a notable speech in Parliament on the evening of Nov. 19, 1917, in defense of the plan to establish a Supreme War Council, in which Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States should jointly participate. Earlier details of this important change of allied methods appear on Pages 434-436 of this issue. It had been announced previously that former Premier Herbert H. Asquith would be the spokesman for the opposition, and the debate was looked forward to as the most serious attack on Lloyd George since his accession to power. THE NEW YORK TIMES received the full text of the speech of the Premier by special cable, and consequently it is inserted in this issue of the magazine as a special supplement, the regular forms of the December issue having been closed.

MR. ASQUITH in opening the discussion said that in war responsibility for what was done and what was left undone rested on the shoulders of the Government of the day. It was the business of the advisers of the Government to give counsel as to the best means whereby the policy of the Government could be brought to a successful issue.

It was of vital importance in war that there should be frequent and intimate consultations among the statesmen of the Allies and as complete co-ordination as circumstances permitted. Germany had the advantage that the policy of all the Governments of that alliance was decided by a central authority; Austria and Turkey had no voice in either policy or strategy.

"It is urgent," continued Mr. Asquith, "that the Allies develop by all the means possible the machinery for complete consultation, communication, and co-ordination. We should welcome any scheme or arrangement which would provide for more frequent communication between the General Staffs, supplemented by the

appointment of liaison officers of high rank."

Against Interfering with Staffs

He would deprecate, however, said Mr. Asquith, the setting up of any organization that would interfere with the responsibility of the General Staffs to their Governments, or derogate in any way from the authority and legitimate responsibility of each of the allied staffs to its own people.

Dealing with the Premier's speech in Paris, (part of which is printed on Page 435,) Mr. Asquith strongly emphasized that there was no mention of the navy, while in many aspects of the war the navy dominated strategical considerations. It suggested unity of control and meant unity of command, but he did not desire to read any such purpose into the Premier's statement. He asked whether the advisory staff officer would have a separate staff and what would happen if his staff and the General Staff were not in agreement. Which would give way or decide the question?

Sir Edward Carson, interrupting: "The War Cabinet."

Mr. Asquith said that the object of the debate was to dispel certain misapprehensions which had been excited, not so much by the scheme as by the Paris speech. Referring to that speech, he went on to say that while he would continue to eschew all unnecessary controversy, he would be failing in his duty if he were to pass it by.

The Premier had selected four cases in criticism of the allied strategy—two, Serbia and Rumania, in which he himself and Mr. Lloyd George had in their respective capacities equal responsibility, and two, Russia and Italy, which belonged to this year. Mr. Lloyd George's view regarding Serbia was not the view taken by any military authority of weight in this country, he asserted.

The proposition that there was only one front was perfectly sound, and one of the corollaries was that you might render the best service to any ally at one end of the line by exerting the maximum effort at the other end of the line. It was a sacred trust of the Allies to see that the future freedom and security

of Serbia and Rumania were adequately assured.

Mr. Asquith went over the Premier's references in his Paris speech to Russia and Italy and asked what the Premier meant by "we." He suggested a doubt whether a council at Versailles last March would have affected the Russian situation. He also asked whether it was not a fact that up to the eve of the German attack General Cadorna was full of confidence and serenity and gave assurances that he would triumph over it.

"Lloyd George regaled the good people of Paris," he added, "with irrelevant rhetoric."

Mr. Asquith doubted whether any allied council would have interfered with the successful offensives in the west in favor of more attractive adventures elsewhere. He concluded:

"We have no reason to be ashamed of our contribution to the war. We have kept the seas free. We have expanded our army into seventy divisions, and we have placed our arsenals and credit at the disposal of our allies, and so we will go on to the end."

Premier Lloyd George's Address

The full text of the Premier's speech in reply is as follows:

"My right honorable friend's speech divided itself naturally into two parts. The first dealt with a practical, and therefore most important, question, and the other dealt with the question of the presentment of the case. With regard to the first he examined our proposals in a calm and dispassionate way, and I hope I shall follow his example.

"I shall first deal with one or two criticisms which he offered upon the question as to whether it is desirable to secure greater unity of control and, if so,

whether we have adopted the right method of securing that unity. That is far more important than anything else which has taken place in Paris or elsewhere.

"I am glad my right honorable friend made my task very much easier by practically accepting the principle upon which we based our action. He admits there is need for greater co-operation and co-ordination.

"I don't think he has denied that the mere machinery which was adopted when he was Prime Minister and which I subsequently adopted, the machinery of con-

ferences and consultations between the Allies, has not proved all that was necessary. What he does deny—and I shall come to that later—is that, although the present machinery is inadequate, he does not accept my proposition that the Allies have suffered substantially in consequence. On that ground I shall join issue with him later on.

Suffered from Defects of System

"I think we have suffered grievously, as I explicitly said in Paris, through no fault of any individual or any staff, but owing to defects of the system. That is why I thought the time had come to make a complete change in the method of co-ordinating our position.

"As my right honorable friend has said, the enemy had the advantage in the possession of interior lines. That is the reason why we should do our best to overcome that advantage by co-ordinating our effort.

"This is not the first time that Germany has won through the lack of co-ordination on the part of allies. In the time of Frederick the Great, in spite of an overwhelming mass of material and men against him, his important success was attributable in the main to the fact that the allied powers did not co-ordinate their efforts. It is essential that we should avoid the mistakes of the past, either in this campaign or elsewhere.

"May I just say that any criticism which I have directed against the past in proposing this change in our method of securing common action was not directed against any staff or any Commander in Chief either in this or any other country. It is the business of the Commander in Chief to look after his own particular front. It is not his business to survey the whole field of operations in Europe, Asia, and Africa. It is quite as much as he can do to look after

his own particular front. I made no attack upon General Sir Douglas Haig, Sir William Robertson, or any other army chiefs.

First Proposed by Kitchener

"Who was it first suggested this idea of co-ordination? I see there is a suggestion (my right honorable friend has not made himself responsible for it, but it has been freely stated outside) that this scheme is part of the civilian attempt to interfere with soldiers.

"Who was the first to suggest it? It was Lord Kitchener in 1915, and he proposed it in almost the very same terms in which I recommended it in Paris. That was in 1915, and I say that if his advice had been followed—I admit there were difficulties then and that it's easier to-day—if it had been carried out at the time by the Allies, I say without hesitation that we should have been further forward in the war by now. But here again I am not criticising anybody. After all, the Allies are taught by the difficulties and disasters which come through lack of common action.

"The second time it was proposed was in July of this year. A meeting of the chiefs of the allied staffs of Great Britain, France, and Italy passed a resolution urging the necessity of unity of action on the western front by the promoting of an interallied military organization, which would study and prepare for the rapid movement of troops from one theatre to another.

"Therefore, when it is suggested that there is a device on the part of civilians to get control of strategy, I am glad of this opportunity of quoting the authority of three great soldiers as proof that its initiative and suggestion came in the first instance not from politicians.

"Now I come to the second point. Having argued that it is desirable to

get some sort of control at the front, working in co-ordination, what is the best method of doing it? We examined three alternative proposals. The first, put forward in responsible quarters, was the appointment of a generalissimo for the whole of the allied forces. I was utterly opposed to that suggestion. For reasons which it would not be desirable to discuss here it would be attended with the greatest difficulty.

America for Going Further

"Another suggestion which found favor not only in France but, I observe, also in America, was that the committee should have greater power than we proposed to confer upon it. Therefore the idea of America is not that we have gone too far but that we have not gone far enough. There are reasons why I think that it would be undesirable to set up a separate authority unless we are driven to it by the failure of the present experiment, for the success of which goodwill and co-operation on the part of all concerned are essential. Soldiers will represent all allied countries. They will be assisted by technical advisers, drawn from all the allied armies, which will help the various Governments to co-ordinate their plans.

"That is the present proposal. What are its advantages? The first is that the information which is at the disposal of each of the allied States will be at the disposal of a central council. The second advantage of the new council is that it will be a permanent body. Under the old system there was only one meeting a year between the allied staffs. That meeting was held for the purpose of surveying the strategy to be pursued on thousands of miles of front, on which millions of men were engaged. It was utterly impossible.

"Therefore, I say, an essential part

of this scheme, if it is to achieve its object, is that it should be permanent.

Must Survey the Whole Field

"It will be the duty of this central body to survey the whole field and not merely a part. It may be said that each General Staff does that at present. Well, in a sense they are bound to consider not only their own front but other fronts as well, but it is a secondary matter. They naturally do not devote the same study to it. There is always delicacy on the part of any General Staff to criticise another General.

"With regard to the Italian front it is very difficult to give answers about these matters without saying something which will hurt, perhaps, our ally. My right honorable friend asked me questions about what General Cadorna has said, and I am not sure that I can answer him. I don't want to be pressed about it. I would rather not, because there is a great deal to be said about that and a good deal to be said about our view about the position of the Italian Army that is much more important from the point of view of our country, but it was a view we could not press. We were not responsible for the Italian front.

"The advantage of the central council is that we would have the right to press the things we knew, suspected, or believed about the Italian front as much as about our own. The Italian Government knew something about it, but naturally Sir William Robertson would not go on pressing things about another front beyond a certain point. We got to the consideration of them, but it was too late.

"That is one of the difficulties of the old system, but it must come to an end if you are going to insure victory. The Italian front is important to our front,

and whatever happens there affects the operations on ours.

"That is why we have come to the conclusion that the mere machinery of liaison officers which we had, that the occasional meeting of Ministers and Chiefs of Staffs once or twice a year, is utterly inadequate, utterly inefficient for the purpose of securing real co-ordination, and that you must have a permanent body constantly watching these things, constantly advising upon them, and constantly reporting on them to the Government whether as to the French, Italian, or Russian front.

"With regard to the navy, I can assure my right honorable friend that representation of the navy is not an afterthought; it is essential that all information regarding naval operations should be known to these military advisers. That is a different thing to the establishment of a naval council and to co-ordinating naval strategy. A good deal can be said for that. We are suffering from lack of it now, anybody who knows what is happening in the Mediterranean could tell that. There is a great deal to be said for a similar council dealing with naval strategy to that which is set up for military considerations. But that is a very different thing.

"My right honorable friend asked whether the new council would have its own expert staff or would it be dependent on information supplied by the individual staffs. You cannot set up there a rival intelligence department. It would be utterly impracticable and thoroughly mischievous. We have about the best Intelligence Department probably in Europe, and one of the most distinguished soldiers in the army at the head of it. The only staff you require there is a staff necessary to co-ordinate the information which comes from the various

staffs. The final decision must remain with the Government. That is the case now. There will be no change after this has been done.

Paris Speech Was Deliberate

"My honorable friend challenged some things I said in Paris. Let me say at once about the speech, that I considered it carefully. It is suggested that I was assisted by Mr. Churchill. That speech was written and handed over to be interpreted before I saw the right honorable gentleman. I never altered a comma of it, and he never knew what I was going to say until he heard me at that particular meeting.

"Naturally, this has been worked up into a web of intrigue. If that speech was wrong, I cannot plead any impulse and that it was something I said on the moment. I had considered it, and I did it for a deliberate purpose.

"I have seen resolutions for unity and for co-ordination. Where are they? You might as well throw them straight away into the waste-paper basket. Lord Kitchener tried it on Jan. 28, 1915. I have seen other schemes by M. Briand and my right honorable friend. Somehow or other they all came to nought because naturally you get the disinclination of independent bodies to merge their individualities in a sort of common organization. It is inevitable, and I was afraid that this would end in the same way.

"We went to Rapallo with a document—a carefully prepared document. It was passed by the Cabinet before I left, but I was afraid of this. There was a beautifully drafted document prepared by the Allies at two or three conferences. Nothing happened—simply an announcement in the papers that at last we had found some means of co-ordination.

"There had been too much of that,

and I made up my mind to take the risks, and I took them, to arouse public sentiment, not here merely, but in France, in Italy, and in America, to get public sentiment behind us, to see that this document became an act.

"It is not easy to arouse public opinion. I may know nothing of military strategy, but I do know something of political strategy. And to convince and to get public opinion interested in a proposal and to convince them of the desirability of it is an essential part of political strategy. That is why I did it, and it has done it. [Loud cheers.] I determined to deliver a disagreeable speech that would force everybody to talk about this scheme, and they have talked about it.

"The result is that America is in, Italy is in, France is in, Britain is in, and public opinion is in, and that is vital.

"The suggestion is made that I am blaming my own country, but I am not.

"My right honorable friend instanced the illustrations of Serbia, Rumania, Russia, and Italy. But France was just as responsible for them as we were, but no more. Italy was surely responsible. It was not a pleasant thing for Italy or for me to remind them that they had lost 2,500 guns. It was more pleasant to say that we had captured a kilometer than to say to Italy that she had lost 200,000 prisoners. It was disagreeable all around, but it was necessary in order to give force to the movement.

"The field is north, south, east, and west. Our business is to bring pressure on the enemy from every point of the compass, and inflict hurt on him where you can.

"That is our argument and that is why we want a central council—a council which will examine the whole field of operations, and not merely a part of it,

with the advice of England and her Generals to be given when it is required, and the advice of others to be given to us.

"We need every brain, we need all the experience, we need all the help, and they need it, and their need is greater than ours at the present moment. We want victory, and we will get it, but I don't want the whole burden of winning to fall on Great Britain; and I want, therefore, an interallied council, so to order the whole field of battle that the whole resources of the Allies shall be thrown into the conflict, in order to bring pressure to bear on the enemy.

Could Have Saved Serbia

"With regard to Serbia, if our troops who were sent there had been sent six weeks earlier, we should not have had the Balkan tragedy. I do not withdraw a single syllable I have said. I do not say this because of what my right honorable friend has said, but because of what his friends have been saying. Really, when I see it said in certain quarters, 'hands off the army,' it makes me feel as if I am crossing the Channel in a torpedo-boat destroyer on a choppy sea.

"I will lay down two propositions and I defy any man to challenge them. The first is that no soldiers in any war have had their strategical dispositions less interfered with by politicians. There has not been a single battalion or gun moved this year except on the advice of the General Staff. Not a single attack has been ordered in any part of the battlefield except on the advice of the General Staff, and there has not been a single attack not ordered.

"The whole campaign of this year has been the result of the advice of soldiers. Never in the whole history of war in this country have soldiers got more consistent and more substantial backing

from politicians than they have in this war. I do not mean a backing of speeches; I mean a backing of guns, ammunition, transport, shipping, railways, supplies, and men. Speeches are no substitute for shells.

"I have only twice during this war acted against the advice of soldiers. The first was in the gun program. I laid down a program in advance of the advice of soldiers and against it. I was told then that I was extravagant and that the program would not be necessary. There is no soldier today who will not say that I was right.

"The second time I acted against the advice of soldiers was in the appointment of a civilian to reorganize the railways behind the lines, and I am proud to have done it. There is not a soldier now who will not say that he is grateful that I pressed my advice in spite of the attacks in the press that I was interfering with the soldiers.

"Apart from the great and matchless valor of our troops—and in spite of everything that has been said, no man has used warmer or more deepfelt words of gratitude and admiration for them than I have—apart from that, and the skill in the disposition of our soldiers, what are the two most conspicuous features in the great attacks in Flanders? The first is the overwhelming mass of artillery and ammunition; the second is the fact that the whole supplies are running right into the firing line by arrangements made by my right honorable friend, the First Lord of the Admiralty.

"I am not going here to define what the function of a politician is and what the function of a soldier, but do not make any mistake. You want both policy and strategy. They are inextricably interwoven.

"These are things which belong pure-

ly to the sphere of the soldier, and the politician who meddles in them is mischievous. He is meddling with something which requires years of training. There is also the sphere which is purely political, and the soldier who meddles in that is just as mischievous as the politician who meddles in strategy. Every one thinks he can edit a newspaper and become a statesman without any training or experience.

"Every one says 'I could show these politicians how to do things.' I should just like to see some of these gentlemen here for five or ten minutes. We would show them that even politics is an art that requires experience.

Must Work Together

"But there is a vast sphere in war which is partly political and partly military. Supplies, transport, shipping, the distribution of man power, diplomacy, and the morale of the people—all these things are political, even more than they are military, and to divide people into politicians and soldiers in war is unscientific. What you want is the co-operation of both. Let them work together. The men who would try to separate them and foster disunion among them are traitors to their country. We have got to go on, and that is why I am looking forward to co-operation between not merely civilians and soldiers, but between allies and allies.

"Here let me utter one word of warning. When I see paragraphs by people who write recklessly without knowing the mischief they are doing, I think they are doing this in order to put us and our armies on bad terms with France, fostering suspicion of France. Why, Germany is lavishing money to create suspicion, distrust, and jealousy of England in France, Italy, Russia, and America. There is one country where they

have conspicuously failed to move a single peasant to anything but heartfelt gratitude for what this country has done, and that country is France.

"Are we to tolerate men in this country who, for purely political or personal reasons, are disseminating distrust and jealousy of France in the hearts of Englishmen? I say we ought to stop this business.

"Since I have been in this war I have striven to get, not merely co-operation between the Allies, but friendship, goodwill, and comradeship. I have done my best to make these people our friends. That is the secret of our success.

"It is essential that you should have this perfect goodwill. The idea that poor France—trampled upon, with so many of her sons lost to her forever, with her richest provinces torn from her—should want anything except emancipation from this deadly menace that has threatened her for fifty years is false. That is all she seeks, and I hope, whatever happens to this controversy, that at any rate they will keep their hands and tongues and pens from trying to foster suspicion, jealousy, and distrust between France and ourselves.

Unity the Way to Victory

"It is better to tell the people what is going on, and I have no anxiety that would modify for one moment my confidence.

"There were two fears, two things that could defeat us.

"There was the submarine menace. If that had wrenched from us the freedom of the seas, then, indeed, our hopes would be shattered. But of the subma-

rine I have no longer any fear. We are on its track, and I am glad to tell the House that on Saturday we destroyed five of these pests of the seas.

"The only other thing is lack of unity. Unity is the only sure way to victory—a victory that will bring peace and healing to a world which is bleeding to death."

Other Speeches

Admiral Sir Hedworth Meux followed the Premier. He maintained that the scheme the Premier had explained was very different from that outlined in his Paris speech.

Commander Wedgwood characterized the Premier's speech as largely camouflage, and a lamentable descent from his Paris utterance. The council, he said, ought to possess executive powers. If anybody had come to see the Premier's funeral he had found a very wakeful corpse.

Sir Edward Carson confirmed the full approval and confidence of the Cabinet in the document the Premier took to Rapallo and declared that there would be no whittling down, but that the agreement would be rigidly adhered to as one of the most sacred documents formulated by the Allies during the war. If there were a divergency of views on the central council, he said, the Government would take the problem back to its own staffs, and it would be decided by those at home.

The Premier's success in winning Parliament to the plan and his complete triumph over his critics were emphasized by the fact that the debate was closed with the withdrawal of the motion for adjournment, without a division.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 20, 1917.]

THE MONTH'S GREAT EVENTS

NOVEMBER, 1917, the forty-first month of the war, witnessed the high tide of momentous occurrences, chief of which were the following: The disastrous retirement of the Italian armies; the rebellion of the Reds in Russia, followed by civic and military demoralization throughout that country; the rapid acquisition from the Turks of Palestine by British troops; the strategic gains in Flanders and along the Aisne and Ailette by the Anglo-French forces; the first baptism of fire received by American troops in European trenches; the sensational overthrow of the Painlevé Cabinet, and the coming into supreme power of the picturesque Georges Clemenceau; finally, the decision of Great Britain, France, and Italy to form a Supreme War Council for co-ordination of effort, a project which the United States Government has unqualifiedly indorsed. On Nov. 19 the news from Italy indicated that the Austro-German invasion had met strong resistance along the River Piave, and there was hope among the Allies that the threatened fall of Venice might be averted; but the situation was recognized to be so very grave that Venice was practically evacuated and her most precious art treasures removed. Russia was in a ferment of civil war between the various radical and moderate factions, and as a military factor in the war was completely eliminated. These disturbing features were partially offset on the allied side by the capture from the Turks of large portions of Palestine, and by the serious dents that were made in the Hindenburg-Seigfried line in France by the French and English, presaging a further German retirement to a new line of defense. Politically the chief event was the formation of a new Cabinet in France headed by the dominant militant figure of the republic, Georges Clemenceau, indicating fresh access of vigor to that country; Italy and Germany also changed Premiers, and Lloyd George tri-

umphed over his foes by the indorsement of his plan for a Supreme War Council uniting Italy, France, Great Britain, and the United States into one efficient central consultative body.

* * *

CHANGE OF MINISTRY IN FRANCE

THE Painlevé Ministry, after sixty days' existence, was forced to resign on Nov. 13, following its defeat in the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 277 to 186; the Socialists refused to support the Government. The Cabinet was weak at the start on account of lack of assurances of support from the unified Socialists, who objected to the retention of former Premier Ribot in the new Ministry. It survived through sixty precarious days because the Socialists, while not giving it support, abstained from casting their votes in opposition. The crisis came on the night of Nov. 13 in a debate over the Government's lack of firmness and definiteness in dealing with the Bolo Pasha scandals.

A new Cabinet, headed by Georges Clemenceau, was completed within forty-eight hours after the fall of Painlevé, which marks a new speed record. In addition to the Premiership, Clemenceau took the War Portfolio. Stephen Pichon was made Foreign Secretary; he held the same portfolio in 1910, and is known as a relentless advocate of the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. All the members are regarded as uncompromising fighters, and have opposed all previous War Ministries on the ground that these were open to suspicion of weakness or temporizing. Jules Pams, the new Minister of the Interior, was the Presidential candidate of the Radical Left in 1913.

The new Cabinet represents a concentration of the Republican groups and excludes Conservatives, Socialists, and Royalists. The new Premier is well known to Americans. He taught school in Connecticut in his youth, and married an American. He was Prime Minister from 1906 to 1909, and in recent years

has been one of the most audacious and fearless critics of any Government or official whom he suspected of timidity or indecision in prosecuting the war.

* * *

JERUSALEM IN THE WAR

THE world's sense of reverence is shocked by the thought that Jerusalem, so long a holy city, equally for Hebrew, Christian, and Moslem, may be involved in the destruction of the war. Yet no city on earth has been more constantly involved in war, more frequently destroyed and rebuilt. Indeed, from the outset it was a city of war. Judah attacked it; David captured it, made its stronghold still stronger, and transferred his capital thither from Hebron. He built a palace and tabernacle of wood on the holy hill, which his son, Solomon, turned into splendid stone. Under Solomon's son, the magnificent rhetorician Rehoboam, the city of David began to wane, and presently felt the disasters of the capitivity—only to be rebuilt and restored.

Alexander the Great, conquering Palestine, spared Jerusalem, but its walls were razed by Ptolemy I. in the year 320 B. C., to be rebuilt by Simon a century later. The walls were again destroyed, and the city burned by Antiochus Epiphanes, to be rebuilt three years later by Judas Maccabeus, who strengthened David's original hill fortress on Zion. The walls were again razed by the Greeks, to be rebuilt by Jonathan, and Herod turned the old city into a magnificent capital and commercial centre. Pompey besieged the Temple hill in the year 65 B. C., and once more destroyed the walls, which were again restored by Antipater, but in the year 37 before our era, the Romans carried the city by storm.

Titus again captured Jerusalem, in the year 70 A. D., and cut down and destroyed the fruit trees. Jerusalem was rebuilt by Hadrian, taken, in the year 614, by Chosroes; in the year 637 the Caliph Omar captured it, and since that date it has been, for the most part, under Moslem rule. The Turks took Jerusalem in 1076, ten years after William of Normandy conquered England. In 1099 the Crusaders took the city. Saladin re-

captured it in 1187, and, five years later, built the walls which were razed again in 1219. The Crusaders held it again in 1228, but only for fifteen years. In 1517 the Osmanli Turks captured Jerusalem, and Suleiman the Magnificent built the present walls in 1542. Jerusalem has been fought over for 3,000 years.

* * *

DECLINE IN DRUNKENNESS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

THE official report of convictions for drunkenness between 1909 and August, 1917, in England and Wales shows the following weekly averages: 1909, 3,090; 1914, 3,388; 1916, 1,544; 1917, (8½ months,) 929. Convictions for drunkenness have fallen off very considerably in consequence of the no-treating order. This order was issued on Oct. 11, 1915, and for the seven weeks following—to Nov. 28, when it became operative—the number of convictions recorded weekly in London was 792. In the four weeks of January, 1916, there were 592 cases, and the following month 616, after which a fluctuating decrease took place till last December, when the weekly average rose to 735. From that date each month of this year showed a decrease, till July last, when there were 310 convictions, compared with 261 in June; but in the following four weeks, which ended on Aug. 12, the number stood at 295.

In 1914 the weekly average in Birmingham was 72, but in the first six months after the date of the no-treating order it fell to 23, while in June of this year it was as low as 9, rising, however, to an average of 17 in August last. Liverpool had 236 cases a week in 1914, and for six months after the order the number was 121; it was 91 in January, and ended with 57 in August. In Manchester the 1915 average was 83, and after the order came into operation on Feb. 14, 1916, a remarkable decrease took place. The last return shows that there was an average of 21 in August, but in June it was as low as 18. Sheffield's average was 28 in 1914, 3 in June, 1917, 7 in August.

In Scotland the weekly average for four weeks in 1915 before the orders was 1,485; in 1916 after the orders it

was 947, and in 1917 the last return was 583. The average in Edinburgh has fallen from 158 in 1914 to 60 in 1917; in Glasgow from 461 in 1914 to 178 in 1917, and in Inverness from 13 to 1.

* * *

IN THE STREETS OF ASKALON

FOR the second time in history the armies of England have captured Askalon, "the city of holm oaks." It was taken before by Richard I., the Lion-hearted, in 1191, from the chivalrous Saladin, and the English rebuilt the town and restored the fortifications. But Sultan Bibars captured it in 1270, and completed the work of destruction by filling up the ancient harbor. In older days, the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans successively held this famous city; and in still earlier days it loomed large in the wars between Israel and the Philistines.

About the year 1425 before our era, immediately after the death of Joshua, "Judah took Gaza with the coast thereof, and Askalon with the coast thereof, and Ekron with the coast thereof," exactly on the lines of General Allenby's present advance; these three, with Ashdod and Gath, form the famous "five cities of the Philistines." Askalon stands out again in the great love-story of Samson. It was the source of his famous riddle, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness," which the hero revealed to his beloved "daughter of the Philistines," after she had wept for seven days. In revenge for her betrayal of the answer, Samson "went down to Askalon and slew thirty men of them and took their spoil, and gave change of garments unto them which expounded the riddle"; but Samson's wife was given to his companion.

The prophet Jeremiah fulminated against "the Kings of the land of the Philistines and Askalon: Drink ye, and be drunken, and fall and rise no more, because of the sword which I will send among you." And again: "Baldness is come upon Gaza; Askalon is cut off with the remnant of their valley. * * * How can the sword of the Lord be quiet, seeing that the Lord hath given it a charge against Askalon?" But even more magnificent is the burst of poetry in David's

lament for Saul and Jonathan: "The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places; how are the mighty fallen! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askalon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph."

* * *

VENICE AND THE GERMANS

IT is one of the curious cyclic returns of history that Venice was originally founded as a place of refuge from the Huns, in the year 452, when Attila sacked the rich city of Aquileia, not far from where Trieste now stands. The isles of the lagoon were occupied by refugees, and this population was constantly increased as the barbarians strengthened their hold on Northern Italy. Byzantine influence was soon felt, beginning with the sixth century and the reign of Justinian, when the Venetians fought beside Belisarius against the Goths. From that time Venice was a part of the Eastern Empire, linked with Constantinople, the new Rome.

The Popes, joining hands with the northern invaders, fought against Venice, which turned to Byzantium for aid. Thus it came that the great Byzantine Cathedral of St. Mark was built in Venice. A sea victory over the Dalmatian pirates made Venice mistress of the Adriatic about the year 1,000, since when the "wedding of the sea" has been celebrated, for this was the beginning of Venetian sea power. In the sixteenth century the Pope and the Emperor (Maximilian) again joined hands against Venice; later, her enemies were the Pope and Spain. From the period of the Crusades, with their expeditions by sea to the Levant, Venice became a great Oriental power, holding, among other rich possessions, both Crete and Cyprus, and, in virtue of a treaty with the Turks, holding the monopoly of the trade with India across the Isthmus of Suez.

But the discovery of the sea route round the Cape of Good Hope to India dealt a blow at this monopoly, and the power of Venice began to wane. After fighting Austria on the present Italian battlefields, Napoleon Bonaparte in 1797, by the treaty of Campo Formio, gave

Venice to Austria; from that time until 1815 it belonged alternately to Austria and France. Thereafter, until 1866, it was held by Austria—that is, until fifty-one years ago. In that year the defeat of Austria at Sadowa by Prussia and at Custozza by Italy broke Austria's power, and Venetia, with Venice as its capital, was added to united Italy.

* * *

THE LEGEND OF BRAZIL

BRAZIL'S entry into the world war adds to the belligerent territory an area of three and a quarter million square miles, practically equal to that of the United States; a territory extremely rich, though still sparsely populated. Before Columbus made the landfall of San Salvador, Portuguese navigators had explored and annexed the Azores, Canaries, and Cape Verde Islands in the wide Atlantic, and had put in a claim to the regions about and beyond these islands. This claim was indorsed by Pope Alexander VI. in 1493 and, when the most easterly part of the coast of South America was discovered, it fell to Portugal in virtue of this claim and decision, and Portuguese it has remained ever since, though long independent. Brazil is, in fact, the only American nation whose official tongue is Portuguese. It might well have been called New Portugal, as Central America was called New Spain, and as a more northerly region was called New England. But it received a far more ancient name, which goes back to the days of pagan Ireland and the dawn of Celtic literature; for in the oldest Irish legends, Brasil or Brazil was the name of the western paradise beyond the sunset, to which the souls of departed heroes went, and where the souls of the living sometimes visited them in dreams. Brendan, the early Irish navigator, who without doubt made an extensive voyage in the Atlantic Ocean, was said to have visited this enchanted isle, as other Irish travelers unquestionably reached Iceland. The tradition of his visit was handed down and accepted as authentic; so much so that on the Venetian map of Andrea Bianco, of the year 1436, the Isle of Brasil is marked, well out in

the Atlantic Ocean. It was, therefore, on the maps and charts of the early voyagers of the time of Columbus; and, when the eastern extension of South America was in due course discovered, it was identified with the once enchanted Isle of Brazil, and the name has remained to this day.

* * *

THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

THE declaration of the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Balfour, that "the Government views with favor the establishment of Palestine as a national home for the Jewish people, and will use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object," will, when realized, mark the greatest change in the status of Palestine since the days of Alexander the Great. Palestine may once more become a "land flowing with milk and honey," as in the days of the grape clusters of Eshcol. During the centuries of conquest and foreign dominion much of Palestine has been almost a desolate waste, exceedingly far from a land of plenty. The reason is quite simple: The almost complete destruction of trees on the porous limestone hills had allowed the plentiful Spring rains to rush down the hillsides in destructive torrents instead of remaining as a reservoir of fertility; exactly the same thing as turned the Italian Carso, also porous limestone, into a desolation. And the terraced grain fields on the slopes have fallen into ruin.

The first problem, therefore, for the hill country is a complete afforestation scheme, which should, within twenty years, restore the ancient luxuriance; especially a complete replanting of vines and olives, widely destroyed by the Romans, is needed. But below the hills, along the shore of the Mediterranean, there is a wide strip of very fertile land, on which extensive agricultural colonies have been planted in recent years, and have greatly prospered, raising large quantities of excellent cereals, cotton, and fruit. In the year before the war Jaffa exported oranges, unequalled for flavor, to the value of \$1,600,000, and the whole coast region could easily be turned into a fruit garden rivaling Southern

California. The formation of the hills, largely chalk and limestone, gives little hope of mineral wealth, but sheep and Angora goats could be successfully raised on the uplands, and, by extensive tree planting, to conserve the water of the Spring rains, the cultivated belt could be greatly extended, restoring the old fertility.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE COSSACKS

THE name Cossack, or, more correctly, Kazák, accented on the second syllable, is not Russian but Tartar. It dates from the great invasion of the Tartar hordes—"horde" being the Tartar name for an army—set in motion by the genius of Genghis Kahn at the beginning of the thirteenth century, a movement of expansion which resulted in the conquest of nearly all Asia and much of Europe. The title Kazák, a horseman, was shortly adopted by the mounted soldiers of the free communities which were formed in the border country, (called the Ukraine, from the Russian word "krai," a border,) which lay between the Moscow principality and the Black Sea, and stretched westward to the Carpathians, the scene of "Fire and Sword" and "The Deluge." These self-governing communities had their strongholds on the reefs and islands of the Dnieper and the other rivers that traverse the southern plain; and the ceaseless wars with the Tartars and Turks developed a caste of mounted warriors among them who came to be known as the Kazáks. In the reign of the Czar Alexis, the father of Peter the Great, the southern communities elected to join their fortunes with Russia, the Kazáks reserving their organization and privileges. Mazeppa, under Peter the Great, tried, at the end of his long life, to break this union. He was, therefore, the father of the "Ukraine" movement.

There are, perhaps, a quarter of a million Cossacks in the Russian Army, preserving their old military training, holding their land by military tenure, and still keeping and exercising the right to elect their own Hetman, or supreme leader. They are the strongest and most united force in Russia today. It was

said that the Provisional Government intended to destroy their privileges and organization, merging them in the regular army, and to their resentment at this certain present developments are in all probability to be traced.

* * *

TWO SINKING EPISODES IN THE NORTH SEA

GERMAN fast cruisers on Oct. 18 attacked a convoy in the North Sea, between the Shetland Islands and the Norway coast. Two British destroyers—the Mary Rose and the Strongbow—also five Norwegian, one Danish, and three Swedish merchant vessels, were sunk. Eighty-eight officers and sailors were lost when the destroyers went down; 150 passengers and sailors perished with the merchantmen. The official British statement of the raid says of the Germans:

Anxious to make good their escape before the British forces could interrupt them, no effort was made to rescue the crews of the sunken British destroyers, and the Germans left the doomed merchant ships while these were still sinking, thus enabling the British patrol craft, which arrived shortly afterward, to rescue some thirty Norwegians and others, regarding whom the details are not yet known. The German Navy by this act once more and further degraded itself by disregard of the historic chivalry of the sea.

One correspondent says that the details of the butchery of the crews of the merchantmen pass description. Two women on one ship waved a piece of white cloth which was perfectly visible. They were silenced by a volley from the German cruisers.

The Norwegian newspapers bitterly denounced the raid as "a murderous attack." Norway addressed the German authorities on the subject, expressing "concern" over the raid on neutral vessels, but no other known steps were taken.

The British Admiralty on Nov. 3 announced the sinking by British destroyers in the Cattegat waters of a disguised German raider, the Crocodile, 1,000 tons; an auxiliary cruiser, the Marie, 3,000 tons, and ten armed trawlers. In contrast with the action of the Germans, the report of Captain Lauterbach of the

Marie states that the British destroyers ceased firing as soon as the vessel burst into flames, and began rescuing the crew. The British succeeded in saving thirty Germans.

* * *

THE RICHES OF LORRAINE

FRANCE'S demand for the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine is strengthened by the revelation by the German Under Secretary of War of the enslavement of the girls of the provinces: "Eight and a half per cent. of the girls are less than seventeen years of age; one-half of them have been subjected by force to work at the front." But, as well as the moral reason, there are economic reasons why France will demand the two provinces. They contain a large part of her national wealth; on them Germany has not only built up her immense prosperity, but has cast cannon to wage the present war. Without these resources, she could not have carried on the world war for six months; for of the 2,800,000,000 tons of iron ore within Germany's present boundaries, 2,000,000,000 tons, or five-sevenths, are in Lorraine. Germany's vast iron industry was practically built up with the iron of Lorraine. Further, Germany yearly exported enormous quantities of Lorraine iron ore.

Of incalculable value also are the deposits of potash in Alsace, which have been operated only during the last eight years. The beds at the foot of Hartmanns-Weilerkopf, the scene of many battles in the present war, are estimated to contain more than 3,000,000,000 tons of pure potash, valued at about \$35,000,000,000. As potash is one of the most valuable plant foods, the meaning of this is plain. It means potential food for the whole world. The return to France of the provinces will, therefore, mean an incalculable enrichment of France. It will further mean that Germany will be, to that extent, the less able to prepare for or wage future wars.

* * *

PRESIDENT WILSON'S FIRMNESS

PRESIDENT WILSON'S determination to prosecute the war to a victorious finish was expressed in two telegrams sent on Nov. 16. In one to the

King of the Belgians on his fête day the President said:

For the people of the United States I take this occasion to renew expressions of deep sympathy for the sufferings which Belgium has endured under the willful, cruel, and barbaric force of a disappointed Prussian autocracy.

The people of the United States were never more in earnest than in their determination to prosecute to a successful conclusion this war against that power and to secure for the future obedience to the laws of nations and respect for the rights of humanity.

To a loyalty conference representing six Northwestern States in session at St. Paul, Minn., he telegraphed as follows:

You have come together as the representatives of that Western empire in which the sons of all sections of America and the stocks of all the nations of Europe have made the prairie and the forest the home of a new race and the temple of a new faith. The time has come when that home must be protected and that faith affirmed in deeds. Sacrifice and service must come from every class, every profession, every party, every race, every creed, every section.

This is not a banker's war or a farmer's war or a manufacturer's war or a laboring man's war—it is a war for every straight-out American, whether our flag be his by birth or by adoption. We are today a nation in arms, and we must fight and farm, mine and manufacture, conserve food and fuel, save and spend, to the one common purpose.

It is to the great Northwest that the nation looks, as once before in critical days, for that steadiness of purpose and firmness of determination which shall see this struggle through to a decision that shall make the masters of Germany rue the day they unmasked their purpose and challenged our Republic.

* * *

BRITISH BATTLE LOSSES

MR. BAKER, our Secretary of War, made a public statement on Nov. 10 that "up to about June 1 the losses of the British expeditionary forces in deaths in action and deaths from wounds were about 7 per cent. of the total of all the men sent to France since the beginning of the war." He added that the percentage now is still less, owing to improved tactics and allied superiority in artillery.

The charge that England is not bearing its full share of the fighting done by British armies was effectively answered

by Premier Lloyd George on Oct. 29, when he stated that in round numbers 75 per cent. of the British Empire's contribution in men had come from England, and 75 per cent. of the loss had fallen on England. He added that Scotland had done its share and Ireland had made a distinguished contribution, while in voluntary recruiting Wales had beaten the record by a shade. The dominions had contributed between 700,000 and 800,000 men in the total of about 5,000,000 British soldiers under arms.

The Westminster Gazette has gone into the matter of percentages more in detail, stating that between July 31 and Oct. 6, 1917, the British troops engaged in the battles in France were divided as follows:

English ...70 per cent.	Scottish .. 8 per cent.
Overseas ..16 per cent.	Irish 3 per cent.

The casualty proportions are:

English ...76 per cent.	Scottish ..10 per cent.
Overseas .. 8 per cent.	Irish 6 per cent.

An official summary of Australian casualties from the beginning of the war to July 28, 1917, shows the following:

Dead	28,547
Wounded	43,238
Missing	4,056
Sick	27,207
Prisoners of war.....	2,143
Unspecified	248

Total 105,439

The number listed as wounded does not include those who have recovered and returned to the front. The total number of officers and men sent from Australia up to June 30, 1917, was 306,227, so that casualties accounted for one in three. There were between 50,000 and 60,000 recruits in training, the total number of volunteers who had enlisted in the Australian imperial force having reached over 362,000.

* * *

BELGIAN RELIEF WORK SINCE OUR ENTRY INTO THE WAR

THE American Commission for Relief in Belgium is continuing its activities on as great a scale as at any time before this country went into the war, and this work is not curtailed by the withdrawal of the American representatives from Belgium. For the

present the loans from the American Government, which are made monthly, have sufficed to meet the requirements of the commission under the limitations as to shipping, but the commission still receives contributions for specific charities and is transmitting considerable sums to many individuals from contributors in America. The commission, which has offices in New York, London, and Rotterdam, purchases food for the occupied areas, ships it to Holland, and transships it at Rotterdam for the occupied territory, where it is taken in charge by the Dutch and Spanish representatives of the commission and handled as it was handled before by the Americans. Since the end of April, 1917, the Relief Commission has shipped from America 240,000 tons of foodstuffs. The commission apprehends that with the increasing cost of food and the increasing needs of the exhausted territories occupied by the enemy it is likely that further general appeals will have to be made to the public.

* * *

AT the annual meeting of the American Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, held in New York on Nov. 16, President Powell of the Bethlehem steel works stated that the American output of merchant tonnage in 1917 would be 750,000. He expressed the belief that it would be 3,000,000 tons in 1918. Secretary of the Navy Daniels announced that the shipyards would complete more destroyers in the eighteen months ending with February, 1919, than the country was able to build in twenty-five years before the war.

* * *

IT was officially announced in Parliament on Nov. 15 that since July 1, 1916, the British had captured from the Turks 30,197 prisoners and 186 guns, and from the Germans on the western front 101,534 prisoners and 519 guns. The approximate square mileage in territory conquered or reconquered by the British in the same time was 128,000. The total number of prisoners captured on all fronts since the beginning of the war was 166,000, while the captured guns numbered 800.

American Troops' First Fight in Europe

An Officer's Tribute to Our Soldier Dead, First to Give Their Lives in Battle on French Soil

THE first announcement that American troops had been under fire in Europe was contained in a dispatch dated Oct. 27, 1917, which stated that "on the morning of a recent day somewhere in France" the artillery had fired the first shot; that the same evening the helmeted infantry had marched into the trenches, and that there had since been intermittent artillery fighting.

This news, however, did not mean that the American expeditionary force had begun to participate in the execution of the Allies' military plans, but only that the culminating phase of the training had begun. The sector chosen for this work was the quietest on the western front.

The Americans shelled German gun positions and troops, the enemy sending back shell for shell. The first shell case was sent to President Wilson. The shot was fired by a red-haired gunner as his comrades in the ranks and the assembled officers cheered. Later, a luncheon in the field was attended by the American and French artillerists, in celebration of the first American contact with the enemy. The gun used in firing the first shot was one of the famous French 75s. On the second day the French shelled a German battery position, which was located by sound, and the enemy replied vigorously, projectiles falling close to the Americans, who joined in the artillery duel. All the troops were relieved after a certain period by others. Thus the American expeditionary forces were initiated into actual war conditions.

Americans Greeted on Arrival

As the first American troops entered the trenches, under cover of night, they received an enthusiastic welcome from the French, despite the necessity for the utmost quietness. Every American was shaken by the hand, some were hugged, and even kissed on both cheeks.

Greetings being over, the Americans settled down, and at daylight, under low-hung, dripping clouds, they got their first view of the German lines, stretching away in the rolling terrain. It rained day after day, and the Americans had a substantial first taste of mud.

Although the officers were certain that the Germans knew the Americans were opposite them, there was no special activity. One American battery observed and scattered a marching enemy group with shellfire. Desultory and intermittent shelling, characteristic of the sector, continued, the Germans sending over projectiles every now and then and the American and French batteries firing back shot for shot. There was no infantry firing of any consequence.

The first expedition of the Americans into No Man's Land followed a couple of nights later. After penetrating into the wilderness of barbed wire and shell craters, they returned without a scratch. Accompanied by French troops, they clambered from the trenches up the scaling ladders, equipped with hand grenades, rifles, revolvers, and trench knives, their steel helmets strapped tightly beneath their chins. Headed by the squad leader, they set off on tiptoe until they reached their own barbed wire, along which they felt in the darkness until they found the prepared gap. Then they stepped through, actually into No Man's Land.

The Americans wriggled along on their stomachs, revolvers in hand, and did a workmanlike job as coolly as if a night patrol in No Man's Land was a regular thing. When the last man whispered down the line, "All done," or its French equivalent, "Tout fait," the patrol crept back as silently as it had come, stopping now and then when any noise was heard.

The first battalions of Americans in

the trenches were relieved by others, according to a dispatch dated Nov. 1. Casualties were negligible, the only one reported being an officer, who was wounded in the leg by shrapnel on Oct. 28.

First American Casualties

A German War Office bulletin on Nov. 3 reported that "at the Rhine-Marne Canal, as the result of a reconnoitring thrust, North American soldiers were brought in as prisoners." Confirmation of this was contained in the official statement issued in Washington.

The War Department has received a dispatch from the Commanding General of the American expeditionary forces, which stated that before daylight Nov. 3 a salient occupied for instruction by a company of American infantry was raided by Germans.

The enemy put down a heavy barrage fire, cutting off the salient from the rest of the men.

Our losses were three killed, five wounded, and twelve captured or missing. [A revised list showed that the wounded were eleven and the missing the same number.]

The enemy's loss is not known. One wounded German was taken prisoner.

The raid was carried out against members of the second contingent entering the trenches for training. These men had been in only a few days.

Before dawn the Germans began shelling vigorously the barbed-wire front of the trenches, dropping many high explosives of large calibre. A heavy artillery fire was then directed so as to cover all the adjacent territory, including the passage leading up to the trenches, thereby forming a most effective barrage in the rear as well as in the front.

Lieutenant William H. McLaughlin, in charge of the detachment of Americans, started back to the communicating trenches to his immediate superior for orders. The barrage knocked him down, but he picked himself up and started off again. He was knocked down a second time, but, determined to reach his objective, got up again. A third time he was knocked down and badly shell-shocked, and was put out of action.

Soon afterward the Germans, to the number, according to the report, of 210,

rushed through the breaches and wire entanglements on each side of the salient, their general objective barrage in the forefield having lifted for a moment.

The Germans went into the trenches at several points. They met with stout resistance. Pistols, grenades, knives, and bayonets were freely used.

First to Fall in Battle

For many minutes there was considerable confusion in the trenches, the Germans stalking the Americans and the Americans stalking the Germans. In one part of the trench an American private engaged two Germans with the bayonet. That was the last seen of him until after the raid, when a dead American was found on the spot. Another was killed by a blow on the head with a rifle butt from above.

Some of the Americans apparently did not realize at the beginning of the attack just what was going on. One of the wounded, a private, said:

"I was standing in a communicating trench waiting for orders. I heard a noise back of me and looked around in time to see a German fire in my direction. I felt a bullet hit my arm."

The Germans left the trench as soon as possible, taking their dead and wounded with them. An inspection showed, however, that they had abandoned three rifles, a number of knives and helmets.

The three men killed—the first Americans actually to fall in battle in this war—were:

GRESHAM, JAMES B., (Corporal,) of Evansville, Ind.

ENRIGHT, THOMAS F., (private,) of Pittsburgh, Penn.

HAY, MERLE D., (private,) of Glidden, Iowa.

French Tribute to the Dead

The burial of these three men took place on Nov. 6. With a guard of French infantrymen in their picturesque uniforms of red and horizon blue standing on one side and a detachment of American soldiers on the other, the flag-wrapped caskets were lowered into the grave as a bugler blew "taps" and the batteries at the front fired minute guns. As the minute guns went off the French

officer, commanding the division in this section, paid tribute to the fallen Americans. His words, which were punctuated by the roar of the guns and the whistle of shells, touched both the French and Americans. In conclusion the French officer said:

In the name of the —th division, in the name of the French Army, and in the name of France I bid farewell to Private Enright, Private Gresham, and Private Hay of the American Army.

Of their own free will they had left a prosperous and happy country to come over here. They knew war was continuing in Europe; they knew that the forces fighting for honor, love of justice, and civilization were still checked by the long-prepared forces serving the powers of brutal domination, oppression, and barbarity. They knew that efforts were still necessary. They wished to give us their generous hearts, and they have not forgotten old historical memories, while others forget more recent ones.

They ignored nothing of the circumstances, and nothing had been concealed from them—neither the length and hardships of war, nor the violence of battle, nor the dreadfulness of new weapons, nor the perfidy of the foe. Nothing stopped them. They accepted the hard and strenuous life; they crossed the ocean at great peril; they took their places on the front by our side, and they have fallen facing the foe in a hard and desperate hand-to-hand fight. Honor to them. Their families, friends, and fellow-citizens will be proud when they learn of their deaths.

Men! These graves, the first to be dug in our national soil, and but a short distance from the enemy, are as a mark of the mighty land we and our allies firmly cling to in the common task, confirming the will of the people and the army of the United States to fight with us to a finish, ready to sacrifice as long as is necessary until final victory for the most noble of causes, that of the liberty of nations, the weak as well as the mighty. Thus the deaths of these humble soldiers appear to us with extraordinary grandeur.

We will, therefore, ask that the mortal remains of these young men be left here, left with us forever. We inscribe on the tombs, "Here lie the first soldiers of the Republic of the United States to fall on the soil of France for liberty and justice." The passerby will stop and uncover his head. Travelers and men of heart will go out of their way to come here to pay their respective tributes.

Private Enright, Private Gresham, Private Hay! In the name of France I thank you. God receive your souls. Farewell!

Wounded and Missing

The official list of wounded and missing in this first battle of American troops on European soil was as follows:

WOUNDED

- McLAUGHLIN, WILLIAM H., (First Lieutenant;) W. R. McLaughlin, Coltec, Ark.
 GIVENS, HOMER, (Corporal;) father, William F. Givens, Cloverdale, Ala.
 GRIGSBY, WILLIAM P., (private;) mother, Mrs. Lizzie Grigsby, 1278 Willow Avenue, Louisville, Ky.
 DEIFER, LOUIS A., (private;) Mrs. Katherine Deifer, Box 48, Route 6, Sullivan, Ind.
 FANN, PAUL W., (private;) George W. Fann, Sarona, Wis.
 WESLEY, GEORGE, (private;) Miss Margarette Welch, 623 Eighth Street, Dayton, Ky.
 SMITH, LESTER C., (private;) R. A. Smith, R. F. D. 5, Concord, N. C.
 SMITH, JOHN J., (private;) brother, F. D. Smith, Box 82, Ludington, Mich.
 HOPKINS, CHARLES J., (private;) brother, James W. Hopkins, Stanton, Texas.
 BOX, GEORGE L., (private;) father, James L. Box, 700 North Grady Street, Altus, Okla.
 ORR, CHARLES L., (private;) mother, Mrs. Sarah Regnell, R. F. D. 5, Lyons, Kan.

MISSING

- HALYBURTON, EDGAR M., (Sergeant;) father, George B. Halyburton, Stoney Point, N. C.
 MULHALL, NICHOLAS L., (Corporal;) mother, Mrs. Bridget Mulhall, 189 Ninth Street, Jersey City, N. J.
 GALLAGHER, DANIEL B., (private;) father, Neil Gallagher, Blocton, Ala.
 McDUGAL, FRANK E., (private;) father, R. L. McDougal, 822 East First Street, Maryville, Mo.
 GRIMSLEY, CLYDE I., (private;) Frank Grimsley, Stockton, Kan.
 DECKER, HOIT D., (private;) W. F. Decker, Vincennes, Ind.
 LESTER, JOHN P., (private;) father, William Lester, Tutwater, (probably error for Tutwiler,) Miss.
 GODFREY, HERSHEL, (private;) father, William C. Oberst, 109 North Ridgway Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
 LAUGHMAN, HARRY R., (private;) Ada R. Laughman, 461 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
 HAINES, EDWIN H., (private;) mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Haines, Route 4, Woodward, Okla.
 KENDALL, VERNON M., (private;) father, Sam Kendall, R. F. D. 2, Roll, Okla.

Location of the Event

The reading of the German and American reports together indicated that the

raid took place in the region of the Vosges Mountains, close to the point where the canal connecting the Marne with the Rhine crosses the border between France and Lorraine. This route runs from Nancy via Saarbùrg and Zabern to the City of Strassburg. The region where the first contact between the Americans and the Germans was established had not figured in extensive fighting since the earlier days of the war. It was through this region, as well as from the direction of Belfort, toward the south, that the French pushed their lines toward Strassburg, only to be driven back into the Vosges Mountains very soon afterward by the Germans.

During the night of Nov. 6 and the following day the German guns rained shells of various calibres on the American positions. So thickly did they come at one time in the early hours of the morning that it was thought another barrage was about to be placed for a second raid on the American trenches. But none devel-

oped. The American artillery gave the Germans back shell for shell, pounding the enemy battery positions and breaking shrapnel over their trenches. All the time the rain had continued, and vast seas of mud extended in every direction. At some points the water running down the mountainous hills flowed into the dugouts, the occupants being forced to pump out repeatedly in order that the dugouts might remain tenable.

The second fatal contact of American troops with Germans was announced Nov. 15. A group of Americans was in a shack in the reserve when the Germans began shelling heavily. The officers ordered the men to a dugout, but before they could get there a big shell dropped on the position and exploded, killing and wounding several soldiers. The American gunners concentrated their fire on the communicating trenches of the enemy, and it is thought that their shells caused casualties and considerable damage.

The American Army in France

By Laurence Jerrold

Special War Correspondent of The London Telegraph

THE first American troops landed in France in June. I saw them land, and when I recollected this the other day [written Sept. 26, 1917]

I was amazed at what I saw. The American troops in their billets, their camps, their training grounds, their rifle and gun practice grounds near the front, are already absolutely at home. The French villagers have adopted now a broken Franco-American language—sister tongue, though different, to the now classic Anglo-French spoken for three years from Calais downward. The American troops have made themselves at home, have settled all their arrangements with businesslike finality, and are out to do their job thoroughly. Their bases near the front seemed to me already definitely organized. They are settled in villages, where they disturb the villagers by aggressive sanitation. They

have abolished all dunghills, to the old farmers' amazement and alarm. They have purified the water, cleaned up the streets, cottages, and farmyards. The villagers, at first terrified by these wild measures, are now reconciled, and every little village grocery sells American matches, American tobacco, American groceries, sterilized milk, "canned goods," American mustard, and everything American except American whisky. For at the messes, where I was received with open arms as an ally of today and forever—no American officer makes any doubt about that—cold American purified water and French coffee with American sterilized milk are the only drinks. Villages of France have become American, and American café au lait, colored cars, and motor bikes with sidecars tear all over the country, driven by university boys turned "chauffeurs."

Practicing Under Barrage Fire

Our new allies are learning from us both—from us old allies, English and French. I first saw a French division in horizon blue teach the new American Army, in khaki and wearing British trench helmets, what a modern battle is like. It was a moving sight. It was poignant, really, when one heard that the French division had just come back from Verdun and was enacting over again in play what it had just done in terrible and glorious earnest. The American Staff stood on a knoll watching, with the French Staff explaining. On the edge of the hill to the left of the staff the new American Army watched. Further to the left the French troops came on. Every "poilu" among them had just come from the real thing. He grinned as he played at war this time, and one felt how he must enjoy playing at it now. But he played very well and earnestly. The whole thing was done as one has before watched it being done under less reassuring circumstances for one's self.

The lines advanced in open formation, then stopped for the barrage fire to be pushed forward. Flares were sent up to signal to the artillery. There was another step forward under barrage fire, another (sham) barrage fire, more flares and rockets, the horizon-blue line crept cautiously round to take the first trenches, the machine-gun parties came up. One more barrage fire and more signals, then the boche trenches below us were taken.

Americans Quick to Learn

It was all exactly as it would have been in real war. The French Colonel of Artillery, straight from action, explained it to the American Generals, General S. and General D., (who has just won the French Military Cross at Verdun.) The American troops understood and appreciated keenly. Who would not? These play-actors in the hollow at our feet had just come from the real tragedy, and had fought and won, but had paid the price of victory.

The American soldier (officers told me) understands the manoeuvre well. The officers find that their men are

quick at grasping individual field work, i. e., make admirable noncommissioned officers with initiative, enterprise, and intelligence. French officers, many of whom speak English perfectly, while several American officers I met speak very good French, give enthusiastic and intelligent assistance. French and Americans are not much alike in method or by temperament. I heard a French officer describing a battle with perfect technical accuracy, but also with dramatic expressiveness and with the literary sense. An American officer immediately translated the French into American, and it was American—short, sharp, almost crackling with crisp Americanisms. It was the same battle described, but the difference in the descriptions was delightful to note. Differences are nothing. The French are keen to teach, the Americans, if possible, keener still to learn, and each understands the other thoroughly to a common end.

Pupils and Instructors

British instructors and American pupils understand each other equally well. I never was more amused, pleased, cheered, and bucked up than by watching British Sergeant instructors training American officer cadets. Imagine a typical British Sergeant, with three years of war behind him and with seven or more years of British military training before that, spending every ounce of his energy, every particle of his keenness, and every word of his vocabulary teaching young Americans what they will have to do in a few months' time, and the young Americans using every muscle of their body, all their alertness, and all their keenness, too, to make themselves ready for the fight that all are yearning to be in.

Parties of American officer cadets, (including young Lieutenant —,) dug line upon line of sham trenches, killed dummy boches on the way, dashed through four lines of trenches, dug themselves in at the last, and began instant rapid fire at more boche targets. "Advance!" said the Sergeant. A second later "Go!" and the young chaps leaped out. "Kill 'em sweet and clean! Clean

killing is what we want!" shouted the Sergeant. The young Americans were at the dummies, and each dug his dummy with a wild "Yah!" or college yell or scream. "Go on!" roared the Sergeant; "there are more boches beyond. Clean killing is what we want." And the Americans charged at several more lines of dummies before they leaped into the front trench and began firing.

All over the countryside in these splendid sweeping valleys and green woods, the American army is training with furious zest.

To drive or walk in woods and fields is almost as dangerous as visiting front-line trenches. In every field, around every knoll, the American army is blazing away with rifles, guns, and machine guns.

Military Events of the Month

From October 18 to November 18, 1917

By Walter Littlefield

Story of the Great Battle for Venice

IN following their policy of holding their strongest and nearest enemies and of attacking their weakest and most remote—with Russia rendered inactive, Serbia overwhelmed, and Rumania fought to a standstill—it was logical that the Germans should next select Italy. Here success might place Austria's most formidable enemy hors de combat and open the back door into France.

The Austrians had tried to do this in May and June, 1916. They had attacked Italy's historically and geographically weakest front at its strongest point, and had reached out over the Sette Comuni beyond Asiago, twenty miles from the Trentino frontier. Their object was to reach Vicenza, and thence Verona. From these points they could develop positions east and west—east along the system of railways which fed the Italian army on the Isonzo front, thereby isolating that army; west through the old quadrilateral, Mantua, Peschiera, Verona, and Legnago, absorbing the industrial centre of the peninsula and paving the way to a peace at Rome, if not an approach to the back door of France.

But the Italians, diverting 500,000 men who had been training on the plains between Milan and Turin and were on their way to the Isonzo front, were able to

flank the Austrian position on the Sette Comuni, from Primolano, in the Val Sugana, on the northeast, and from the Val Astico on the southwest. So the Austrians were rolled up back into the Trentino with the loss of over 80,000 men.

But the supplies which had carried Cadorna so far beyond the Isonzo last September were not sufficient to complete his work. In his last exploit he had left the front across the slopes of Monte Nero exposed at Plezzo and at Tolmino; the Bainsizza front, at the Idria, on the north, and at Monte San Gabriele and Monte San Daniele, on the south. Here Germany, with six Austro-German divisions and then thirteen of forty-seven released from the Russian front, struck. The invaders were in command of General von Below, who had been decorated by the Kaiser in Courland and in Macedonia; under him were von Krobatin at Plezzo, von Krass at Tolmino; von Henriquez, ready to cut in through the Vipacco, and Wurm in charge on the Carso. Several divisions of the Austrian troops of Generals Boroevic and Koevess had been elbowed out of the way by the Germans. Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf was no longer in command. It was a thoroughly German outfit and had been prepared in the usual thorough German fashion.

For nearly a year the Italian troops on the Plezzo-Tolmino front had not been replaced. They had begun to fraternize with the Austrians there. The latter showed them forged copies of Italian papers containing stories of revolts in Naples and Genoa and of British mercenaries there firing upon starving women and children. The Socialist Camorra of Ferri, the pacifist Camorra of Giolitti also got in their fine work of destroying the morale of these isolated, war-weary soldiers.

Then the attack came. The front smashed in the north was bent down through the valleys of the Natisone and the Judrio until it became necessary to escape from the Bainsizza, from Gorizia, from Vippacco, and from the Carso.

Defenses of Veneto

The region of Veneto is defended from the east and north by five natural lines of defense—the right banks of the Tagliamento, of the Livenza, of the Piave, of the Brenta, of the Adige—and two of these have been rendered stronger by art. In the Spring of 1915, when Italy expected to declare war on Austria simultaneously with rupturing the Triple Alliance Treaty, she had fortified the Tagliamento line and intended to retreat to it. But on account of Giolitti's plottings she did not then declare war. Meanwhile, the Austrians removed between 200,000 and 300,000 men from the frontier for work against the Russians in Galicia. Thus the Tagliamento line was not used. Later the western bank of the Piave was fortified with practice trenches.

By the time the retreating armies had reached the Piave a natural contraction had taken place in the north—from the Val Sugana. It was not until then that the Germans made a sudden drive from the Trentino and reached Asiago—the extreme point of the Austrian invasion in June, 1916, but now no longer threatened from the Val Sugana. Asiago, on the plateau of the Sette Comuni, is on the left-rear flank of both the Piave and the Brenta lines, and on the right-rear flank of the Italian Army before Rovereto, along the Val Terragnolo and across the Lago di Garda. Thus the last resort

of the Regione di Veneto is the Adige, which flows through the Trentino into Italy, along the side of the Quadrilateral through the Province of Verona and separating the Province of Padua from that of Rovigo, thence into the Adriatic just south of the mouth of the Brenta and the Lagoon of Venice.

The military details which have brought the Italian armies to the Piave and the Germans to threaten their rear from the Sette Comuni run chronologically as follows:

The Battle in Detail

On Sunday, Oct. 21, the artillery of the enemy began a bombardment on carefully selected positions of the Plezzo-Tolmino front and from the slopes of the Idria upon the northern flank of the Italian loop on the Bainsizza. By the 24th it had become apparent that the bombardment was being performed principally by German guns, under cover of which the enemy had broken through the first-line trenches at Plezzo and just south of Tolmino had crossed to the west bank of the Isonzo, under the protection of the bridgehead of Monte Santa Maria and Monte Santa Lucia. From these two points the enemy was able to converge along the Isonzo south and north upon Caporetto, to cut off the Italian detachments retreating from the Monte Nero region, and to open the way down the Natisone and the Judrio. Thus threatened in their rear the principal divisions of the Second Army under General Capello, on the Bainsizza, and those of the Third under the Duke of Aosta, on the Carso, began to retreat.

Thus by the 26th the enemy had advanced beyond Caporetto, crossing the frontier to the valley of the Natisone, while further south he had gone beyond Ronzina by descending the Val Judrio, and had forced some 30,000 Italians, mostly road builders, however, to surrender. About 250 guns of position, principally 6-inch and 8-inch howitzers of old pattern, had to be abandoned. The next day Berlin reported that the number of prisoners had reached 60,000 and the number of captured guns over 500. On the morning of that day Ger-

THE UNITED STATES WAR MISSION



COL. EDWARD M. HOUSE

Special Ambassador.

(Photo Press Illus. Service.)



BAINBRIDGE COLBY

Member of the Shipping Board.

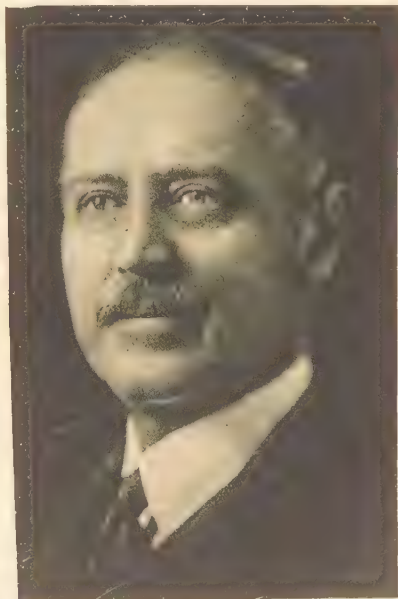
(Photo Davis & Sanford.)



VANCE McCORMICK

Chairman of the War Trade Board.

(Photo by Bain News Service.)



OSCAR T. CROSBY

Assistant Secretary of the
Treasury.

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CIVILIANS ACTIVE IN WAR WORK



JUDGE C. H. LINDLEY
Head of the Legal Department of
the Food Administration.
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FRANK A. VANDERLIP
President National City Bank of
New York, Serving as Treasury
Adviser.
(© Harris & Ewing.)



A. MITCHELL PALMER
Custodian of Alien Property.
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CHARLES R. PAGE
Member of the United States
Shipping Board.
(© Harris & Ewing.)

man troops by a violent series of assaults had secured possession of Monte Matajur, from which they were able to dominate the Italian retreat down the Natisone and the Judrio.

Meanwhile, the Italians, who had attempted to consolidate a new line between Monte Matajur and Auzza on the Isonzo, had to give way. The retreat of the Second Army from the Bainsizza and the slopes of Monte San Gabriele and Monte Santo, lying south, and from Monte Cucco, west, became almost a rout across the improvised bridges of the Isonzo and through Gorizia, which the enemy artillery from the abandoned positions was rapidly leveling with the ground. On the 28th Berlin reported the occupation of Cividale, on the Natisone, the railway approach to the Italian General Headquarters at Udine, ten miles to the southwest. In the centre the Austrians, sweeping across the Bainsizza and down the slopes of the mountains already mentioned, had occupied Gorizia and were threatening the Duke of Aosta's left flank.

Here on the 29th the Austrians met with a stubborn resistance along the Vippacco, which undoubtedly saved from destruction the Third Army now in more rapid retreat to the southwest of Gorizia. On the Gorizia-Udine railway, Cormons, the first town in Austria occupied by the Italians at the beginning of the war, was recaptured, thereby turning the flank of a detachment that was attempting to make a stand before Udine.

A glance at the map will show that the advance of the Germans had now reached a point which threatened the rear of the Fourth Italian Army, which, from the beginning of the war, had been guarding the passes which led from Carinthia into the Regione of Veneto across the frontier barrier of 100 miles of the Carnic Alps. Consequently, this army began to abandon its positions at the Ploeken Pass and similar places, seeking the protection of the valleys which carried streams into the upper Piave and Tagliamento Rivers.

On Oct. 24 Udine was taken by the Fourteenth German Army. This brought the enemy within sixteen miles of the

centre of the Tagliamento on its lower (southern) course. This river, which rises in the district of Carnia a few miles east of Pieva di Cadore, in the Venetian Alps, first flows eastward, through deep-cut, sheltered gorges, a rapid and narrow stream, by Ampezzo and Tolmezzo, for about forty miles, and then, turning abruptly southward, it traverses, through many broad and some shallow channels, the plains and then the marshes of the Province of Udine, and empties into the Adriatic opposite the Bay of Trieste. In its middle course this river had been strongly fortified, in anticipation of a retreat from the frontier, if Italy, as has already been pointed out, had made war on Austria on May 5, 1915, instead of eighteen days later. Then, however, there would have been no Fourth Army to take care of retreating from the Carnic and Venetian Alps, and the Second and Third Armies would have been strongly intrenched, with guns of position. Now all was different; there were few guns of position and all three armies were in full retreat.

By Nov. 1 the enemy had reached the middle of the Tagliamento line, while in the south, being confronted by no bridgeheads, he had crossed the lower reaches of the river south of Codroipo. Over the plains of Udine the Second and Third Armies were fighting gallant rearguard engagements.

It was all in vain. The Tagliamento line could not be held. There was no adequate artillery to protect what had once been formidable bridgeheads at Latisana and other places. And by, literally, hundreds of isolated encircling movements detachments of the enemy had increased the number of his prisoners to 180,000 and his number of captured guns to 1,500—so the Berlin report stated on Nov. 1. It was small satisfaction that just 120 years before Napoleon had beaten the Austrians on the same ground. But Napoleon was leading an offensive army; Napoleon was a master of artillery and had the guns. Cadorna was conducting a retreat; he was not a master of artillery, he had few guns, and—he was not Napoleon.

The Teutonic hosts swept on, crossing the Tagliamento at fifty places, princi-

pally at Tolmezzo and Pinzano. The next line was the Livenza. This river promised fewer positions for resistance. But at the Piave, from ten to twenty miles further west, the situation was different. There the right bank was protected by the most modern and approved practice trenches constructed by "rookies" before they had been allowed to go to the battle line. And behind the Piave the Second and Third Armies were being reformed. But from the north the Fourth Army was in ever-increasing retreat through the Venetian Alps, while in the northwest the First Army, with its right thereby exposed, was beginning to leave its hard-won Dolomite terrain and stubbornly held passes in the Cadore. The Trentine Cortina had been given up; the fortifications of Comelico, Santo Stefano, Lorenzago, and Piave di Cadore surrendered.

By skillful manoeuvres on the Tagliamento the invaders had captured by Nov. 8 an additional 17,000 prisoners, making a quarter of a million in all; the number of guns taken was 2,300.

At this period a change was made in the Italian High Command: General Diaz took the place of Cadorna, and was to be assisted by Generals Badoglio and Giardino. There was also formed for the conduct of the war a triune General Staff, with General Foch, Chief of Staff of the French War Office; General Sir Henry Hughes Wilson of the British General Staff, and General Cadorna. French and British reinforcements were hourly arriving in Italy, and with adequate heavy artillery, but it was deemed inexpedient to risk them at the Piave line, possibly not even at the Brenta. The Piave line was, therefore, left to the Italians to defend alone with such batteries of British mid-calibre guns as had successfully made their retreat with the Duke of Aosta's army from the Carso.

And now on Nov. 10 the full scope of German strategy was revealed by the descent of an Austrian detachment from the Trentino to Asiago, twenty miles southeast from the frontier, eight miles west of the Brenta, and twenty miles west of the upper Piave, thus not only threatening the left rear of the retreat-

ing armies, but the right rear of the First Army holding the line before Rovereto along the Val Terragnola and across the Val Lagarina, through which the Adige flows from the Trentino down to Verona and the plains of Western Veneto.

Second Phase of the Battle

Thus the great battle for Venice entered upon its second phase. On the 11th Austro-German forces operating from the Cadore captured the city of Belluno on the upper Piave, and from Asiago worked eastward on the Sette Comuni and from the Val Sugana southward. On the Sette Comuni they captured the advanced Italian posts on Gallio and Monte Serragh, (1,116 meters high;) on the Piave they took by storm the Vidor bridgehead, where the Italian troops on the heights of Valdobbiadene had made a gallant stand. On the western bank of the lower Piave the Italian line was beginning to stiffen, but was not sufficiently consolidated to prevent the enemy on the 13th from crossing near Zenson, nineteen miles from Venice, and taking a bridgehead further up the stream at Monte San Dona. In the Sette Comuni they wrested Monte Langara from its defenders, but failed to pierce the line Monte Gallio-Longara-Meletta di Gallio.

The next day the enemy attempted to divide the Italian forces on the upper Piave by occupying Feltre and Pirmolano, and to the west of the Lago di Garda they made ineffective attempts to drive the Italians from their positions on the Lago Ledro. On the 15th there were intensified attacks on the Sette Comuni extending eastward to the Piave below Feltre, and here the Italians withdrew from Monte Tomatico to a stronger position. On the southern reaches of the Piave the Italian floats with huge naval guns, which had been so effective in clearing the southern approaches to the Carso in August, aided the army in consolidating its positions on the western bank. Further aid was given by the engineers, who opened the flood-gates erected when the course of the Piave was changed in order to reclaim a large terrain south of San Dona and to prevent



FLANDERS FRONT AFTER BRITISH CAPTURE OF PASSCHENDAELE

sudden risings in the lagoons of Venice. Thus a triangle formed by the Piave and the Sile (the old mouth of the Piave) with its vertex at Musile was suddenly placed under water, enveloping the enemy, who had crossed the river at Grisolera, four miles from the coast.

Through Nov. 17 and 18 the Austro-German invaders were trying in vain to develop their position at Asiago by desperate attacks both west and east of the Lago di Garda; east of Asiago, from their positions on the Brenta in the Val Sugana; from Feltre down the Piave. Further down the Piave at several places they effected crossings, only to be enveloped or forced back to the left bank. While these assaults were rapidly assuming the appearance, in the ruthless sacrifice of men, of the German Crown Prince's conduct at Verdun and on the Aisne, General Diaz was making no mention of the employment in the defensive of French and British troops.

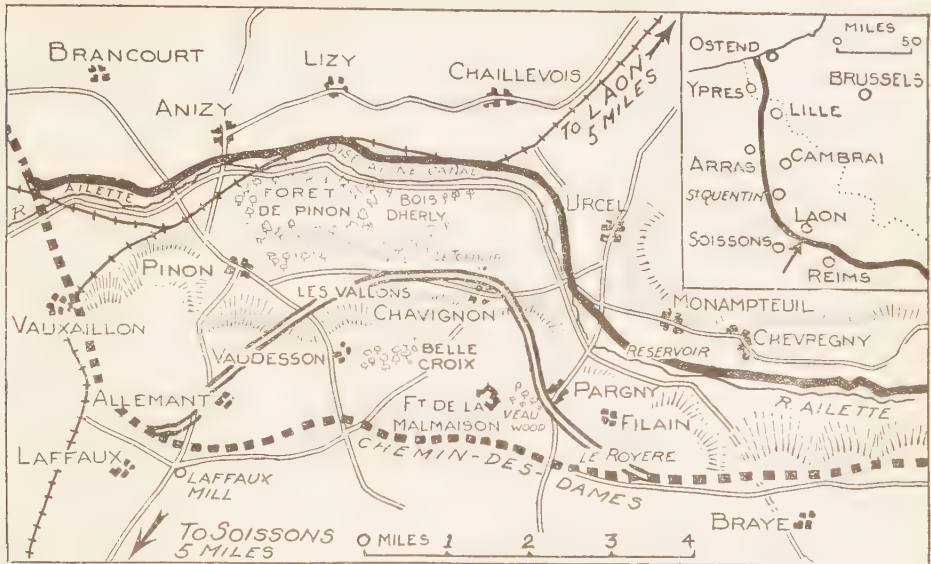
Battle of Flanders Resumed

On the western front the battle of Flanders has been renewed, developing, not southeast of Ypres along the road which leads to Menin, but along the

Ypres-Roulers road to the northeast, embracing the village of Passchendaele, more strategic, fortified farms and "pill-boxes" on the ridge of that name, along the Ypres-Staden railway, and north through the outskirts of the Forest of Houthulst, and still further north until it included the Merckem Peninsula, which lies a short walk south of Dixmude. Owing to the weather, these advances, which are gradually enveloping West Flanders, were not accompanied by the naval and air raids upon the submarine bases of Zeebrugge and Ostend which emphasized the advance over the Passchendaele Ridge a month ago; but the enemy airdromes on the dunes have been bombed, particularly Varssenaere and the Thourout railway junction.

Passchendaele Captured

Early in the morning of Oct. 22 the British, with the French troops co-operating on their left, secured strategic positions on both sides of the Ypres-Staden railway, while the French secured the southern defenses of Houthulst Forest and a number of fortified farms. On the 26th the British took the German positions at Bellevue Spur and Wolf Copse,



WHERE THE FRENCH FORCED THE GERMANS TO RETIRE FROM THE CHEMIN DES DAMES: DOTTED LINE, FRENCH FRONT BEFORE THE ADVANCE; DOUBLE LINE, EXTENT OF FRENCH THRUST; HEAVY BLACK LINE, EXTENT OF GERMAN RETREAT

west of Passchendaele, and Polderhoeck Château, north of Gheluvelt; the French, the village of Draebank, Papagoed Wood, and a number of fortified farms. On the following day the British extended their positions west and south of Passchendaele, while the French, advancing on both sides of the Bixschoote-Dixmude road, captured the villages of Aschhoop, Kippe, and Mercken, and more fortified farms.

The strategy of these moves is perfectly apparent—both obvious and irresistible: for on the 28th French troops, with the Belgians operating on their left, advanced across the morasses two miles south of Dixmude and captured the terrain known as the Mercken Peninsula, a strip of land formed by canals on the north, west, and south. Two days later, after that period of diverting raids further south, the British with the Canadians in the van made a sudden advance from their positions on Bellevue Spur and Wolf Copse, reached out and took most of the defenses of Passchendaele, and then retired to their old positions in the face of overwhelming German reinforcements, which were slaughtered by a barrage covering the retirement. Then,

after a week of bombardment, the Canadians tried it again, this time sweeping clear through Passchendaele to positions 800 yards beyond. From the 7th until the 14th there were heavy German counterattacks, but this time the Canadian line beyond Passchendaele did not budge. The Germans lost heavily.

Pétain at Chemin des Dames

After the battle of the Marne the Germans strongly intrenched themselves along the ridge of the Chemin des Dames, between the Ailette and the River Aisne; part of the ridge was wrested from them last May and June, but up to the present engagement the net result of the whole series of operations of the French was that they had managed to secure the enemy's points of observation over the valley of the Aisne east and west without themselves winning a line from which they could command the valley of the Ailette to the north over the historic plateau crowned by the cathedral of Laon.

The Germans, although having lost their observation posts commanding the Aisne, believed their positions south of the Ailette would withstand any amount of bombing. As early as Oct. 17 Pétain

began searching out these positions hidden in quarry caverns, sometimes with six-inch and sometimes with eight-inch guns. Having ascertained these positions by their return fire, on the 20th he added some batteries of fifteen and sixteen inch, and for three days he thundered away at intervals with these monster tubes until the rocks crumbled before the detonation of high explosives and the quarry caverns lay exposed. The breaches thus made were observed by the airmen overhead and then into them were poured a steady stream of shrapnel from the famous French "75s" in their hitherto silent hiding places near the front line. When all was ready, the enemy experienced another exhibition of the "Pétain touch," which is becoming as traditional on land as the "Nelson touch" has been for a century and more on sea.

Taking of Malmaison Fort

At precisely 5:15, amid the mist and rain of the morning of Oct. 23, the French infantry rushed forward with splendid élan and carried Malmaison Fort, in the centre, and the villages of Allemant and Vaudesson on the left. They attacked on a six-mile front, and their penetration was two miles. They were supported by a highly concentrated barrage of 16-inch shells and by squadrons of newly devised "tanks." Before them melted away the Second and Fifth Guard Divisions, based on Leuilly and Cornell, and flanked west and east by the Thirteenth Division, south of Chivy, and the Forty-seventh Division of the Reserve, south of Vorges. Nor did the Fourteenth and Twenty-first Divisions supporting these troops have a chance, for before they could be used the French advance had torn to tatters their carefully prepared strategy—to attack right and left. The French captured 10,000 prisoners and seventy heavy guns and a huge amount of supplies.

The next day the French reached the Oise-Aisne Canal, capturing 2,000 additional prisoners and fifty more heavy guns. From the 26th to the 30th, by consolidating their positions, they captured another thousand prisoners and forty more heavy guns.

Meanwhile, the French aviators had

noticed signs of preparations for a German retreat. A retreat was inevitable; as the positions of the enemy south of the Ailette, on the Oise-Aisne Canal, and the western ridge of the Chemin des Dames, could now be enfiladed from the west and east. The only question was: What would be the scope of the retreat? Would it be a mere local retirement beyond the Ailette and the canal, or would it include the entire triangle protecting Laon, from a line running from Craonne and its plateaux on the west to the St. Quentin salient on the north, thus obliterating the Laon elbow?

The German Retreat

The French were prepared for either eventuality, but the Germans, on the night of Nov. 1, chose the former, withdrawing beyond the Ailette and abandoning the western elevations on the Chemin des Dames, with the French close at their heels, until the enemy reached his prepared positions on the northern side of the Ailette Valley.

The French assault, beginning on Oct. 23, and the German retreat of Nov. 1 regained about forty square miles of French territory in the Department of the Aisne. French military critics declare that the more extended withdrawal on the part of the enemy was abandoned at the last moment through his inability to remove his heavy guns, and, at the same time, protect his rear.

In analyzing the advance of the French southwest of Laon and the subsequent falling back of the Germans across the Ailette, they foresaw early in the month a rectifying of the German front from Verdun southwest along the frontier in front of Nancy and Lunéville, with possibly the voluntary retirement of the enemy from the St. Mihiel triangular salient which embraces the Plain of the Woevre between the Meuse and the Moselle—a wedge between Verdun and Metz. A retirement on this part of the line is believed to be imminent, not only because the Germans north and northeast of Verdun have lost most of their strategic positions, but because, in case of a drive of the Allies over the frontier into Lorraine, the movement of reinforcements

from the west would be handicapped. So far, however, the month has produced nothing but violent artillery duels at Chaume Wood, Verdun front, to bear out the prophecy.

Around Riga

Last month we left operations around the Gulf of Riga in a condition which seemed to foreshadow an attack by sea and land upon the Russian naval base at Reval and opposite, upon the coast of Finland, with a possible naval demonstration before Petrograd. The bulk of the Russian Baltic fleet of some twenty ships, having lost the battleship *Slava* and some small craft, was apparently locked up in that part of Moon Sound which lies between Dagö and Oesel Islands and the mainland by a strong German fleet of fifty, which, according to Russian reports, had lost six light units in combat and had been crippled to the extent of sixteen. On Oct. 21 the German expedition reached the mainland, effecting a landing at Werder and operating from Moon Island, which lies north of the sound. Meanwhile the Russian ships supposed to have been effectually trapped in the sound escaped.

The Kaiser, who had just returned to Berlin from his visit to his ally the Sultan at Constantinople, highly praised the Riga operation as proving the "preparedness of my navy," and there were criticisms of the British Admiralty in the London press for not having sent a fleet to engage the enemy in the Baltic—criticisms which were met by the reply that the channels leading from the Skagerrak to the Baltic were too dangerous to penetrate, particularly as their waters, commanded by Denmark and Sweden, might at any time be rendered unneutral by a German coup.

Henceforth, the operations in the Riga region and, indeed, throughout the entire eastern front became influenced by two widely different events: The desperate call of Austria for troops to defend her territory along the Julian Alps from the Italians and the attempted coup d'état of the Bolsheviks against the Provisional Government as represented by Kerensky at Petrograd, which began on Nov. 6. The first of these events, which is essentially

military, caused a shortening of the Teuton lines by consolidation in the rear to the east of the City of Riga by a withdrawal toward the Skuli-Lemberg line in the south, and by a postponement of the development of the expedition against the mainland east of the Gulf of Riga. The consequences elsewhere, on the Austro-Italian front, have already been treated of. The second of the events is largely political, although fraught with the ebb and flow of civil war, and with it this review has no particular concern, except to say that so paralyzed had become the Russian forces at the front that the withdrawal of forty-seven Teuton divisions hence offered no particular inspiration to renew hostilities.

The Holy City Invested

As these pages are going to press, one of the most romantic campaigns of the war is being developed upon the plains of Palestine. The Holy City is invested from three sides, and, although it may be days, even weeks, before the particulars of the campaign come to hand—the meagre bulletins of the British War Office have made known bare facts—famous Biblical sites have fallen before the advance of the British-Egyptian army and the Turks have lost over 20,000 men, nearly half of whom have been registered as prisoners.

In my last review, with the aid of a map of Asiatic Turkey, the season's opening activities of the Anglo-Indian army in Mesopotamia were recorded and their strategic relationship was shown with the Russian Caucasus army in the north and with the British-Egyptian army away in the west, in Palestine, and some emphasis was laid on the Turkish army concentrated at Aleppo, the junction of the Bagdad and Damascus-Medina railways, under the command of the German Field Marshal Mackensen, erroneously announced in the cable dispatches to be leading the Austro-German forces in Italy.

The Aleppo army has not yet come upon the scene but, save for the fact that the Anglo-Indian Army on Nov. 6 occupied Tekrit, on the Tigris, ninety-seven miles northwest of Bagdad—the



SCENE OF BRITISH ADVANCE IN PALESTINE FROM GAZA TO JAFFA, WITH JERUSALEM THREATENED

Turks retiring from thirty to fifty miles north in the direction of Mosul—the army in Palestine has consistently claimed the attention of the month. For, not only has the British-Egyptian army operating there under the direction of General Allenby captured or destroyed over 20,000 Turks and won a formidable strategic point on the Abushusheh Ridge commanding Jerusalem from the northwest, but almost every step of the invading armies has revived Old Testament memories.

The Changed Situation

Moreover, Allenby's victories have served to allay the fear that had been augmenting since last Spring, and guardedly referred to in a former review, that possibly all was not well with the army in Palestine. A moment may now be taken to explain the causes of this fear:

On March 29 the British War Office announced that on the 26th and 27th inst. heavy losses had been inflicted on the Turks, who had lost 900 prisoners, a

few miles south of Gaza. The next day the Turks, in a bulletin issued from Constantinople, claimed a "brilliant victory," and on April 2 the British War Office, in a further report, announced that on March 26 an attempt "to capture Gaza by a coup de main" had failed and that on the 27th a Turkish attack had been "repulsed, with heavy losses," while on March 28 "our infantry was withdrawn to the Wadi Ghuzzeh."

And so the situation stood, with uncomfortable rumors about Mackensen's activities at Aleppo, until the good news of this month.

On Oct. 31, after a night's march, Allenby's army made a sudden attack upon Beersheba, and before the sunset had occupied the city, taking 1,800 prisoners. Thus did the British-Egyptian army enter the "Promised Land"—extending from Beersheba, forty miles southwest of Jerusalem, to Dan, about 100 miles north of the Holy City—"from Dan to Beersheba."

The next to fall was Gaza, three miles

from the sea, on the 6th. Gaza was the city whose gates Samson is said to have carried away, (Judges XVI., 3.) It has an Assyrian, Median, and Egyptian history as well as a Jewish. The Crusaders found it a heap of ruins in the twelfth century, but in 1799 Napoleon found it sufficiently restored to merit investment.

Victorious March to Jaffa

Following the fall of Gaza with 1,900 casualties to the Turks a series of minor engagements took place—the mounted troops cleared the way through Jemameh and Huj, French and British warships cannonaded the Turkish lines of communication near the coast, and aircraft bombed their bases. By Nov. 9 the whole Turkish Army was moving rapidly northward, leaving the coastal railhead at Beit Hanun in Allenby's hands.

Four hundred prisoners and ten guns had been picked up on his victorious way to Askalon on the coast and he estimated the enemy's casualties to date at 10,000, exclusive of prisoners.

By Nov. 15 the junction point of the Beersheba-Damascus railway was taken from the Turks with the loss of 1,500 prisoners and several pieces of artillery. Continuing his drive, Allenby then pushed on from the Surar (Brook Kedron) northward to the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, and then swept eastward along the railroad to its junction with the Beersheba-Damascus line, only twelve miles from the Holy City.

By the 15th the British-Egyptian army had reached a line from Er Ramleh and Ludd to a point three miles south of Jaffa, the port of Jerusalem. The next day they seized the Abushusheh Ridge, five miles southeast of Ramleh. Here 431 Turks were killed and 360 surrendered. Ramleh is on the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, twenty-two miles northwest of the Holy City. On the 16th the British War Office reported that the number of prisoners

verified since Oct. 31 exceeded 9,000. On Nov. 17 Jaffa was occupied by Australian and New Zealand mounted troops without opposition.

Americans at the Front

On Oct. 27 it was officially announced that the American troops in France had begun to finish their intensive training in the trenches "of a quiet sector on the French front." Less than a week later, just as the Germans were completing their retreat across the Ailette, they announced the capture of some American patrols on the front of the Marne Canal, which connects the Rhine with the Marne via Toul and Nancy. Since then a number of raiding parties have had their adventures in No Man's Land on this front; casualties have been received and inflicted under French tuition. There have been artillery duels, and Americans have been killed by German shells.

Following the loss by torpedoing of an American destroyer on Oct. 16 and the transport Antilles on the 17th, homeward bound, came the news of the sinking on Nov. 5 by the same means of the converted yacht Alcedo. In the first case one man was lost; in the second, seventy men were reported missing; in the third, twenty.

Other events of more or less military importance have been the destruction of four Zeppelins in France as they were returning from a raid on England, on the night of Oct. 19-20; the destruction of nine neutral vessels and two British destroyers by a couple of German cruisers, between the Shetland Islands and the coast of Norway, on Oct. 17; the bombardment of the outlying depots of Metz within a radius of twenty-five miles of the fortress, on Oct. 29; the destruction of a German cruiser and ten patrol ships by British destroyers in the Cattegat, on Nov. 2, and a clash between British and German light squadrons off Heligoland, the results of which, on Nov. 18, had not been officially reported.

Austro-German Invasion of Italy

Sudden Blow That Drove Cadorna's Armies Back to the Piave River and Threatened Venice

[See Map on Page 395]

THE world was startled in the closing days of October, 1917, by the news that Austro-German armies had burst through the Italian front in the Julian Alps and along the Isonzo and were sweeping southwestward into the Venetian Plain. The retreating Italians fought heroically, trying to stop the enemy flood in each successive valley as they fell back, but in vain, until they finally checked the invaders at the Piave River. At the present writing—Nov. 19—the precarious Piave line still holds, but the Austro-Germans are almost within firing distance of Venice.

The story of this Italian disaster, with the loss of more than 250,000 prisoners and 2,300 guns in the first week, will require time to fill in some of its tragic details, including those of its causes. The outstanding fact is that on Oct. 24 a sudden attack by German and Austrian infantry in the Julian Alps resulted in their capturing the Italian positions near Plezzo and Tolmino and in the northern portion of the Bainsizza Plateau. The Plezzo-Tolmino sector was held by the Italian Second Army, under General Cappello, and at least one unit of that army failed to resist—threw away its arms and fled, or surrendered without fighting. At this point the enemy burst through, threatening the rear of the Third Army, on the south, and forcing the hasty retirement of the whole Italian force along the seventy miles of hard-won front from the Carnic Alps to the sea.

The Italian War Office in its bulletin next day charged certain units of its own troops with "cowardice," and, though the word was afterward modified, General Cadorna summed up the cause of the initial break in this terse sentence: "The violence of the enemy's attack and inadequate resistance broke our left wing on the Julian front." The "inadequate resistance" has been explained as follows:

"Opposite the Second Italian Army the Austrians had placed regiments composed largely of Socialists, and these utilized the war-weariness of opponents similarly infected to convince the latter that an end of the fighting would come if the soldiers on both sides should refuse to kill each other any longer. Fraternization followed, and an exchange of promises to do no more shooting. Then the demoralized—and demoralizing—Austrian division was withdrawn, and in its place were put German shock troops. These it was that almost unopposed smashed through the Italian line and began the flanking movement of which the results have been so disastrous to Italy."

Story of the Retreat

Glimpses of the great retreat of the next two weeks are afforded by the eyewitness narratives of several press correspondents caught in the swirl of its movements. It was an orderly retreat, often masterly in its strategy and always illumined by the heroism of the men who fought the rearguard actions, sacrificing themselves in order to delay the enemy and give their own armies time to withdraw. Perceval Gibbon, who was at Udine, the Italian headquarters, when it was evacuated, wrote on Nov. 1:

"It was on Oct. 27 that the news arrived that a retirement had been decided upon. I had telegraphed the previous day regarding the events which culminated in the enemy's occupation of Caporetto, a little village on the upper Isonzo, where a great series of dams had been constructed by which, if need were, Cadorna could have drained the Isonzo dry by nightfall. On Friday his columns were driving northwest against Monte Stol and southwest along the Natison Valley and toward Tarcento. Further east and south, along the Isonzo Valley, Italian troops were fighting desperately. Guns which had been lost were being re-

taken by hand-to-hand fighting with the bayonet among batteries, and on Monte Nero the heroic Alpini, isolated from the rest of the army and hard pressed by the Germans, were holding out victoriously, sending messages by carrier pigeon announcing that they would continue to maintain their positions to the death.

"On Saturday night I spoke to the Major commanding one of those superb battalions. He had been wounded and had been rushed out on an ambulance under fire just before the roads were cut. He was desperate for nothing but an opportunity to get back to his battalion, but a breach in the line toward Caporetto made his heroism vain. The Germans were already actually in the rear of certain sectors, and by Saturday night the retreat had been begun.

Poison Shells Harass the Retreat

"The withdrawal from the front line was a manoeuvre of infinite difficulty, which a touch of panic would have converted into the ruin of the army. The enemy maintained his terrific fire upon the Italian communications, so that the troops withdrew into the tornado of shells of every kind that makes a hell of war. Gas shells loosed vapors that haunted the roads invisibly; acid shells set the men suddenly gasping and strangling; tear-producing shells half blinded them. Nothing could have brought them help but the dozen rear-guard actions roaring and flaming at their heels and superb and long-confirmed discipline.

"While they withdrew, a force of those splendid desperadoes who volunteer for rear-guard fighting smashed its way up to Liga and delivered attacks which cleared the army's feet on that sector.

"Further south the Duke of Aosta's Third Army was giving proof of fine soldiery. It answered the ponderous enemy attack upon Selo on the Carso by a counterattack which actually carried its line forward to Stari Lokva and which under any other circumstances would have given it a permanent gain of ground; but its business now was to withdraw its retirement under unceasing pressure over the terrible ground of the Carso, made more terrible by the

blinding rain which thrashed down throughout Saturday. With the Isonzo to cross and the infinitely delicate and perilous operation of the rearguard action to carry out, it was a feat which no defeated army could have attempted. It was one of the great achievements of the war. The British artillerymen, who bore a part in the action, saved all their guns.

Udine Is Left Empty

"During Saturday the civilians of the threatened districts of Udine and its adjoining villages began their flight westward. The little City of Udine poured itself along the great level highway which runs westward toward the cities of the plain, and by Sunday morning the poor little town with its shuttered shops and vacant streets, wherein one's footfall echoed forlornly through the deep arcades which shade its sidewalks, had taken on the air of a cemetery.

"I walked to each of the city gates in turn. There were forgotten dogs sitting at the locked doors of abandoned houses, whining feebly. A terrified cat inside a window grating cowered and shivered in the station whence the last train had departed. A little group of walking wounded who had arrived too late were sitting on the platform waiting for some one to counsel them. Near the Aquileia Gate a row of great warehouses and factories belonging to the Department of Munitions had been set on fire and was burning with tremendous clear, red flames, which waved hundreds of feet high in the wet and rainy air.

"Toward noon it was evidently time to leave. I think I was the last civilian to go. I took a last look around from the summit of Castle Hill. Rain squalls inhabited the wide landscape like a population. Roads seemed to crawl and writhe with their dense westward traffic, and from Cividale, where the army had set fire to military depots, there arose great spires of flame and smoke. In Udine no chimney smoked. The little Palazzo, the most dreamily beautiful thing in Northern Italy, showed no flag; only under its columned loggia the frescoes of Pordenone glowed in their immortal colors.

"Warsaw, Vilna, Bucharest—I knew and loved them all; and now little Udine, so meek, so comely in its surrender to the pest that infests Europe. My own way rearward was by the great road which runs through Codroipo, Pordenone, and Treviso. It was a river running bank-high with the population of the retreat—vehicles four abreast crawling at the pace of the slowest; guns and caissons, private motor cars and donkey carts, soldiers on foot, and all that infinitely pitiable débris of war, the weary women and crying children whom Germany has made homeless. It is these last who give to every retreat its air of tragedy and disaster."

Tragedy of the Refugees

Another correspondent, Ward Price, describes the scene thus:

"When the population of Udine heard rumors of disaster they began to leave the city, finally departing in crowds, even children being harnessed to truck-loads of furniture. Great tractors got the guns across the long bridge one at a time, finally only one being left to continue the fire upon the enemy from the east bank.

"Scenes along the road were like a Gustave Doré conception of the day of judgment. Explosions and fires constantly took place at the rear and lighted up the terrible scene. The correspondent boarded a train which made fifteen miles in thirty-one hours, and then got out and went forward afoot. Soldiers and civilians were afraid to stop marching lest their legs swell. It was remarkable the small amount of harm the Austrian airplanes did to the dense columns along the roads.

"A gap has been made between the Second Italian Army and the Third, which is falling back in superior order to the south. Into the gap the Austrians pushed detachments of troops dressed in Italian uniforms which mingled with the retreating army and suddenly opened fire to the right and left with machine guns. At the same time Austrian field guns, mounted on armored motor cars, began shelling the refugees from the rear."

Fall of Gorizia and Udine

The Berlin War Office on Oct. 27 made conspicuous announcement that the Italian drive was "under the personal supreme leadership" of Emperor Charles of Austria, and later named General Otto von Below and General Alexander von Krobatin as the commanders of the two Austro-German armies engaged. On Oct. 28 they took Gorizia, for which Italy had made great sacrifices a year ago, and Cividale, which the Italians left in flames. On the 30th, six days after the first attack, Udine, the General Italian Headquarters, was in the hands of the enemy. The Italians burned all bridges and towns behind them, leaving a trail of flames. By Nov. 1 they had passed behind the Tagliamento River, burning the last bridgeheads as the enemy came up in force on the east bank. The Tagliamento line, however, could be held only a few days.

"The safe retirement to the Tagliamento," wrote a correspondent, "was due to the unexampled heroism of large bodies of Italians of such spirit as the Alpini on Monte Nero, who refused to surrender, and the regiments of Bersaglieri at Monte Maggiore, who perished to the last man rather than yield ground. It was because of such resistance in the face of overwhelming forces of enemy artillery and infantry that the civil population was able to retire. It was owing to the valor of Italian aviators, combating the Austro-German army of the air, that fleeing women, children, and old men who crowded the roads were not struck down by bursting bombs."

Abandoning the Tagliamento

The whole Tagliamento line had to be abandoned by Nov. 6, but the retirement was glorified by a score of heroic fights, as the troops of the rearguard brought the enemy again and again to a standstill and secured safely for the main armies as they established new lines on the Piave. Perceval Gibbon wrote on Nov. 9:

"Yesterday there was intense action along the Livenza from the foothills of the Carnic Alps to the foothills and water meadows of Motta, where the river

broadens toward marshes and lagoons. The front here runs close to that other quaint and beautiful little City of Conegliano, another of those antique and characteristically Italian nests of prosperity and national life which are dotted so thickly over the battlefields of the last few days.

"One cannot but believe that the sight of the fields and cities, the contact with the mere soil of Italy has had its influence upon the fighting forces in its stimulus of burning patriotism. The men to whose defection on Oct. 24 Cadorna attributed his disaster were members of an army corps who were beyond their borders, fighting on Austrian soil. The mystery of why they failed has yet to be cleared up, and will make a strange chapter of war history.

"Now the armies are yielding up Italian soil, and where at some point they gain a success they must not profit by it, but fall back and again are leaving miles of Venetia, the fairest and ripest land on earth, to the traditional enemy.

"The Duke of Aosta's Third Army proved its discipline and skill in the first phases of the retreat from the Carso. It is still on the south of the line, driving back and back and turning to fight at each stage in the road."

The Italian forces by Nov. 10 were on the west bank of the Piave River, and the Austro-Germans were facing them across that stream from Susegana, in the foothills of the Alps, to the Adriatic. The whole Italian line, besides, was in danger of being flanked from the north, for the enemy had captured Asiago, a stronghold on the Trentino front, twenty miles west of the Piave. It had fallen after desperate street fighting. Belluno and Vidor had already passed into the hands of the enemy. Feltre, west of the upper Piave, followed on the 14th. The fate of the whole Piave line, and of Venice and Padua with it, thus hung in the balance.

Heroic Work of the Motor Cars

A thrilling phase of the retreat was the part played by the Italian armored motor cars, each of which has three quick-firers in its turrets. The duty to which these cars was assigned was to hold the bridges from the Tagliamento to

the Piave River until the cavalry rearguards had passed across, and then to burn the bridges behind them. The commander and a number of his men were seen by The Associated Press correspondent at their camp, where they recounted their experiences as though they were every-day occurrences.

Huge cars resembling tanks stood about at the camp, showing the scars received in the recent ordeal. They have heavily armored bodies. There is a steel door, and for observation purposes two small openings are provided. The two turrets above revolve, the upper one having one quick-firer, the lower two.

The orders were to "hold to the death" the bridges at Sacile, Polcenigo, Santa Lucia, and San Giovanni until the Bersaglieri and cavalry had crossed. That they succeeded is shown by the fact that all the rearguards made their way over the bridges, that all the bridges were burned, and that the section returned, leaving only one damaged machine with the enemy, although eighteen of the forty cars were in such crippled condition that it was necessary to abandon them after the bridges were burned.

Dramatic Encounters

The machines were divided, ten being stationed at each of the four bridgeheads. After seeing their own rearguards safely across, they awaited the approach of the enemy advance guards, even staying in some cases until the cars were surrounded by hostile patrols, which were then mowed down by the batteries of quick-firers.

At the San Giovanni bridge one car took its station during the night midway across the bridge. Early in the morning it was ordered to surrender by a German car which bore the imperial crest and carried a German Captain and two Lieutenants. Instead of surrendering, two Italian Captains and four gunners suddenly opened the steel door and sprang out with carbines. The German Captain and one Lieutenant were killed. The other Lieutenant and the German car were captured and brought back.

At the Sacile bridge the cars had orders to hold for three hours, but they

held for thirty-two hours. At Santa Lucia the commander ordered one of his machines to advance against an enemy patrol which was dangerously near. The car was rushed forward, sweeping the enemy from its double turrets, but when this mission was accomplished and the car was turned back, it was found that the bridge was on fire. The only way was to cross this burning bridge. The car was steered straight over the smoking structure, while the burning planks creaked under its huge weight. It crossed safely, and is one of the cars brought back.

Drowning Out the Enemy

When the Austro-Germans began to cross the low delta at the mouth of the Piave, less than twenty miles from Venice, Italian engineers cut the dikes that held in the Piave and Sile Rivers and inundated the whole region. The flood was loosed on Nov. 15 at the point where the enemy had succeeded in crossing the Piave—near Grisolera—and in a few hours the inundated territory included a triangle about twelve miles on each side, with its apex at Dona di Piave. A correspondent gave this account of it:

"The water effectively holds the enemy at most exposed points and for fifteen miles on the west bank of the Piave. The flooded area is about seventy square miles, and the water is a foot to five feet deep and twelve miles in width at some points, making the district impossible of occupation or movement by enemy troops. The enemy clings to the west bank at Zenson, but is crowded into a small U-shaped position and relying on batteries across the river to keep the Italians back. Austro-German efforts to bring over large forces by pontoons have not succeeded, according to latest reports, either at Zenson or at points further north, where the invaders are feeling their way in an effort to get across.

"The lower floors of the houses in such villages as Piave Vecchia are under

water, and the campanili stick up from the mud-hued level of the flood like strange immense water plants; and here in the silence of the floods the enemy is



REGION INUNDATED BY THE ITALIANS
AT THE MOUTH OF THE PIAVE
TO SAVE VENICE

moving in boats and squelshing over mud islands. Peasants, awaiting rescue from the inundation, see him arrive with feelings much like those of shipwrecked people who hail a passing sail and find it is a pirate craft."

Thus the battle raged within hearing of Venice, while the inhabitants fled by thousands and tens of thousands, so that by Nov. 18 there were less than 20,000 people left in the city. The number of refugees from the invaded districts who were in need of food was estimated at 400,000 by the Red Cross officers at Rome. The Italian front, which had been nearly 450 miles long, was little more than 180, and threatened at every point. Allied troops from France and England were hastening to Italy's aid by thousands as fast as steam could carry them, and the United States had given \$230,000,000 credit and rushed ships and supplies—all to the sound of fierce gun duels on the Piave front, and with each day adding to the ruins of a beautiful land.

The Battle of Flanders

Story of the Desperate British Onslaughts That Won Passchendaele Ridge

PASSCHENDAELE RIDGE, the chief objective of the British in their offensive in Flanders, for the possession of which hundreds of thousands of men fought desperately for weeks, passed entirely into the hands of the British on Nov. 10, 1917, when the last dominating point was captured by assault and the German lines were pierced half a mile. In evidence of the titanic character of the struggle for the ridge it was announced Nov. 16 that data in possession of the British staff showed that Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria in two months had exhausted ninety-one German divisions (nearly 1,365,000 men) in defending vainly the Passchendaele Ridge and in fruitless counterattacks.

In a similar period of about two months the Germans, during the battle of the Somme, used eighty-six divisions, (1,290,000 men.)

The British losses in the assaults are not given, but the weekly casualty reports since August have varied from 18,000 to a little under 25,000, the latter number being approached in the two weeks preceding the capture of the ridge.

Description by an Eyewitness

Philip Gibbs thus describes the first success of the Canadians on Nov. 6, when they fought their way over the ruins of the village and into the ground beyond:

"What is Passchendaele? As I saw it this morning through the smoke of gunfire and the mist, it was just one ruin. Only the ruin of its church, a black mass of slaughtered masonry and nothing else, not even a house, was left standing. Because of its position as the crown of the ridge, that crest seemed to many men to be the prize for which all these battles of Flanders had been fought, and to get to this place and the slopes and ridges on the way to it, not only for its own sake, but for what it would bring with it, great numbers of our most gallant men have

given their blood. Thousands, scores of thousands, of British soldiers of our own home stock and from overseas have gone through fire and water, the fire of frightful bombardments, the water of swamps, and of shellholes in which they have plunged and waded.

"To defend the ridge and Passchendaele, the crest of it, the enemy had massed a great number of guns, an incredible number of machine guns, and many of his finest divisions. To check our progress he had devised new systems of defense and built his concrete block-houses in formation at every crossroad and in every bit of village or farmhouse. Our men had to attack that chain of forts through girdles of machine-gun fire, and, after paying a great price in life, mastered it.

"The weather fought for the enemy again and again on the days of our attacks, and the horrors of the mud and bogs in 'crater land' extending over a wide sweep of country belong to the grimmest remembrances of every soldier who has fought in this battle of Flanders.

Enormous German Losses

"The enemy may brush aside our advance as the taking of a mud patch, but to resist he at one time or another put nearly a hundred divisions into this arena of blood, and the defense cost him a vast sum of loss in dead and wounded. I saw his dead in Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood. Over all this ground the young manhood of Germany has spent itself. It was not for worthless ground that so many of them died and suffered agonies or fought desperately and came back again in massed counterattacks that were swept to pieces by our guns and our rifle fire.

"True, Passchendaele is but a pinprick on a fair-sized map, but so that we should not take it the enemy has spent much of his man power and his gun power without stint, and there flowed

up to his guns tides of shells almost as great as the tides that flowed up to our guns. Throughout these months he has never ceased by day or night to pour out hurricanes of fire over all these fields in the hope of smashing our progress.

"A few days ago orders were issued to his troops in the name of Hindenburg that Passchendaele must be held at all costs, and, if lost, must be recaptured at all costs.

Victorious Canadians

"The Canadians have had more luck than the English, New Zealand, and Australian troops who have fought battles on the way up with the most heroic endeavor, and not a man in the army will begrudge them the honor they have gained, not easily nor without the usual price of victory, which is some men's death and many men's pain.

"For several days the enemy had endeavored to thrust us back from the positions we held around Crest Farm and on the left beyond Paddebeeke, where all the ground is a morass. The Naval Brigade, which fought there on the last days of last month, had a very hard and tragic time. It was grim stoicism in holding on to the exposed outposts—small groups of men under great shell fire—which enabled the Canadians this morning to attack from a good position.

"A special tribute is due to two companies of British infantry, which, with Canadian guides, worked through a large plantation, drove a wedge into the enemy territory and held it against all attempts to dislodge them. Heavy German counterattacks had been made during the last few days to drive us off Crest Farm and Meetcheele spur, but they only made a slight lodgment near Crest Farm and were thrust back with great loss. Meanwhile there was the usual vast activity on our side in making tracks, carrying railroads a few hundred yards nearer, hauling forward heavy guns out of the slough in which they deeply sank, and carrying up stores of ammunition and supplies for men and guns. All this work by pioneers, engineers, transports, men, and infantry was done under an infernal fire and in deep mud and filth.

Awful Ordeal by Night

"Last night the enemy increased his fire as if he guessed his time was at hand. All night he flung down harassing barrages and scattered shells from his heavies and used gas shells to search out our batteries. He tried hard by means of every devilish thing in war to prevent the assembly of the Canadians, lying out in shell craters and in deep slime and mud under this fire. Though there were anxious hours and a great strain upon officers and men, and casualties here and there, the spirit of the men was not broken, and in a wonderful way they escaped great losses.

"The weather was moist and soft last night, with a stiff wind blowing. The weather prophets in the evening had shaken their heads gloomily and said, 'It will rain beyond all doubt,' but luck was with our troops, for the sun rose in a clear sky. There was great beauty in the sky at daybreak, and I thought of the sun of Austerlitz and hoped it might presage victory for our men.

As I saw Passchendaele this morning, the long ridge to which the village gives its name appeared black and grim below the clouds right around to Polygon Wood and the height of Broodseinde. Below the ridge all our field guns were firing, and the light of their flashes ran up and down like jack o' lanterns with flaming torches.

"Far behind me were our heavy guns, and their shells traveled overhead with a great beating of wind. In the sky around was the savage whine of German shells and all below Passchendaele Ridge monstrous shells were flinging up masses of earth and water. Now and then fires were lighted and blazed, and then went out in the west smoke."

A Futile Counterattack

Various strong efforts were made by the Germans to retake the main position after its capture by the British on Nov. 10. The most determined was on Nov. 14, which is thus described by Mr. Gibbs:

"The enemy's troops were massed in the neighborhood of Wesroosebeke, and advanced under the protection of a violent barrage from the crossroads north

GENERAL VON BELOW



German Commander in Chief on the Italian Front.
(Photo Press Illustrating Service.)

GENERAL ALEXANDER VON KROBATIN



Former Austro-Hungarian War Minister, and Commander of the
Austrian Army in the Drive Against the Italians.

(Photo Bain News Service.)

of Passchendaele. Our men sent up S O S signals, and our guns at once opened fire upon the enemy's assembly places and tracks with intense and destructive concentration. Our machine gunners also swept the ground of approach with streams of bullets and scythed down the ranks of German storm troops. Their foremost waves seem to have been shattered, and only small bodies were able to approach our trenches, where they were repulsed after violent fighting.

"This attack did not come as a surprise. It is clear from what our prisoners have said that the German command was seriously chagrined by the loss of Passchendaele, and by the failure of immediate action to recapture it. The importance of this crest of the ridge, giving observation over the low country beyond, makes the German higher command deeply anxious to regain it, even at a great sacrifice of life.

"For some days past the Germans have been shelling all our ground, not only on the ridge itself, but also around Frezenburg and Inverness Copse, and all the roads beyond Ypres with great ferocity. At night, after intense counterbattery

firing with high explosives, they have used gas shells against our guns. They have also brought up high-level guns and directed them against Ypres and other places behind our lines.

"They have some advantage in artillery over our positions at Passchendaele, owing to the distribution of their guns, which can enfilade the crest from two sides, but their infantry cannot make any counterattack without assembling on a narrow neck of ground north of Passchendaele village, where they are likely to be caught again, as yesterday, by our bombardment. For both sides the place is still a caldron, and the firing about it is very fierce.

"It is not easy to induce the German soldiers to come out in counterattacks, judging from the words of an officer who is a prisoner. The men are in a mutinous spirit against the continual slaughter in their ranks, and even the officers themselves have in recent battles run back and taken cover in dugouts, leaving their companies to noncommissioned officers. That, however, is the demoralization of men already nerve broken by shelling, and may not be true of the fresh divisions brought up for new attacks."



French Victory at Chemin des Dames

Culmination of a Bitter Struggle That Ended in a German Withdrawal on the Aisne Front

The French on Oct. 23, 1917, delivered a smashing blow about seven miles north-east of Soissons on a six-mile front, and advanced to a depth of more than two miles at one point. More than 8,000 prisoners were taken in the fierce onslaught, besides 70 heavy guns, 80 machine guns, and 30 mine throwers. The attack began at 5:15 A. M. in rain and mist, and lasted less than six hours. A correspondent describes the advance as follows:

THE battle opened before dawn along a nine-kilometer front, from the northeast of Laffaux, about the neighborhood of Vauxaillon, to La Royère Farm. Amid inky darkness the French troops left their trenches, and, with a terrific barrage fire from the most powerful concentration of French guns ever gathered on such a short front preceding them, they made their way toward, into, and over the first German positions, sweeping all resistance aside.

Altogether, six German infantry divisions were aligned, facing the French attacking forces, but none of them was able to withstand the onslaught. The advance continued like clockwork.

Several squadrons of tanks participated in the battle and aided the advancing infantry. It was by means of these most modern war implements that the Filain Farm was captured.

The battlefield bears no resemblance to battlefields anywhere else. The ground all around is broken with steep hills rising from deep valleys. The crest on which the fight occurred was vital for the Germans, and they held to it tenaciously.

Most of the prisoners taken were caught in quarries. One group, composed of 400 men, was led out to surrender by a German soldier, who spoke French, and assured his comrades that they need not fear bad treatment from

their captors, despite the assertions currently made to them by their officers that the French massacred prisoners. Another batch of prisoners fell into the hands of the French just as they alighted from motor trucks, in which they had been hurried to the battlefield as reinforcements.

The losses of the Germans were extremely heavy, as was testified to by the heaps of dead found beneath the ruins of quarries, which crumbled under the French bombardment.

Brilliant Work of Aviators

During the attack the aviation service rendered immense service for the French commander, working under the most unfavorable conditions for flying, namely, mists, heavy clouds, and strong winds. The airmen flew over the infantry when they were making the attack, and when they saw the German infantry assembling for a counterattack they advanced toward the enemy at an altitude of less than 100 yards, showered machine-gun bullets upon him, and brought about a dispersal of the assemblage.

Several French machines flew over the Laon railroad station and attacked arriving troop trains. Some of the machines accompanying the infantry columns kept so low that they were obliged to shorten the antennae of their wireless apparatus. All the airplanes participating in the battle were riddled with bullets. One of them fell blazing among the French troops. The pilot was uninjured and ran to the nearest battalion.

The attack took three main lines. Striking out from both sides of the mill of Laffaux toward Allemant village, the French had to deal with the Fourteenth Division—Westphalian troops—who suffered heavily in last year's fighting before Verdun. The largest proportion of prisoners was captured in this sector,

where the turning point of the Hindenburg defense system has been smashed.

The centre of the assault lay northward from the Mennejean Farm across the Laon highroad. This sector was defended by the Twenty-second Guard Division. The most important of all was the sector on the French right, extending from La Royère Farm at Malmaison Fort, the capture of which was the great event of a brilliant day. It was defended by the Fifth Guard Division, the fort itself being held by elements of the Grenadier Guards.

On the left flank of the attack the enemy had in line the Thirty-seventh Division, and on the right the Forty-seventh Reserve, so that this front of exceptional strength was defended by six divisions.

Positions of Vital Value

The position on this part of the Aisne heights had remained since the successful French offensive of April and May one of a dreadfully unstable equilibrium. The German command had lost much, but not everything, and for several months had used lavishly its human material in the hope of tightening its hold upon what remained to it of this important barrier—the southern corner of the Hindenburg line. Mennejean, La Royère, and Pantheon farms, among other points, became positions of vital significance.

The French held their own and the French command throughout the late Summer was steadily preparing one of those powerful and wonderfully organized efforts which give the cleanest success at the lowest cost. Passing up and down the Aisne this Autumn we have seen railways multiplied and new camps springing up in field and forests. All these preparations could not escape the eyes of the boche. The enemy knew the death challenge was being uttered once more, and had plenty of time to bring up reinforcements and otherwise to make ready.

Labyrinth of Malmaison

The old fort of Malmaison was declassified long before the war, but it has been of immense use to the enemy as an

observatory. Against such an attack as today's its glacis had been cleared, its shell reconstructed and furnished with machine-gun posts, and connected with a labyrinth of caves and tunnels running back to the northern edges of the plateau and so to the German rear.

This underground system of defenses illustrates a characteristic of the field, which distinguishes this from other offensives. The hills are honeycombed with limestone caves, grottoes, and tunnels. Nature began the work and engineers have extended it.

The fight was bound to be, therefore, to an abnormal degree, an artillery battle. To attempt to rush an intricate fortress like the Malmaison plateau before at least such works as had been detected by air scouts had been destroyed would have been to doom many gallant men to death. The spur of the plateau west of that on which the farm stands was known to be traversed by a tunnel called after the neighboring farm Mont Parnasse. The tunnel was large enough to shelter a whole brigade. On our side there were also tunnels and caves in which reserves awaited the moment of action.

Our victory definitely ruins the German hope of holding on to the Chemin des Dames. The positions which stopped our pursuit after the Marne in September, 1914, and limited our progress in April—these are now in our possession. It is impossible to overestimate the value of this local success in awaiting the hour of decisive victory.

Chemin des Dames Abandoned

In consequence of the thrust of Oct. 23, which was followed immediately by further desperate advances, the German hold on the Chemin des Dames became untenable, and this whole sector was evacuated by the enemy on Nov. 1. The retirement was along a fifteen-mile front to the Ailette River, and involved the surrender of forty square miles of territory. The Germans here lost 12,000 prisoners, including 1,000 from the Prussian Guard, with 200 cannon, 700 Maxims, and 200 trench mortars.

The Chemin des Dames is—or rather

was—a road over the ridge that dominates the valley of the Aisne and the Ailette Valley, and its importance was taken advantage of by Napoleon in 1814 in operations that led to the battle of Craonne. The Germans had been in control of the Chemin des Dames since September, 1914, when, after the failure of the thrust toward Paris, the Teuton armies were turned back by Joffre in the battle of the Marne. They clung to this position desperately, and the French never lost sight of the value of the recapture of the intrenched line along this road.

The Battlefield Described

G. H. Perris, the war correspondent, wrote on Nov. 4 regarding the scene of this French victory:

It is one of the bloodiest battlefields of the war, comparable to the hills before Verdun and the Flanders ridges. Its conquest is an unsurpassed story of heroic persistence, commenced in the middle of April under the commandship in chief of General Nivelle. This was completed after more than six months of ceaseless fighting under General Pétain.

The first offensive carried the French well on to the summit of the Aisne Hills. Then a deadly duel began. The enemy, whether by choice or necessity, never attempted a general offensive, but during the next three months delivered nearly forty local attacks with large bodies of shock troops and great concentration of artillery.

At the end of July I gave reasons for believing that he had then lost at least 100,000 men in these savage but fruitless assaults. They did not cease, but died down somewhat until last month, when there was a recrudescence of the conflict.

Meanwhile Pétain had been preparing one of his characteristic blows, the main features of which are a limited front strategically chosen, and an overwhelming artillery power and organization of attack so minute as almost to preclude failure in any part. We now see the results. Less than half of the front of the Aisne Hills was attacked, but the success in this field is so complete that the enemy has had to abandon the whole of it.

Result of the Battle

This battle, in the judgment of THE NEW YORK TIMES military critic at Washington, was one of the most decisive of the war. The sector penetrated was part of the so-called Siegfried line. He wrote on Nov. 4 as follows:

The French on Nov. 5. were four miles nearer Laon. The distances from the new French positions in the Chemin des Dames region to Laon are: From Corbeny, 11 miles; from Craonne, 11 miles; from Ailles, 8½ miles; from Cerny, 8 miles; from Courtecon, 7½ miles, and from the fort at Malmaison, 8 miles. These points swing around, in the order named, from Corbeny on the east to Malmaison on the west of the Chemin des Dames, and the air line distance along the Chemin des Dames ridge from Corbeny to Malmaison is 13½ miles. This is the front from which the artillery of the new French positions on the Chemin des Dames ridge will converge their fire on the eminences of the Fort Montberault ridge.

All operations in the Aisne sector are considered of the greatest importance by the French, not only because of the effort they have been making for months to penetrate the Siegfried line, but because it was along the line of Laon-Soissons that the Germans hoped to be able to reach Paris. The battle front during the last Summer, in the region of Anizy-le-Château, 8.69 miles southwest of Laon, was the nearest to the German line on the western point to Paris. There has been a great bend of the line toward Paris, in the region between St. Quentin and Rheims, and Laon was the pivot of the circle and the base from which the Germans supplied every man and gun in their line around the massif of St. Gobain and the Chemin des Dames.

The Crown Prince of Germany has clung stubbornly to his very elaborate and complicated sets of trenches and gun positions in this region. So long as he held both St. Gobain and the Chemin des Dames, Laon and the valleys lying beyond to the northeastward were safe. Once the French are in possession of these two massifs of hills, and of Laon, whose evacuation would then be forced, it would be necessary for the German forces to relinquish the St. Gobain massif and give up the valley to the north, northeast, and east of Laon.



Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From October 19 Up to and Including November 18, 1917

UNITED STATES

Sunday, Oct. 28, was observed as a day of prayer for the triumph of American arms, in compliance with President Wilson's proclamation.

Plans were made for seizing approximately \$1,000,000,000 worth of German-owned money and other property subject to confiscation by the Government under the Trading with the Enemy act.

The Second Liberty Loan campaign closed Oct. 27. Subscriptions amounted to \$4,617,532,300.

The Emergency Fleet Corporation of the United States Shipping Board was reorganized in order to speed up the work of construction, and Charles A. Piez was placed in supreme charge.

An American Congressional delegation visited unofficially the western allied countries and the battle fronts.

New selective draft regulations were issued, canceling all exemptions and discharges, and repealing all preceding regulations.

Announcement was made on Nov. 7 that Colonel Edward M. House had arrived in England at the head of an American commission to take part in a series of war conferences. He received a message from President Wilson stating that the Government of the United States considered unity of plan and control between all the Allies and the United States essential to success, and asking him to attend the first meeting of the Supreme War Council, with General Tasker H. Bliss as military adviser.

Official announcement was made on Oct. 27 that American troops were in the first-line trenches on the French front. On Nov. 3 three Americans were killed, eleven wounded, and eleven reported missing after a German raid on a salient on the Marne-Rhine Canal. Further casualties occurred on Nov. 15 and Nov. 16 in the shelling of American trenches and in firing on patrols.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American army transport Antilles was sunk Oct. 17, while homeward bound, and sixty-seven men, including sixteen soldiers, were lost. The transport Finland was attacked on Oct. 28 while homeward bound. Nine men were killed, but the ship was able to return to a European port. Twenty-one men were killed when the patrol boat Alcedor was sunk on Nov. 6. The steamer J. L. Luckenbach, after a four-hours' battle with a submarine, was saved by the arrival of a destroyer.

Two naval gunners and several members of the crew were wounded. The D. N. Luckenbach was sunk off the coast of France on Oct. 27, and five members of the crew were lost. A steamer carrying four American Congressmen to Europe was attacked off the coast of Wales on Oct. 27, but was saved by the work of the naval gunners. Seventeen men were lost when the steamship Rochester was sunk on Nov. 2.

England's losses for the week ended Oct. 20 included seventeen ships of over 1,600 tons, for the week ended Oct. 27 fourteen, for the week ended Nov. 3 eight, and for the week ended Nov. 10 one. The British cruiser Orama was sunk Oct. 19.

French and Italian shipping losses averaged about two ships of over 1,600 tons weekly.

Danish losses in 1916 included forty-six steamers and twenty-eight sailing vessels.

Norway lost nineteen ships in October, including the Leander. Forty-eight Norwegian seamen were killed.

On Oct. 25 President Braz of Brazil sent a message to Congress announcing that the steamship Macau had been torpedoed in the Bay of Biscay, and declaring that it was impossible to avoid noting the state of war that Germany had imposed on Brazil. On Oct. 26 Congress voted the declaration of war. The Germans set on fire and sank the German gunboat Eber in the harbor of Bahia after the Brazilian Government had ordered its seizure. German uprisings occurred in Southern Brazil, and on Nov. 3 President Braz sent to Congress recommendations for reprisals against German aggressions. The Chamber of Deputies voted these measures and also voted a state of siege.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Oct. 19—Germans land troops on Dagö Island; Russians begin to evacuate Reval.

Oct. 22—Germans land troops on the Werder Peninsula, driving back the defending troops and occupying part of the peninsula.

Oct. 23—Russians repulse second attempt of the Germans to land on the Estonian coast; Germans withdraw toward the Skuli-Lemberg line.

Oct. 24—Germans shorten their line between the Gulf of Riga and the Dvina River, giving up advanced posts.

Oct. 25—Germans retreat fifteen miles on the Riga front, near the Pskoff highroad and in the sector of the Little Jaesel River; civilians begin to evacuate Kronstadt;

German forces fail in attempt to land on the Werder Peninsula.

Oct. 26—Germans withdraw as far as the Riga-Orel railway; Russians repulse attacks on the Werder coast of Esthonia.

Oct. 27—Withdrawal of German troops on the Riga front continues; Russians follow them as far as the Annehof sector without getting in touch with them.

Oct. 29—Germans withdraw from the Werder Peninsula.

Nov. 3-4—Russians fraternize with Germans in the Dvinsk region.

Nov. 10—Report that Germans have entered Helsingfors.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Oct. 19—Germans direct heavy artillery fire against Zonnebeke and British positions near the Menin Road.

Oct. 21—French repulse German attacks west of Mont Carnillet, on both banks of the Meuse, and in the La Chapelette sector.

Oct. 22—British capture valuable positions southeast of Poelcappelle.

Oct. 23—French smash through German lines on the Aisne, about seven miles northeast of Soissons, on a six-mile front, piercing them to a depth of more than two miles and capturing Malmaison Fort and four villages; Germans force British from a farm in Houthulst Forest.

Oct. 25—French continue their advance on the Aisne, capturing Pinon and Pargny Filain; British repulse German attacks south of Houthulst Forest.

Oct. 26—British take positions west of Passchendaele, including Bellevue Spur; French capture Draebank, Papagoed Wood, and several fortified farms south of Houthulst Forest, and advance on the Aisne, taking Filain.

Oct. 27—Announcement made that American troops are in the trenches.

Oct. 28—Allies in Flanders capture the entire Mercken Peninsula.

Oct. 29—Germans repulsed by the French near Chaume and Courrières Wood.

Oct. 30—British capture Passchendaele Village, but are driven out.

Nov. 2—Germans retreat from the hilly portion of the Chemin des Dames.

Nov. 3—French advance to take ground evacuated by Germans on the Chemin des Dames and take entire district between the Oise Canal and Corbeny as far as the south bank of the Ailette River; three Americans killed, eleven wounded, and eleven missing in raid on salient on the Marne-Rhine Canal.

Nov. 4—French advance along the Ailette River; Laon reported evacuated by civilians.

Nov. 6—Canadians take Passchendaele and push on 800 yards beyond the town.

Nov. 8—French resume activity in Upper Alsace, in the Sundgau district.

Nov. 9—Germans attack Verdun positions, but are repulsed by the French at Chaume

Wood; French in Alsace carry out successful raid near Seppois.

Nov. 10—British complete conquest of Passchendaele Ridge.

Nov. 14—Americans ambush a large German patrol in No Man's Land, killing or wounding a number of the enemy; Germans repulsed at Passchendaele.

Nov. 15—More American casualties reported as result of shelling of American trenches; Belgians repulse raid north of Bixschoote; British check German patrols in Menin Road.

Nov. 16—Germans repulse French forces which worked their way across the Ailette River into the German advanced line; more casualties among American troops.

Nov. 17—British carry out a successful operation northwest of Passchendaele, on the Goeberg spur and force Germans to give up Vocation Farm.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Oct. 23—Italians repulse strong attacks in the Cadore region at Monte Plana.

Oct. 24—Austro-German offensive begun; Italian positions near Flitsch and Tolmino and in the northern part of the Bainsizza Plateau captured.

Oct. 25—Teutons extend their gains on the Isonzo in the region of the Santa Maria and Santa Lucia bridgeheads.

Oct. 26—Teutons advance beyond Karfreit and Ronzina on the Isonzo River; Italians begin to evacuate the Bainsizza Plateau.

Oct. 27—Austro-German forces press on through the spurs of the Julian Alps, taking the heights of Stol and Mount Matajur; second Italian army defeated.

Oct. 28—Teutons take Gorizia and Cividale and press forward from the Julian Alps to the sea; Monte Santo captured.

Oct. 29—Italian Isonzo front collapses; Third Army fails to check Teutons' advance between the Wippach River and the Adriatic Sea and retreats toward the sea; Teutons take Cormons; Second Italian Army retreats toward the Tagliamento River.

Oct. 30—Teutons occupy Udine and press on toward the Tagliamento River; Italians cut bridges to delay advance; Italians yield on Carnia front near Ploeken.

Oct. 31—New Austrian army under General von Krobatin moves southwestward from the Carnic Alps and attacks Gemona; Germans push on southeastward from Udine.

Nov. 1—Austro-German forces penetrate Italian rearguard positions to the east of the lower Tagliamento, capturing bridgehead positions at Dignano, Codroipo, and Latisana; Anglo-French reinforcements reach the Italian eastern front.

Nov. 2—Italians abandon the eastern bank of the Tagliamento River from the Fella Valley to the Adriatic Sea; fighting takes place on the middle and lower sectors of the river.

Nov. 4—Italians repulse heavy Teuton attacks

on advanced posts in the Daone and Giu-mella Valleys.

Nov. 5—Austro-German troops cross the middle Tagliamento River.

Nov. 6—Italians abandon the entire Tagliamento line; Austro-Germans occupy positions on a ninety-three-mile front in the Carnic Alps and the Dolomites from the Bella Valley to the Colbricon.

Nov. 7—Austro-Germans reach the line of the Livenza River.

Nov. 8—Teutons cross the Livenza River and capture a General and 17,000 troops in outflanking operations on the Tagliamento.

Nov. 9—Teutons advance toward the Piave River; General Cadorna replaced by General Armando Diaz as first in command of Italian armies; Interallied Military Council formed.

Nov. 10—Teutons take Asiago; Italians yield the east bank of the Piave River from Susegana to the Adriatic Sea, burning bridges in their retreat.

Nov. 11—Teutons take Belluno and the Vidor bridgehead and win ground in the Sette Comuni and the Sugana Valley; Italians retake positions on Gallio and Monte Serragh.

Nov. 12—Austro-Germans cut off retreating Italian forces in the upper Piave and Cordevole Valleys and advance down the Piave to Feltre.

Nov. 13—Teutons establish themselves on the western bank of the Piave, near Zenson, take Fonzaso and two mountain fortifications between the Sugana and Cismone Valleys, and Monte Longara in the Sette Comuni.

Nov. 14—Teutons occupy Primolano and Feltre and cross the Piave River near the Adriatic Sea; Italians foil surprise attack at their rear, near Lake Garda; art treasures removed from Venice.

Nov. 15—Italians repulse Teuton attempts to cross the Piave River, but abandon advanced posts at Monte Tomatico.

Nov. 16—Italians open the floodgates of the Piave and Sile Rivers in an attempt to save Venice; Teuton attacks from Asiago to the Piave River checked.

Nov. 17—Teutons cross the Piave River at two points, but are driven back; Prassolan captured.

Nov. 18—Italians repulse Teuton attempts to cross the Piave, and expel Germans who crossed near Fagore; Teutons withdraw slightly between the Brenta and the Piave.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

Oct. 20—British begin enveloping movement northeast of Bagdad and drive Turkish forces in the vicinity of Kizil-Robot across the Diala River.

Oct. 25—Russians drive Turks from the valley of Moerivan and advance to the southeastern bank of Lake Zeribar.

Nov. 1—British take Beersheba.

Nov. 3—British attack Gaza.

Nov. 4—British advance up the Tigris and capture Turkish positions twenty miles north of Samara.

Nov. 5—British pursue Turks north of Beersheba; Russians capture first-line Turkish trenches in the Kalkit-Tchiflik sector in Asia Minor; British occupy Tekrit, ninety-seven miles northwest of Bagdad.

Nov. 7—British take Gaza and advance north of Beersheba, capturing Khuweilfeh.

Nov. 8—British mounted troops advancing through Jemameh and Huj reach the south bank of the Wady Hesu, establish contact with forces advancing from Gaza; northern bank of the Wady Hesu and Herbieh, and Turkish coastal railroad at Beit Hanun captured; entire Turkish Army retreats toward the north.

Nov. 10—British take Askalon.

Nov. 13—Turkish forces attempting to take new positions on the Wadi-Supereir driven back five miles to the Wadi-Surar, eight miles south of Jaffa; British take Mes-miyeh, Katrah, and Mughar.

Nov. 15—British seize junction point of the Beersheba-Damascus railroad with the line to Jerusalem.

Nov. 16—British reach a line from Er Ramle and Ludd to a point three miles south of Jaffa.

Nov. 17—Turks prepare to take a stand north of Jaffa.

Nov. 18—British take Jaffa.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Oct. 22—Germans in Macedonia wrest some hill positions from the French.

Oct. 26—British take four Bulgarian towns on the northeastern shore of Lake Tahnos.

Nov. 13—Italians repulse attacks at the bend of the Cerna River and Hill 1,050.

AERIAL RECORD

Thirteen Zeppelins raided the eastern and northeastern counties of England at midnight, Oct. 19. Thirty-four persons were killed and fifty-six injured. The Zeppelins were attacked on their return voyage by French airmen and four machines were destroyed and three captured. The L-49 was brought down intact, the first one to be captured thus in the war. In a raid on the southeast coast of England on Oct. 31, only three out of thirty German machines succeeded in reaching London. Eight persons were killed and twenty-one injured.

The British dropped bombs on many German bases in Flanders, including Ghent, Zeebrugge, Bruges, and Vlissinghems. Saarbrücken was raided and six tons of explosives dropped on the Beirbach works.

Thirty civilians were killed in a German raid on Dunkirk on Oct. 27.

The British raided Pirmasens and Kaiserslautern, in Bavaria, on Nov. 1.

British naval aviators, in a raid over the Gallipoli Peninsula and Constantinople, hit the Turkish War Office and the Turkish warship Sultan Selim, formerly the

Goeben, causing an explosion on the Goeben.

NAVAL RECORD

- Two German raiders attacked a convoy in the North Sea on Oct. 17, and sank five Norwegian vessels, one Danish, and three Swedish, and two of the British escorting destroyers, the *Mary Rose* and the *Strongbow*. One hundred and fifty lives were lost. Norway sent a protest to Germany.
- The Russian fleet was driven into the inner waters of Moon Sound behind a barrier of mines planted by German submarines. German submarines appeared in the Gulf of Finland. On Oct. 21 six German torpedo boats were sunk, and two dreadnoughts, one cruiser, six torpedo boats, and one transport were put out of action in the fighting in and near the Gulf of Riga. The German fleet bombarded positions on the western coast of the gulf.
- A German warship was sunk by a mine in the sound, off the coast of Sweden, on Nov. 1.
- On Nov. 3 British forces in the Cattegat sank the German auxiliary cruiser *Marie of Flensburg* and ten German patrol boats, including the *Crocodile*.
- An electrically controlled German boat was destroyed off the Belgian coast on Nov. 8 by British patrol vessels which it attacked. The British Admiralty announced that this was the fourth boat of its kind to be destroyed.
- A British destroyer and a small monitor which were operating in conjunction with the British army in Palestine were destroyed by German submarines, according to reports made public on Nov. 14.
- On Nov. 17 British light forces sank one German light cruiser and crippled another, off the coast of Heligoland.

RUSSIA

Armed naval detachments, under orders of the Maximalist Revolutionary Committee, occupied State buildings in Petrograd on Nov. 7. Premier Kerensky placed soldiers on guard, and declared the Workmen's and Soldier's Committee an illegal organization. On Nov. 8 the Bolsheviks, headed by Nikolai Lenine and Leon Trotzky, seized Petrograd, and announced their purpose to seek an immediate democratic peace, to turn the land over to the peasantry, and to convoke the Constituent Assembly. On Nov. 9 the Revolutionary Committee took over all the Government offices in Moscow, and Lenine in a speech before the Workmen's and Soldier's Congress in Petrograd announced a plan for a three months' armistice, during which elected representatives of all nations should settle the terms of peace. Various other plans for handing the Government over to the people were announced. The All-Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates named a Bolshevik

Cabinet and adjourned. Lenine was appointed Premier and Trotzky Foreign Minister. Clashes occurred between the Kerensky and Bolshevik forces, with varying reports as to the outcome, and on Nov. 14, after the defeat of his forces between Tsarskoe Selo and Pulkova, Kerensky fled. General Dukhonin assumed the post of Commander in Chief of the loyalist forces. The Bolshevik forces entered Petrograd Nov. 15, and were reported in control of Moscow. A split in the Lenine Cabinet occurred on Nov. 17, and several Ministers and five central committeemen resigned.

MISCELLANEOUS

- As the result of an acute political crisis Dr. Georg Michaelis placed his resignation as Chancellor in the hands of the Kaiser on Oct. 24. Social, economic, and political tasks were transferred from the Minister of the Interior to the new Imperial Department of Economics. Vice Chancellor Helfferich was relieved of the administration of the Department of the Interior, and Under Secretary of the Interior Wallraf was appointed Minister of the Interior. Under Secretary of State Rudolph Schwaner was appointed head of the Imperial Department of Economics. On Oct. 27 the resignation of Michaelis was formally announced, and Count von Hertling, the Bavarian Premier, was named Chancellor and Prime Minister of Prussia. Helfferich resigned as Vice Chancellor and Frederick von Payer was named to succeed him.
- The French Cabinet, headed by Paul Painlevé, offered to resign on Oct. 22, but President Poincaré refused to accept the resignation on the ground that the Chamber of Deputies had voted confidence in the Ministry. Painlevé therefore named J. Louis Bartho as Minister of Foreign Affairs to replace Alexander Ribot. On Nov. 13 the entire Cabinet resigned, following its defeat in the Chamber after a debate on the Allied War Council and other matters. The Socialists refused to support the Government. Georges Clemenceau formed a new Cabinet, in which Radicals predominated.
- The Bosselli Cabinet resigned after the failure of a vote of confidence in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, on Oct. 26. Vittorio Orlando formed a new Ministry. General Cadorna was replaced by General Armando Diaz, on Nov. 8, as head of the armies in the field.
- As a result of conferences in Italy the Inter-allied War Council was formed on Nov. 9. It is composed of the Premiers of Italy, England, and France, a member of each Government, and a military representative of each country. These latter members are General Cadorna, General Wilson, and General Foch. Professor Jan Kucharzewski was appointed Premier of Poland.



BOLSHEVIKI LEADERS AT A FUNERAL: NIKOLAI LENINE, THE RADICAL "PREMIER," IS THE BEARDED MAN ON THE EXTREME RIGHT, AND LEON TROTZKY, "FOREIGN MINISTER," IS NEXT TO HIM

Russia's Radicals in Revolt

A Revolution Within a Revolution Brings
Civil War and Chaos to the New Republic

RUSSIA was in the throes of civil war when these pages of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE were written, Nov. 20, 1917. Armed insurrection against the Provisional Government and Premier Kerensky had been precipitated on Nov. 7 by the radical socialistic elements, known as the Bolsheviks or Maximalists. The revolt was under the direction of a committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, headed by Leon Trotzky, President of the Central Executive Committee of the Petrograd Council, and Nikolai Lenine, a revolutionary agitator of the extreme radicals. The revolutionists at Petrograd organized themselves into a Maximalist Revolutionary Committee. They first seized the offices of the telegraph and telephone companies and occupied the State Bank and Marie Palace, where the Preliminary Parliament had suspended its sittings in view of the situation.

There had been earlier intimations that the outbreak was threatened; in fact, it had been openly asserted by the Bolshevik leaders late in October that the Kerensky Government had lost the confidence of the real Russian revolutionaries and would be displaced by the Maximalists. Premier Kerensky realized the seri-

ousness of the threat, but took no vigorous steps to frustrate the uprising, probably for fear of precipitating the crisis.

Kerensky's Strange Interview

The Premier issued a statement on Nov. 1 through The Associated Press to all the newspapers of the Entente and Central Powers which produced grave concern over Russian affairs. It conveyed an intimation that he had almost despaired of restoring civil law in the distracted country. In this statement, which proved to be his last official public utterance before his overthrow, he said that Russia was worn out by the long strain, but that it was ridiculous to say the country was out of the war.

The Premier referred to the years in which Russia had fought her campaigns alone, with no such assistance as has been extended to France by Great Britain and now by America. He said he felt that help was needed urgently, and that Russia asked it as her right. The Premier urged that the United States give aid, in the form of money and supplies, and appealed to the world not to lose faith in the Russian revolution.

"Russia has fought consistently since

"the beginning," he said. "She saved France and England from disaster early in the war. She is worn out by the strain and claims as her right that the Allies now shoulder the burden."

The correspondent called attention to the report that Russia was out of the war, and asked the Premier for a frank statement of facts.

"Is Russia out of the war?" Premier Kerensky repeated the words and laughed. "That," he answered, "is a ridiculous question. Russia is taking an enormous part in the war. One has only to remember history. Russia began the war for the Allies. While she was already fighting, England was only preparing and America was only observing. Russia at the beginning bore the whole brunt of the fighting, thereby saving Great Britain and France."

Produces Grave Concern

The statement of the Premier produced grave concern. The authorities at London, Paris, and Washington were disposed to excuse the utterance as a plea for forbearance and sympathy from the Allies. At London, Dr. Pares, Professor of Russian History and head of the School of Russian Studies in the University of Liverpool, said:

The extent of the sacrifices which Russia has already made is not and can not be realized here until the full statistics of Russia's losses are published. I may say that in July, 1915, after only one year of war, I knew on the authority of the Russian War Office that the Russian losses to that date amounted to 3,800,000 men.

Story of the Revolt

The story of the rebellion which resulted in the overthrow of the Provisional Government, plunging the country into civil war and producing a state of chaos in civil and military matters throughout the vast domain, had not been officially narrated up to Nov. 20; the details which appeared from day to day were fragmentary and contradictory. In fact, after Nov. 8, when the first meagre details were given of the seizing of the State Buildings at Petrograd by the Bolsheviks, no further authentic news came out of Russia for ten days, and the rumors that did reach the outside

world through indirect channels were contradictory.

On Nov. 6 the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates demanded the right to control all orders of the General Staff in the Petrograd district, which was refused. Thereupon the committee announced that it had appointed special Commissioners to undertake the direction of the military, and invited the troops to observe only orders signed by the committee. Machine-gun detachments moved to the Workmen's and Soldiers' headquarters.

Premier Kerensky appealed to the Preliminary Parliament for a vote of confidence, and while the measure carried by a bare majority of 123 to 102, twenty-six members abstained from voting, and many refused to attend the sitting. It was thus clear that Kerensky could not rely upon the Parliament.

Rebels Seize Petrograd

The blow fell on Nov. 7. The garrison at Petrograd espoused the cause of the Maximalists, and complete control of the city was seized with comparatively little fighting. The Provisional Government troops holding the bridges over the Neva and various other points were quickly overpowered, save at the Winter Palace, the chief guardians of which were the Women's Battalion. The latter surrendered before the actual battle began, but the military cadets remained true to the Provisional Government and held the palace for several hours. The Bolsheviks brought up armored cars and the cruiser Aurora and turned the guns of the Fort of St. Peter and St. Paul upon the palace before its defenders would surrender.

Prior to the attack the Workmen's and Soldiers' leaders sent the Provisional Government an ultimatum demanding its surrender and allowing twenty minutes' grace. The Government replied indirectly, refusing to recognize the Military Committee.

A Bolshevik Proclamation

That evening the Military Revolutionary Committee issued the following proclamation:

To the Army Committees of the Active Army and to all Councils of Workmen's

and Soldiers' Delegates and to the Garrison and Proletariat of Petrograd:

We have deposed the Government of Kerensky, which rose against the revolution and the people. The change which resulted in the deposition of the Provisional Government was accomplished without bloodshed.

The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates solemnly welcomes the accomplished change and proclaims the authority of the Military Revolutionary Committee until the creation of a Government by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Announcing this to the army at the front, the Revolutionary Committee calls upon the revolutionary soldiers to watch closely the conduct of the men in command. Officers who do not join the accomplished revolution immediately and openly must be arrested at once as enemies.

The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates considers this to be the program of the new authority:

First—The offer of an immediate democratic peace.

Second—The immediate handing over of large proprietorial lands to the peasants.

Third—The transmission of all authority to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Fourth—The honest convocation of a Constitutional Assembly.

The national revolutionary army must not permit uncertain military detachments to leave the front for Petrograd. They should use persuasion, but where this fails they must oppose any such action on the part of these detachments by force without mercy.

The present order must be read immediately to all military detachments in all arms. The suppression of this order from the rank and file by army organizations is equivalent to a great crime against the revolution and will be punished by all the strength of the revolutionary law.

Soldiers! For peace, for bread, for land, and for the power of the people! (Signed)

THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE.

Demands of the Leaders

The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates held a meeting at which M. Trotsky made his declaration that the Government no longer existed; that some of the Ministers had been arrested, and that the preliminary Parliament had been dissolved. He introduced Nikolai Lenine as "an old comrade whom we welcome back."

Lenine, who was received with prolonged cheers, said:

"Now we have a revolution. The 'peasants and workmen control the Government. This is only a preliminary step toward a similar revolution everywhere."

He outlined the three problems now before the Russian democracy. First, immediate conclusion of the war, for which purpose the new Government must propose an armistice to the belligerents; second, the handing over of the land to the peasants; third, settlement of the economic crisis.

The Congress of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of all Russia, which opened Nov. 7, issued the three following proclamations on the 8th:

To All Provincial Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates:

All power lies in the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. Government commissaries are relieved of their functions. Presidents of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates are to communicate direct with the Revolutionary Government. All members of agricultural committees who have been arrested are to be set at liberty immediately and the commissioners who arrested them are in turn to be arrested.

The second proclamation reads as follows:

The death penalty re-established at the front by Premier Kerensky is abolished and complete freedom for political propaganda has been established at the front. All revolutionary soldiers and officers who have been arrested for complicity in so-called political crimes are to be set at liberty immediately.

The third proclamation says:

Former Ministers Konovaloff, Kishkin, Terestchenko, Malyanovitch, Nikitin, and others have been arrested by the Revolutionary Committee.

M. Kerensky has taken flight and all military bodies have been empowered to take all possible measures to arrest Kerensky and bring him back to Petrograd. All complicity with Kerensky will be dealt with as high treason.

When the Die Was Cast

The story of the revolt, as told by a correspondent, states that the Petrograd Soviet held a meeting on the night of Nov. 6, when the political situation had been discussed in the light of Kerensky's threats a few hours earlier in the Demo-

cratic Council. The Bolshevik leaders were still hesitating as to the wisdom of a demonstration. The minority parties apparently took it for granted that an armed demonstration was improbable.

At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 7th unanimity was reached, as a result of a series of reports received from garrison units expressing readiness to accept orders from the Military Revolutionary Committee. It was decided to strike. The Provisional Government forthwith was declared nonexistent.

At 4:30 o'clock the first detachment left the Soviet headquarters and descended upon the Government Bank, in accordance with the plan prepared by the committee. The whole success of the Bolshevik coup turned upon this plan of campaign. The promoters were naturally unwilling to divulge details, but Smolny Institute (Bolshevik headquarters) gossip declared that its authors were three hitherto unheard-of youths, and dwelt lovingly on the completeness of the details. Petrograd awoke on Nov. 7 and went about its normal business, and only toward midday was it realized, except in the centre, that the old Government had been painlessly replaced. Some hundreds of young men of the officers' training corps and the women soldiers formed the sole defense of the Provisional Government. These encircled and garrisoned the Winter Palace, and were themselves surrounded by garrison troops.

The cruiser *Aurora* arrived from Kronstadt and took up a position on the Neva opposite the Winter Palace. In the afternoon the cruiser fired a blank shot as a warning to the palace inmates. This started a slight panic, and a party of sailors landing for pourparlers was fired on, one being killed and one wounded. This apparently was the most serious case of bloodshed on Wednesday.

In the afternoon the Nevsky Prospekt was cleared of traffic, and machine guns and quick-firers were placed at the principal crossings throughout the city. Perfect quiet was maintained.

Another correspondent estimates the casualties among the defenders of the Winter Palace on Nov. 7 at about thirty killed and wounded.

Bolshevik Peace Plan

The Workmen's and Soldiers' Congress at Petrograd passed the following peace resolutions on Nov. 10:

The Government considers a peace to be democratic and equitable, which is aspired to by a majority of the working classes of all the belligerent countries, worn out and ruined by war—the peace which the Russian workmen called for on the fall of the monarchy. It should be an immediate peace, without annexation, (that is to say, without usurpation of foreign territory and without violent conquest of nationalities,) and without indemnities.

The Russian Government proposes to all belligerents to make this peace immediately, declaring themselves ready without delay to carry out all the conditions of this peace through plenipotentiaries of all countries and nations.

By annexation or usurpation of territory the Government means, in accordance with the sense of justice of democracy in general and of the working classes in particular, any annexation to a great and powerful State of a weak nationality without the consent of that nationality and independently of its degree of civilization and its geographical situation in Europe or across the ocean.

If any population be kept by force under the control of any State, and if, contrary to its will, expressed in the press or in national assembly, or to decisions of parties, or in opposition to rebellions and uprisings against an oppressor, the population is refused the right of universal suffrage, of driving out an army of occupation and organizing its own political régime, such a state of things is annexation or violent usurpation. The Government considers that the active carrying on of the war in order to share weak nationalities which have been conquered between rich and powerful nations is a great crime against humanity.

Accordingly, the Government solemnly proclaims its decision to sign peace terms which will bring this war to an end on the conditions mentioned above, which are equitable for all the nationalities.

It suggests an immediate armistice of three months that the representatives of "all the nations in the war or its victims" may participate in the negotiations, and declares that a conference of all the nations of the world should be convoked to give final approval to the peace terms drafted.

The German Kaiser announced Nov. 20 that he would not treat with the Bolshevik Government.

The Bolshevik Cabinet

The following Cabinet was named by the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates on Nov. 9 to serve until the Constituent Assembly should meet:

Premier—NIKOLAI LENINE.

Foreign Minister—LEON TROTSKY.

Minister of the Interior—M. RICKOFF.

Minister of Finance—M. SVORTZOFF.

Minister of Agriculture—M. MILIUTIN.

Minister of Labor—M. SHLIAPNIKOFF.

Committee on War and Marine—M. OVSIANNIKOFF, M. KRYLENKO, and M. BIBENKO.

Minister of Commerce—M. NOGIN.

Minister of Education—M. LUNACHARSKY.

Minister of Justice—M. OPPOKOV.

Minister of Supplies—M. THEODOROVITCH.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—M. AVILOFF.

Minister of Affairs of Nationality (a new post in charge of the affairs of the different nationalities within Russia)—M. DZHUGASHVILI.

Minister of Communications—M. RIAZANOFF.

The Cabinet members are all Bolsheviks, and are supported by the Left and the Social Revolutionist Party, the other parties having withdrawn from the Workmen's and Soldiers' Congress. Bibenko is a Kronstadt sailor, while Shliapnikoff is a laborer.

Lenine, like most of the prominent Russian agitators, had to use an alias in his revolutionary activity. His real name is Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanoff; he was born of a noble family at Simbirsk, on the Volga, about 1870.

Leon Trotsky, the chief coadjutor of Lenine in the rebellion, had been living in New York City three months when the Czar was overthrown, but had previously been expelled from Germany, France, Switzerland, and Spain. The real name of this Maximalist leader is Leber Braunstein, and he was born in a town in the Russian Government of Kherson, near the Black Sea.

Kerensky Defeated

The news following the uprising was conflicting; it was not until Nov. 18 that the real facts were procurable. When the insurrection occurred, Kerensky succeeded in escaping from Petrograd, but the

other members of his Cabinet were arrested, though subsequently released. Kerensky succeeded in persuading about 2,000 Cossacks, several hundred military cadets, and a contingent of artillery to fight under his banner. He advanced toward Petrograd, but his forces were greatly outnumbered by the Bolsheviks. The forces met near Tsarskoe Selo, a few miles beyond Petrograd; here the Kerensky troops met defeat, and the leader was reported to be in flight.

At Moscow, after desultory fighting, the Government troops were defeated and the entire city passed into the control of the Bolsheviks; it was reported that 3,000 persons were slain in the street fighting.

News from all parts of Russia on Nov. 19 indicated that the Kerensky Government had everywhere collapsed. Conditions were chaotic. It was reported that the Bolsheviks had quarreled and several members of the Cabinet had resigned. Ukraine had again declared its independence; the Finnish Socialists had dissolved the sitting Diet and reconvened the previous Socialist Diet, which in turn declared Finland to be an independent republic. It was reported that General Kaledines, the hetman of the Cossacks, had declared against the Bolsheviks, and was organizing an army to save the country. News from the front was disquieting, it being reported that the army was without rations. The whole country was reported to be in revolt, with no central authority. The American Ambassador at Petrograd on the 19th asked for a special train to carry out of the city the 200 Americans there, and the Americans at Moscow were preparing to depart.

The only hope of the distracted country lay in the inability of the revolutionists to fulfil their promises. It was believed that the masses would soon realize the illusory dreams of the radicals, and turn en masse to the moderates, from whose number some strong man would emerge to save the country from complete anarchy and preserve for the nation its new democratic institutions. In many quarters on Nov. 20 it was believed that General Kaledines and the Cossacks might yet save the situation.

United States Army 1,800,000 Strong

FIGURES published in Washington on Nov. 7, 1917, showed that the United States Army was then over 1,800,000 strong, distributed as follows:

National (draft) army.....	616,820
National Guard called into Federal service.....	469,060
Regular army	370,000
Special branches.....	200,000
Reserves	80,000
Officers	80,000

Total1,815,820

The most important step to increase still further and organize on a better basis the fighting forces of the nation was initiated by the War Department's plan to examine by means of a questionnaire and classify the remaining nine million young men registered under the Conscription act, but not yet called for service. President Wilson on Nov. 10 issued as a foreword to the new regulations an appeal for assistance in the work of classification. It read, in part:

The task of selecting and mobilizing the first contingent of the national army is nearing completion. The swiftness with which the machinery for its execution had to be assembled left room for adjustment and improvement. New regulations putting these improvements into effect are, therefore, being published today. There is no change in the essential obligation of men subject to selection. The first draft must stand unaffected by the provisions of the new regulations. They can be given no retroactive effect.

The time has come for a more perfect organization of our man power. The selective principle must be carried to its logical conclusion. We must make a complete inventory of the qualifications of all registrants in order to determine, as to each man not already selected for duty with the colors, the place in the military, industrial or agricultural ranks of the nation of which his experience and training can best be made to serve the common good. This project involves an inquiry by the selection boards into the domestic, industrial, and educational qualifications of nearly 10,000,000 men.

The President fixed sixty days as the period within which the work should be accomplished, and called upon all citizens to help in getting it done quickly and efficiently.

First Two Classes of Registrants

The first two classes from which the 9,000,000 men registered for military duty are to be drawn are as follows:

CLASS I.

(A) Single man without dependent relatives.

(B) Married man, with or without children, or father of motherless children, who has habitually failed to support his family.

(C) Married man dependent on wife for support.

(D) Married man, with or without children, or father of motherless children, man not usefully engaged, family supported by income independent of his labor.

(E) Unskilled farm laborer.

(F) Unskilled industrial laborer. Registrant by or in respect of whom no deferred classification is claimed or made. Registrant who fails to submit questionnaire and in respect of whom no deferred classification is claimed or made.

All registrants not included in any other division in this schedule.

CLASS II.

(A) Married man with children or father of motherless children, where such wife or children or such motherless children are not mainly dependent upon his labor for support for the reason that there are other reasonably certain sources of adequate support, (excluding earnings or possible earnings from the labor of the wife,) available, and that the removal of the registrant will not deprive such dependents of support.

(D) Married man, without children, whose wife, although the registrant is engaged in a useful occupation, is not mainly dependent upon his labor for support for the reason that the wife is skilled in some special class of work which she is physically able to perform and in which she is employed, or in which there is an immediate opening for her under conditions that will enable her to support herself decently and without suffering or hardship.

(C) Necessary skilled farm laborer in necessary agricultural enterprise.

Best available estimates indicated that the first of the five classes would include more than 2,000,000 men subject for duty with the colors before any man in any other class would be called.

The Officers' Training Camps

The Secretary of War on Nov. 13 announced a reversal of the policy he had previously adopted in regard to holding in reserve the officers graduated from training camps. When Secretary Baker first notified the Adjutant General that only officers would be assigned to active duty where vacancies existed, it was estimated that fully 8,000, or half of the number expected to be commissioned in the camps, would be placed on the reserve list. There were so many vigorous protests against this plan that Secretary Baker decided to revert to the original plan of the Army General Staff and officers in charge of training camps.

There were about 19,000 students in the second series of officers' training camps, which closed on Nov. 27. The opening of the third series was fixed for Jan. 5, 1918.

To balance the divisions of the national army and National Guard and meet the special requirements of the expeditionary forces in France, the Engineer Corps has been expanded since March 1 from 2,100 men to 95,000 men. There are now 408 officers on active duty and more than 5,000 reserve officers, compared with 256

officers eight months ago, and an additional 1,200 reserve officers about to graduate. The active force now includes nine railroad regiments and one forestry regiment as part of the national army, while seventeen pioneer regiments authorized with the national army are in process of formation. Additional National Guard units, equivalent to about seven regiments, have been called into the Federal service and their reorganization into seventeen pioneer engineer regiments for the seventeen divisions of the National Guard troops is well under way. Organizing of troops for special service, such as lumber supply, road construction, camouflage service, gas and flame work, mining work, mapping, &c., also has been undertaken by the engineers.

Major Gen. John Biddle, it was announced on Oct. 28, had been appointed Assistant Chief of the Army General Staff. General Biddle was formerly President of the War College, and is one of the ablest engineers in the army. The General is a native of Michigan, and was born Feb. 2, 1859. During the Spanish-American war he served as Lieutenant Colonel, Chief of Engineers.

The Spirit of the National Army Camps

Christopher Morley, writing to THE NEW YORK TIMES under date of Oct. 24, 1917, gave this stirring description of a typical training camp:

LAST night two other civilians and I watched the 311th Regiment of Infantry at Camp Dix, (Wrightstown, N. J.,) pass in review before its Colonel. In the cool, sober twilight of Autumn, the ranks of khaki blended magically into the dun background of woodland and corn stubble. The regimental band, organized less than two weeks ago, played "The Star-Spangled Banner" in a way that brought our heels together. Any man watching those long lines of men who a month or so ago were professors, barbers, plumbers, and clerks realizes the marvelous combination of discipline, understanding, and clear business sense

that is behind the national army. No man calls it the draft army after seeing the men in action. These men are becoming volunteers in the full sense of the word.

Through three rich, splendid October days I wandered about Camp Dix, in an ever-increasing wonder, humility, and admiration. Here is taking place something so marvelous, so portentous for our nation, so vast a democratic experiment, that one watches it with a tingle of consecration. Every little squad, learning the manual of arms, seems to be touched with a vivid, splendid light, when one thinks of the royal purpose and cause that have brought these men together.

I speak in full knowledge of the sadness of broken human ties that lies behind the eyes of every conscripted man.

I do not forget the mistakes that have been made—men with several dependents taken from home in an agony of apprehension about their families. Thousands of these men are ignorant, unlettered, asking no more of life than bread and butter; great causes and the shock of democracy and autocracy have no meaning to them. Hundreds know no word of English. But so marvelous is the spirit of the camp, so quickly do the men outgrow their homesickness and sense of strangeness, that after two or three weeks most of them would not go home if they could.

A visit to one of the cantonments is unforgettable. The greatness of this superb effort to raise an army that will be truly national—drawn from every rank of the nation, every man playing the part for which he is best fitted—floods the heart with fire and pride. These molten pools of manhood have been poured into the crucible. The dross is being purged, the hardening metal tempered and welded. The finished weapon will be terrible in edge and onset. I think it will be the finest army the world has ever seen, because it is a true cross-section of a nation. To witness a national soul coming to birth in these men makes one a better citizen. There is no sight in America today that can compare with it. If only excursion trains for pacifists could be sent to all the camps!

I speak only of Camp Dix, the only cantonment I have seen, but I doubt not the others are the same. At Camp Dix I have talked to men ranging from the General in command down to the humblest and most homesick private. I have messed with the privates, with quartermaster officers, and at the beautiful old farmhouse occupied by the staff officers. Throughout all ranks the spirit is the same. These men are out to do a big job, in no spirit of heroics or swank, but soberly, advisedly, with intent to see it through. I thought down there of the French title of "Mr. Britling," which is "M. Britling commence a voir clair." We may well begin to see clearly when our army chiefs tackle the business in hand in such splendid fashion as is evi-

denced at Camp Dix. We may have been slow in starting, but, under heaven! we are building this army in the right way.

Typical of the whole cantonment was an experience I had while walking with one of the staff Captains, who was showing me round. A mile or so from one end of the camp I heard wild strains of music issuing from a clump of woods. I asked what this meant. He took me over and showed me the school for buglers, where a dozen men, under a Sergeant of the regular army, were learning their notes. Not one of them had had a bugle in his hand more than a week. They were allowed only two hours a day for practice, but the Sergeant assured us that he was very proud of their progress. As we walked away they burst gallantly into the mess call—their favorite melody, and the one they play best!

In that spirit the national army is going about its task. Men who a month ago had no conception of citizenship, no pride of country, and even only a smattering of English, now show a fine and mettlesome temper that is perfectly astounding. The singing initiated by the Y. M. C. A. is a potent factor in arousing this lusty esprit du corps. One of the first and finest things done by the association at Camp Dix was to start the men singing, under Stanley Hawkins, who is a genius at song leadership. Nothing sticks so thrillingly in the memory as the sound of those hundreds of voices roaring their favorite choruses. If you could hear them sing, you would know that all is well with the national army. Here is one of their new favorites:

Good-bye, Maw! Good-bye, Paw!
Good-bye, mule, with yer old hee-haw!
I may not know what this war's about,
But you bet, by gosh, I'll soon find out;
And O my sweetheart, don't you fear,
I'll bring you a King fer a souvenir:
I'll bring you a Turk and a Kaiser, too.
An' that's about all one feller can do!

No comment on the cantonments would be complete without some mention of the superb work the Y. M. C. A. is doing for the men. There are sixty-four Y. M. C. A. men at Camp Dix, serving the soldiers in every possible way; there are nine big buildings, each intended to serve 5,000 soldiers; also a headquarters build-

GENERAL J. C. SMUTS



South African Statesman and Soldier, Who Has Become a Leading
Military Authority in England.

LEADERS IN BRITISH WAR ACTIVITIES



LORD READING

Lord Chief Justice of England and
Financial Adviser to the British
Mission in America.

(© Harris & Ewing.)



GEORGE N. BARNES

Labor Leader and Member of the
British War Cabinet.



GEN. SIR H. C. O. PLUMER

Commander of the Second British
Army on the Western Front.

(Photo Bain News Service.)



COLONEL E. D. SWINTON

The British Officer Who Is Generally
Recognized as the Inventor
of the "Tank."

(© Harris & Ewing.)

ing, an auditorium seating 3,000, and a clubroom for officers. In these buildings the men can read, write letters home, (the Y. M. C. A. gives away 1,000,000 sheets of note paper every month at Camp Dix,) buy stamps and postal cards, hear music, join classes in English and French, Bible classes, and enjoy some kind of healthy entertainment every night. There is no finer sight in America than one of those Y. M. C. A. buildings packed with these new nephews of Uncle Sam.

Imagine a long room built of fresh, clean timbers; lit by electric light, a high platform at one end, flags of all the Allies hanging from the rafters. The benches are crowded with men; over 500

in the room altogether. Perhaps it is movie night; into the vivid bar of light thrown by the machine curls the strong, warm reek of hundreds of pipes and cigarettes. And as the film runs to an end the lights flash on, some one sits down at the piano, and the men thunder the chorus of one of their best chansons:

Old Uncle Sammy, he needs the infantree.
He needs artilleree, he needs the cavalree.
When he gets them, we'll all go to
Germany.

God help Kaiser Bill!

From the bottom of my heart, I beg every man and woman who can do so to visit one of the cantonments. One comes away twenty times enriched in citizenship, in patriotism, in understanding of what this great Republic means.

The United States as Shipowner

THE commandeering by the United States Shipping Board of all steamers of more than 2,500 tons was effected on Oct. 15. The approximate number of vessels affected was 500, aggregating about 2,000,000 tons. Bainbridge Colby, the member of the Shipping Board who was in charge of putting the new system into operation, said that the requisitioning would not make any material difference in the present movement of ships. He added:

We are turning the ships back to the owners to operate them on Government account, under the same system as in England. We will not disturb them until there is a concrete case of need. Our purpose is to unify the control of all these ships available for ocean traffic. We have fixed a requisition rate, based on a fair appraisal, which replaces the speculative, hectic bidding for tonnage under the old private charters. The rates are considerably under the prevalent high rates.

Edward F. Carry of Chicago became the Shipping Board's director of operations for the purpose of unifying the control of ocean traffic.

Tremendous efforts have been made to speed up the Government's shipbuilding program, so as to complete the million tons fixed to be ready by March 1, 1918. The Shipping Board has initiated plans to get twenty-four hours of service a day

out of all shipyards in place of the single eight-hour shift, or to get at least two shifts. The main difficulty has been to secure enough labor, both skilled and unskilled, to supply all the shipyards. More than 300,000 additional workers were reported on Oct. 26 as necessary for the construction of tonnage needed at once. At that date the steel shipbuilding program was reported to be twenty vessels behind schedule.

Contract for Seventy Ships

The largest single order placed by the Emergency Fleet Corporation was announced on Nov. 4. This was the contract for seventy 8,000-ton vessels, to be built within twelve months, at a cost of \$100,000,000, which was awarded to the American International Corporation, operating the great Government fabricating yard at Hog Island, on the Delaware River, in close association with the American Bridge Company. The American International Corporation previously had a contract for fifty 7,500-ton vessels at a cost of \$50,000,000.

Further reorganization of the Emergency Fleet Corporation went into effect on Nov. 12 as part of the effort to produce 6,000,000 tons of ships by the end of 1918. One of the most important

changes put Charles A. Piez, a Chicago engineer, recently elected Vice President of the Fleet Corporation, in charge of the actual construction of the vessels, and placed in his hands the many problems confronted in obtaining materials and a more complete spirit of co-operation with the builders. Mr. Piez took over a good deal of the work hitherto done by Rear Admiral Capps, General Manager of the corporation, who still remained the chief executive officer. James Heyworth of Chicago, one of the large contractors of the country, was chosen to specialize on the work of building wooden ships, contracts for 310 of which have been let. He replaced Rear Admiral F. T. Bowles, retired. Judge John Barton Payne was appointed head of the legal department of the corporation.

Irving T. Bush, founder and head of the Bush Terminal Company of New York, on Nov. 5 accepted the position of chief executive officer of the New York Port War Board, created to mobilize every facility of both the New York and New Jersey sides of the port in the interest of war maritime efficiency. The New York Port War Board was created in a conference held in New York City on Nov. 3, which was attended by Secretary Baker and Generals Baker, Shanks, and Abbott.

Ships from Neutral Nations

The shipping resources of the Allies received a valuable addition by the agreement, announced on Nov. 13, under which the United States secured over 400,000 tons of ships belonging to the Northern European neutral nations and Japan. The European neutrals finally agreed to turn over to the United States and the

Allies ships in exchange for foodstuffs that only America could supply. Japan was asked to sell to the United States a large amount of tonnage in the Pacific in exchange for steel ship plates which the Japanese were anxious to obtain to complete their merchant shipbuilding program. Many of the ships acquired from neutrals were assigned to routes between American ports and South America, each releasing an American or British vessel for service through the war zone.

In its negotiations the United States dealt in a different manner with each, Norway, Sweden, Holland, and Denmark. A large part of the Norwegian merchant marine, most of which is owned in Great Britain, already is in the allied service. The Dutch insisted that none of their vessels be put into service that would take them through the war zone. Most of the Dutch ships turned over were assigned to transport to the United States wheat from Argentina and Australia and sugar from Java.

These agreements helped to ease the situation created by the determination of the United States to embargo any and all supplies which might be sent through neutral countries into Germany. The War Trade Board, exercising the powers granted to it under the Trading with the Enemy act, ended Germany's last hope of drawing, through indirect channels, on American resources by issuing on Oct. 15 its form of agreement, which all shippers must sign.

The first export license was issued to Captain Raoul Amundsen, the explorer, for foodstuffs, fuel, and oil needed for his expedition to the north pole.

Food Control and Lower Prices

THE Food Administration, headed by Herbert C. Hoover, has further extended the area of its control during the last month. A slight downward tendency in food prices is said to be in part due to the closer grip which the Food Administration is getting on producers and distributors

President Wilson and Mr. Hoover on Nov. 1 officially approved rules and regulations governing licenses under Presidential proclamations affecting dealers and handlers of twenty staple food commodities. Retailers doing a gross business of more than \$100,000 annually must take out licenses, as well as all whole-

salers, manufacturers, and other distributors of the foodstuffs specified in the President's proclamations. More than 40,000 applications had already been received on Nov. 1.

Beginning Nov. 3, all direct trading of American millers, exporters, and blenders of flour with European countries was prohibited, according to an announcement made at the offices of the United States Food Administration's Milling Division in New York City. The business was taken over by the Food Administration. The change was considered necessary to control and centralize the exports of flour to neutral countries in Europe, and also to regulate the quantities of flour forwarded to these countries, so as to provide for the minimum quantity of that actually required.

President Wilson's proclamation putting the baking industry under license was made public on Nov. 12, and steps were taken by the Food Administration to organize machinery for the enforcement of the regulations. All bakeries, consuming ten barrels of flour or more a month, are brought under these regulations, and are requested to apply for information so that they may adjust plants to the use of the standard weights and formula adopted for "war bread." The proclamation covers the baking of cake, crackers, biscuits, pastry, and other products, and applies not only to bakers but also to hotels, restaurants, and clubs where bread or other products of their own baking are served. Heads of households who do home baking are called upon by the Food Administration to watch carefully the formulas and other

instructions issued from time to time and co-operate voluntarily.

The first article in which the American people experienced a shortage was sugar. Mr. Hoover appealed again on Oct. 19 for a reduced consumption of sugar, so that France and other allied countries might not suffer more severely. The present shortage, he said, was brought about by the great increase in exports over normal times. The widespread publicity given to the temporary shortage of sugar started a rush on the retail grocery stores in New York and other Eastern States. Unscrupulous dealers seized the opportunity to raise prices, in some cases to 20 cents a pound, although the wholesale price of refined granulated sugar was being held at just under 8½ cents a pound. The retail price had been planned to remain at about 9½ cents. Mr. Hoover dealt with the situation by arranging to obtain 200,000,000 pounds of raw sugar from Louisiana producers. This transaction involved \$13,000,000.

One family out of every three in the United States had already pledged support to the Food Administration's plan for voluntary food conservation, according to reports received up to Nov. 6, showing that the total enrollment for the country was 7,406,544. More than 90 per cent. of the country's better class hotels had signed pledges and the others were coming into line. Although the movement for a meatless Tuesday and a wheatless Wednesday was not started until late in September, it had been generally accepted by public eating houses everywhere.

The Second Liberty Loan

SUBSCRIPTIONS for the 4 per cent. bonds of the Second Liberty Loan closed on Oct. 27, 1917, and amounted to \$4,617,532,300, or 54 per cent. more than the amount asked. The bonds ultimately allotted to subscribers totaled \$3,808,766,150, or \$808,766,150 above the amount sought. The number of subscribers had never been equaled in history,

the total being 9,400,000. The subscriptions less than \$50,000 were distributed among 9,306,000 persons. The largest individual subscription was \$50,000,000, made by the Du Pont Powder Company of Wilmington, Del. The subscriptions ranging from \$50 to \$50,000 aggregated \$2,488,469,350.

The First Liberty Loan subscriptions

had totaled \$3,035,000,000, an oversubscription of practically 50 per cent., with more than 4,000,000 subscribers

The second loan campaign was conducted with great earnestness and brought forth many spectacular demonstrations throughout the country. Parades, mass meetings, curbstome assemblies, and similar gatherings were the distinguishing features, and the personal canvasses by all financial and civic agencies were animated, earnest, and well nigh universal. The Government expressed deep satisfaction over the success of the loan.

Every Federal Reserve district in the country took its full quota, proving that the response was national. The total subscriptions in New York City were \$1,550,453,450.

Other Financial Matters

Up to Nov. 8 the official credits and advances by the United States to the Allies were as follows:

	Credits.	Advances.
Great Britain...	\$1,860,000,000	\$1,475,000,000
France	1,130,000,000	850,000,000
Russia	450,000,000	191,400,000
Italy	500,000,000	265,000,000
Belgium	58,400,000	54,500,000
Serbia	3,000,000	3,000,000
Total	\$4,001,400,000	\$2,838,900,000

The expenditures by the United States Government in October exceeded \$1,000,000,000, of which \$470,200,000 went to the Allies, \$133,934,862 for redemption of loan certificates, \$395,296,200 for the Army and Navy Shipping Board, aircraft, Food Administration, and maintenance of the ordinary Governmental activities.

The daily expenditures of the British Government in the three months ended Sept. 22 were \$32,070,000. The House of Commons on Oct. 30 voted \$2,000,000,000 new credit, bringing the total British loans for 1917 to \$9,500,000,000 and the total since the beginning of the war to \$28,460,000,000.

The British Chancellor stated on Oct. 30 that the German Reichstag had voted a total credit since the war started of \$23,500,000,000, but this did not include advances to Germany's allies nor the expenditure for separation allowances, both of which are included in great Britain's total, and which in Germany reached \$6,630,000,000; hence the actual expenditures of Great Britain since the war began, according to the Chancellor, were \$8,500,000,000 less than Germany's.

Petrograd announced Nov. 1 a subscription of \$2,000,000,000 to Russia's second liberty loan.

Gibraltar Offered to Spain by Germany

Count Romanones, former Premier of Spain, made the following statement in an interview granted to the Madrid correspondent of the Roma Tribuna early in September, 1917:

It has been said that a victory of the Central Empires would give Spain great advantages and would enable her after the conclusion of the war to become one of the great powers of Europe. Why should I conceal from you the fact that this tempting mirage has been skillfully and insistently displayed before the eyes of the Spanish people? Morocco, Gibraltar, and Portugal were the gifts which were offered to Spain.

No. Let us leave similar reasonings to the deluded and to those who cannot see that the present immense conflict will end in the triumph of the peoples which stand for social and political liberty.

U-Boat Sinkings of the Month

Decrease in Merchant Marine Losses—First American Naval Vessels Torpedoed by the Enemy

A STEADY decrease in the number of British ships sunk by submarines suggests that the German U-boat campaign has passed the zenith of its success. The latest British Admiralty records show the following losses:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fish'g Ves- sels.
Week ended Oct. 21, 1917..	17	8	0
Week ended Oct. 28.....	14	4	0
Week ended Nov. 4.....	8	4	0
Week ended Nov. 11.....	1	5	1
	—	—	—
Total for four weeks...	40	21	1
	—	—	—
Total previous four weeks.	50	12	6

During the same four weeks French losses were five steamers of over 1,600 tons and three under 1,600 tons; while Italian losses were five over 1,600 tons, four under 1,600 tons, and five sailing vessels. During the month of October nineteen Norwegian vessels, aggregating 34,577 tons, and forty-eight Norwegian seamen were lost.

According to statistics published by the Danish Ministry of Commerce, the Danish merchant fleet during 1916 lost forty-six steamers, of which thirty-eight were destroyed through war accidents, and twenty-eight sailing vessels under 200 tons were lost, of which nineteen were lost through war accidents. German U-boats destroyed twenty-seven steamers and Austrian submarines four steamers. In 1915 the losses were only twelve steamers, representing a value of six million crowns, (\$1,608,000.)

Statement by Sir Eric Geddes

A comprehensive review of the submarine situation was made on Nov. 1 by Sir Eric Geddes, the new First Lord of the Admiralty, in his maiden speech as a member of the House of Commons. He said:

I have studied from a variety of sources the statements made from time to time by

the enemy as to tonnage and position, and have come to the definite conclusion that not only does he not know what is being sunk, but that he would like very much, indeed, to know what is being sunk regularly month by month or week by week, or even exactly for a period.

However great the loss of mercantile tonnage is, we cannot at this stage of the war pick any one item to deduce therefrom that the war, even any phase of the war, is going well or badly.

The general situation regarding submarine warfare can best be demonstrated by the following figures: Since the beginning of the war between 40 and 50 per cent. of the German submarines operating in the North Sea, the Atlantic, and the Arctic Ocean have been sunk. During the last quarter the enemy has lost as many submarines as during the whole of 1916.

As regards the sinkings of British merchant tonnage by submarines, the German official figures for August are 808,000 tons of all nationalities. They sank a little more than half of that for all nationalities.

For September their official figures are 679,000 tons. They sank far less than one-third of that amount of British tonnage, and less than one-third of that amount of all nationalities.

The number of German submarines which do not return is increasing. Since April, the highest month for British losses, they have steadily decreased, and latterly to a marked degree. September was the most satisfactory month; October was only slightly worse, and better by 30 per cent. than any other month since unrestricted submarine warfare began. The net reduction in tonnage in the last four months is 30 per cent. less than anticipated in the estimate prepared for the Cabinet early in July.

The total net reduction since the beginning of the war from all causes in British tonnage on the official register in ships over 1,600 tons is under 2,500,000 of tons gross, or 14 per cent.

Summarized, the submarine warfare amounts to this: Our defensive measures have during the last seven months proved so efficacious that in spite of the increased number of ships which are passing through the danger zone, there has been steady reduction in the damage done by the enemy submarines. In the meantime



UNITED STATES PATROL SHIP *ALCEDO*, SUNK BY A GERMAN SUBMARINE, WITH LOSS OF TWENTY-ONE LIVES

we are sinking enemy submarines to an increasing extent. Our offensive measures are improving and will still more improve and multiply.

But, on the other hand, the Germans are building submarines faster than they have hitherto done, and they have not yet attained their maximum strength. It appears to me, therefore, that the submarine warfare, as elsewhere, is becoming a test of determination and ingenuity between the two contending forces.

At the outbreak of the war Germany possessed over 5,000,000 tons shipping. Today nearly half of it has been sunk or is in the hands of ourselves or our allies. She has a 50 per cent. reduction to our 14 per cent.

It had been asked, Geddes proceeded, whether Great Britain was building merchant tonnage at a sufficient rate to replace the sinkings. In reply he said that the new national yards now being built would be ready in six months, and continued:

The output of merchant tonnage for the first nine months of 1917 is 123 per cent. higher than the total output for the whole of 1915. Standard vessels have been ordered representing nearly 1,000,000 gross tons. More than half of these are under construction.

According to the First Lord there were now 235 large drydocks in the British Isles where merchantmen could be repaired.

The German Admiralty issued a reply

to Geddes's speech, asserting that he had omitted Mediterranean sinkings and that his figures were in net tonnage while those of the German Government were in gross tonnage; but the British Admiralty contradicted both assertions and supported the statement as above recorded.

The First Lord of the Admiralty had occasion again on Nov. 16 to speak on submarine sinkings before the House of Commons. He said that the favorable figures of the week should not be taken as indicating the end of the submarine menace. He reminded his hearers that the Germans were still building U-boats faster than the Allies were destroying them, and that mercantile marine tonnage was not being maintained. He added that economy in everything which was seaborne continued to be of vital importance, and that all work which could be diverted from other fields to the shipyards would have a direct bearing on the winning of the war.

Sinking of the Antilles

During the month several American vessels have been lost. The steamer *Antilles*, an army transport, was torpedoed on Oct. 17 while returning to America and under convoy of American patrol vessels. Out of about 237 on board 167 persons were saved. These

included all the army and navy officers. The 70 missing men included army and navy enlisted men, three engineer officers of the ship, and merchant seamen. The Antilles was a merchant vessel of the Southern Pacific Line hailing from Philadelphia, which had been taken over by the navy and fitted out especially for army transport service. She carried a naval armed guard on board. The disaster—the first of the kind since the American Government began its enormous task of shipping its army of more than a million men to France—marks the heaviest toll of American lives taken in submarine warfare since the destruction of the Lusitania. Not only was the Antilles the first American army transport to be lost in the present war, but so far as official records have been disclosed she is the first vessel convoyed by American patrol ships that has been lost.

Attack on the Cassin

The United States destroyer Cassin (Commander Walter H. Vernou) had a narrow escape from destruction in an encounter with a German submarine in the war zone on Oct. 16. While the vessel was on her patrol station a submarine was sighted on the surface about five miles distant. The Cassin immediately proceeded at full speed toward the submarine. She searched the area for about thirty minutes, when Commander Vernou sighted a torpedo running at high speed near the surface about 400 yards away, headed to strike the Cassin amidships. He rang for emergency full speed ahead on both engines, put the rudder hard over, and was just clear of the torpedo's course when it broached on the surface, turned sharply toward the vessel, and struck the stern of the Cassin. Fortunately only one engine was disabled, thereby permitting the destroyer to re-

main under way, circling in search of the submarine. After about an hour the submarine exposed its conning tower long enough for the Cassin to fire four shots. The Cassin continued the search until dark, when, having been joined by other British and American patrol vessels, she was taken safely into port.

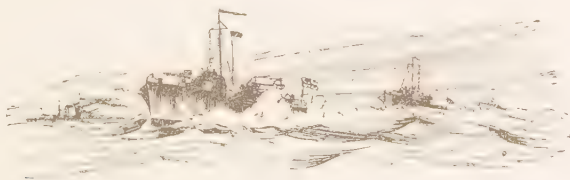
The Navy Department announced on Nov. 1 that the transport Finland, 12,806 tons, had been torpedoed while returning from foreign water, but that the damage to the ship was so slight that she returned to port under her own steam. Like the Antilles the Finland was under escort of naval convoy, and in each instance no sign of torpedo or submarine was seen. Three naval gunners, four merchant seamen, and two enlisted army men lost their lives.

The Alcedo and Others

The Alcedo, a patrol boat, was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine early in the morning of Nov. 5, with the loss of one officer and twenty men. Before the war the Alcedo was a steam yacht belonging to George W. C. Drexel of Philadelphia. This was the first American fighting ship to go down since the war began.

On Oct. 30 the picket boat of the U. S. S. Michigan foundered. Apparently, the Navy Department announcement said, the entire crew were lost. The finding of the bodies of three of the crew and the failure to find any other trace of the boat or its occupants led the department to believe that all were drowned.

The American steamer Rochester, 2,551 tons, was torpedoed and sunk on Nov. 2. Seventeen men lost their lives, including six enlisted men of the navy who were serving as armed guards. The survivors endured terrible hardships for many days before they reached land.



The Supreme War Council

A Step Toward Allied Unity, and the Storm
Raised by Mr. Lloyd George's Explanation

A CONFERENCE of the Premiers of Italy, France, and Great Britain, with their Chiefs of Staff, held at Rapallo, near Genoa, on Nov. 9, 1917, resulted in the creation of an inter-allied strategic board—to be known as the Supreme War Council—for the more efficient co-ordination of the Entente military energies and a more vigorous prosecution of the war along definite and unified lines. The following were in attendance: The British Premier, David Lloyd George; the French Premier, Paul Painlevé; the Italian Premier, Vittorio Orlando; Lieut. Gen. Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial Staff at British Army headquarters; Major Gen. Sir Henry Hughes Wilson; General Smuts, formerly the British Commander in South Africa; the Italian Foreign Minister, Baron Sonnino; the French Minister of Missions Abroad, Henry Franklin-Bouillon; General Foch, Chief of Staff of the French War Ministry, and their staffs.

The first act of the Supreme War Council was to create an Interallied General Staff consisting of General Cadorna, representing Italy; General Foch, Chief of Staff of the French Ministry, and General Wilson, sub-chief of the British General Staff. General Cadorna relinquished his place at the head of the Italian forces and accepted this position. He was replaced as Commander in Chief of the Italian armies by General Armando Diaz, with Général Badoglio as second in command and General Giardino third.

Text of the Agreement

The agreement of the three powers is as follows:

First.—With a view to better co-ordination of the military action on the western front, a Supreme War Council is composed of the Prime Minister and a member of the Government of each of the great powers whose armies are fighting on that front, the extension of the scope of the council to other fronts to be re-

served for discussion with the other great powers.

Second.—The Supreme War Council has for its mission to watch over the general conduct of the war. It prepares recommendations for the consideration of the Governments and keeps itself informed of their execution and reports thereon to the respective Governments.

Third.—The General Staff and military commands of the armies of each power charged with the conduct of the military operations remain responsible to their respective Governments.

Fourth.—General war plans drawn by competent military authorities are submitted to the Supreme War Council, which under high authority of Government insures its concordance and submits, if need be, any necessary changes.

Fifth.—Each power delegates to the Supreme War Council one permanent military representative, whose exclusive function is to act as technical adviser to the council.

Sixth.—Military representatives receive from the Government and the competent military authorities of their country all proposals, information, and documents relating to the conduct of the war.

Seventh.—The military representatives watch day by day the situation of the forces and the means of all kinds of which the Allies and enemy armies dispose.

Eighth.—The Supreme War Council meets normally at Versailles, where the permanent military representatives and staffs are established. They may meet at other places according to circumstances. Meetings of the Supreme War Council take place at least once a month.

Blunders of the Entente

In an address at a luncheon given in Paris on Nov. 12 by Premier Painlevé, David Lloyd George discussed the plan—now known as the Rapallo plan—for centralized direction of allied activities against the enemy. In this speech he made a number of frank avowals which created a profound stir. He said in part:

Unfortunately we did not have time to consult the United States or Russia before creating this council. The Italian disaster necessitated action without delay to repair it. This made it indispensable to

commence right now with the powers whose forces may be employed on the Italian front. But, in order to assure the complete success of this great experiment, which I believe is essential to the victory of our cause, it will be necessary that all our great allies be represented in the deliberations. I am persuaded that we shall obtain the consent of these two great countries and their co-operation in the work of the interallied council.

Mr. Lloyd George talked of the reasons for not taking the step earlier. He referred to "timidities and susceptibilities" when it came to treating questions on any front not commanded by Generals taking part in the interallied consultations. The Allies had committed a great fault, he said, in not assisting Serbia adequately in holding her line. The result was that the Central Empires broke the blockade and procured men and supplies from the east, without which Germany would have been unable to maintain the force of her armies. He continued:

Why was this unbelievable fault committed? The reply is simple. It was because no one in particular was charged with guarding the Balkan gate. The united front had not become a reality. France and England were absorbed by other problems in other regions. Italy thought only of the Carso. Russia was mounting guard over a frontier of a thousand miles, and, even without that, she could not have passed through to have helped Serbia, because Rumania was neutral.

It is true that we sent troops to Saloniki to succor Serbia, but, as always, they were sent too late. Half the men who fell in the vain effort to pierce the western front in September that same year would have saved Serbia, saved the Balkans, and completed the blockade of Germany.

You may say this is an old story. I grant you that it was simply the first chapter of a series that has continued to the present hour; 1915 was the year of the Serbian tragedy; 1916 was the year of the Rumanian tragedy, which was a repetition of the Serbian story almost without change. This is unbelievable, when you think of the consequences to the Allies' cause of the Rumanian defeat. Opulent wheatfields and rich petroleum wells passed to the enemy and Germany was able to escape us.

Through the harvest of 1917 the siege of the Central Powers was raised once more, and the horrible war was once more

prolonged. That would not have happened had there existed some central authority, charged with meditating upon the problem of the war for the entire theatre of the war.

"A War Condemned to Disaster"

After reviewing the Italian campaign the Premier said:

As far as I am concerned, I had arrived at the conclusion that if nothing was changed I could no longer accept the responsibility for the direction of a war condemned to disaster from lack of unity. Italy's misfortune may still save the alliance, because without it I do not think that even today we would have created a veritable superior council.

National and professional traditions, questions of prestige and susceptibilities, all conspired to render our best decisions vain. No one in particular bore the blame. The guilt was in the natural difficulty of obtaining of so many nations, of so many independent organizations, that they should amalgamate all their individual particularities to act together as if they were but one people.

Mr. Lloyd George said later:

I have spoken today with a frankness that is perhaps brutal—at the risk of being ill-understood here and elsewhere, and not, perhaps, without risk of giving a temporary encouragement to the enemy; but now that we have established this council it is for us to see that the unity it represents be a fact and not an appearance.

The war has been prolonged by particularism. It will be shortened by solidarity. If the effort to organize our united action becomes a reality, I have no doubt as to the issue of the war. The weight of men and material and of moral factors in every sense of the word is on our side. I say it, no matter what may happen to Russia, or in Russia. A revolutionary Russia can never be anything but a menace to Hohenzollernism.

But even if we are obliged to despair of Russia, my faith in the final triumph of the cause of the Allies remains unshakable.

French Premier's Indorsement

Premier Painlevé, in his speech at the luncheon, remarked:

A single front, a single army, a single nation—that is the program requisite for future victory. If after forty months of war, after all the lessons the war has taught us, the Allies were not capable of that sacred international union, then, in spite of their sacrifices, they would not be worthy of victory.

In discussing the manner of accomplishment of this fusion, M. Painlevé said:

The enemies' alliance realized unity of effort by brutal discipline, one of the peoples among them having mastered the others and rendered them serviceable. But we are free peoples. We do not admit of subjection to other peoples in time of war. That independence is at the same time a source of strength and weakness—of strength because there is a capacity for resistance which is unknown to subject peoples, and of weakness because it renders more difficult co-ordination of military operations. To reconcile this independence with the need for unity of direction which is required to achieve an efficacious war policy will be the work of the Interallied War-Committee and of the Superior War Council just created by the Allies.

Strong Opposition Rises

The creation of the Supreme War Council and the reasons so bluntly expressed by the British Premier aroused a storm of opposition in England on the presumption by the critics that it was a movement to bring the commanders in the field under political control.

Premier Lloyd George, in the House of Commons on Nov. 14, further elucidated the plan in reply to questions by former Premier Asquith. The Premier, after reading the text of the agreement to the House, said:

From the foregoing it will be clear that the council will have no executive power, and that final decisions in the matter of strategy and the distribution and movements of the various armies in the field will rest with the several Governments of the Allies; there will therefore be no operations department attached to the council. The permanent military representatives will derive from the existing intelligence departments of the Allies all information necessary in order to enable them to submit advice to the Supreme Allied Council.

The object of the Allies has been to set up a central body charged with the duty of continuously surveying the field of operations as a whole by the light of information derived from all the fronts and from all the Governments and staffs, and of co-ordinating the plans prepared by the different General Staffs, and, if necessary, of making proposals of their own for the better conduct of the war.

A political storm raged over the matter for several days in England, the chief criticism being that there was

danger of the military chiefs being subordinated to political control. It was soon officially announced that the United States authorities approved of the Rapallo plan.

New Italian Army Leaders

General Armando Diaz, General Cadorna's successor as Commander in Chief of the Italian Armies, is a Neapolitan, 56 years of age. He was educated in the military college at Naples and in the celebrated military academy at Turin. He laid the foundation of his reputation in the Abyssinian campaign, and built it up during the Libyan war, in which he was wounded, and the plan of campaign of which was largely of his own devising. He was promoted to the command of the Twenty-third Army Corps on the Isonzo, after brilliant successes achieved in his leadership of a division operating on the Carso.

General Badoglio, who, with General Giardino, former Minister of War, succeeds General Porro in the sub-chief-taincy, is a native of Piedmont and is 40 years of age. He also won distinction in Italy's campaign in Africa. In his rapid course through all the grades of the military hierarchy he received no fewer than three promotions for merit in actual warfare. General Foch, who is the dominant figure of the Interallied General Staff, is a hero of the battle of the Marne, is 66 years old, and was detached from active service last April, to be made French Chief of Staff. He has enjoyed a brilliant reputation as one of the foremost strategists in the French Army. He spent his early years in Metz. After the Franco-Prussian war he went to Paris and devoted himself to preparing for the next war with Germany, which he confidently believed was inevitable.

During the battle of the Marne, General Foch held the centre of the French line with 120,000 men and was opposed by 200,000 Germans, including the famous Prussian Guards. Both his wings were driven back, and then Foch launched a terrific attack against the German centre, which was successful and forced the whole German line into a general retreat.

Colonel House's Mission to the Allies

AMERICAN Commissioners to consult with the Allies arrived at London Nov. 7, 1917. Neither the appointment nor the departure of the commission had been disclosed until its arrival was announced. Colonel E. M. House of New York, a personal friend of President Wilson, is the Chairman; the other members are Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations; General Bliss, Chief of the General Staff; a representative of the Treasury in the person of Assistant Secretary Crosby; Vance C. McCormick, Chairman of the War Trade Board; Bainbridge Colby of the Shipping Board, Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor of the Food Administration, and Thomas Nelson Perkins, representing the Priority Board.

Secretary of State Lansing's announcement of the creation of the commission, published on the day of its arrival at London, stated that the object of the conferences which the envoys were to hold was "a more complete co-ordination of the activities of the various nations engaged in the conflict and a more comprehensive understanding of their respective needs, in order that the joint efforts of the cobelligerents may attain the highest war efficiency." He continued:

While a definite program has not been adopted, it may be assumed that the subjects to be discussed will embrace not only those pertaining to military and naval operations, but also the financial, commercial, economic, and other phases of the present situation which are of vital importance to the successful prosecution of the war.

The United States in the employment of its man power and material resources desires to use them to the greatest advantage against Germany. It has been no easy problem to determine how they can be used most effectively, since the independent presentation of requirements by the allied Governments has been more or less conflicting on account of each Government's appreciation of its own wants, which are naturally given greater importance than the wants of other Governments. By a general survey of the whole situation and a free discussion of the needs of all, the approaching conference will undoubtedly be able to give to the demands of the several Governments their true per-

spective and proper place in the general plan for the conduct of the war.

Though the resources of this country are vast and though there is every purpose to devote them all, if need be, to winning the war, they are not without limit. But even if they were greater they should be used to the highest advantage in attaining the supreme object for which we are fighting. This can only be done by a full and frank discussion of the plans and needs of the various belligerents.

It is the earnest wish of this Government to employ its military and naval forces and its resources and energies where they will give the greatest returns in advancing the common cause. The exchange of views which will take place at the conference and the conclusions which will be reached will be of the highest value in preventing waste of energy and in bringing into harmony the activities of the nations which have been unavoidably acting in a measure independently.

In looking forward to the assembling of the conference it cannot be too strongly emphasized that it is a war conference, and nothing else, devoted to devising ways and means to intensify the efforts of the belligerents against Germany by complete co-operation under a general plan and thus bring the conflict to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion.

The last sentence of Secretary Lansing's statement disposed effectively of the rumor that the commission would consider peace propositions.

The commission was met by the British Foreign Minister, Arthur J. Balfour, and was cordially greeted by the British authorities. It was announced from London on Nov. 16 that the work of the commission was proceeding satisfactorily, and that the members were "well satisfied with the spirit in which they had been met by their 'opposite members' in the fields they had to cover, and all reported good progress." The statement further added:

The pending arrangements, which will carry the co-operation of the American and British Governments to a fuller stage than in the past, could hardly have been reached at an earlier juncture. The United States Government will have, when the work of the commission is concluded, as it will be soon, all the material by which to determine the exact manner in which it can best contribute to the common cause of the Allies. It will have a

clear perception of the different needs and will be in a position to supply them without wasteful dispersion of energy. The investigations which the members of the commission have had made have confirmed their opinion that the resources of the Allies, supported by America, will prove adequate to meet all needs in all directions—men, money, shipping, food, appliances, and material of every kind.

President Wilson made public on Nov. 18 a cablegram he had sent to Colonel House, in which he stated emphatically that the United States Government con-

siders "unity of plan and control" between all the Allies and the United States essential; he asked Colonel House to attend the first meeting of the Supreme War Council with General Tasker H. Bliss as military adviser. The President's action was understood to remove all doubts as to this Government's attitude toward the Interallied Council. It impressed upon the opposition factions in England and France the fact that the United States gave the Rapallo plan its unqualified indorsement.

Russia's Financial Plight

Fresh proof of the serious plight of Russian finance was given in the speeches delivered at the Moscow conference, where it was asserted that in the three years of war Russia had expended 45 to 50 per cent. of the material resources of the people. Imports were only 16 per cent. of the volume required, and a commodity famine had been caused at a time when production had declined 50 per cent.

M. Nekrasoff, the Minister of Finance, said that the State purse was empty. The unfavorable factors of the pre-revolutionary period could not be deemed the sole cause of bad conditions, he said, for the activity of the revolutionary period had been the more prodigal. For the revolutionary period from March 1 to July 16, 1917, credit notes had been issued for 832,000,000 rubles; in 1914 the amount was 219,000,000 rubles; in 1915, 223,000,000 rubles; in 1916, 290,000,000 rubles, and from Jan. 1 to March 1, 1917, 420,000,000 rubles.

The United States Government up to the Lenine revolt had advanced a total credit of \$325,000,000 to Russia, of which sum \$190,900,000 was in actual cash. When Kerensky issued his interview (referred to on Page 420) Nov. 1, the United States responded immediately by placing \$31,000,000 to the credit of the Russian Government.

General Dessino, representative of the Russian Army with the British, early in November gave the following information of the number of Austro-German troops on the Russian frontiers:

Four German infantry divisions and three Austrian infantry divisions had been withdrawn from Rumania and Galicia immediately prior to the attack on the Italian front. At the same time a few German divisions have been transported from the French front.

The total mass of enemy troops which is being maintained at present against the Russian armies is: Eighty-six infantry and ten cavalry German divisions, thirty-three infantry and eleven cavalry Austrian divisions, and seven Turkish and Bulgarian infantry divisions, making a total of 147 divisions.

An authority possessed of exact information concerning the Russian military situation said:

Only seven German divisions have been withdrawn from the Russian front for use against Italy. There was a moment, however, when the last Russian offensive against the enemy conducted by General Brusiloff produced a critical situation and compelled Germany to rush eighteen divisions to the Russian front to arrest the Russian advance.

The Germans have not seen fit to recall these troops. The conditions on the Riga front are such that the Germans are facing the necessity of falling back, and this certainly is not proof of the collapse of the Russian Army.

Brazil at War With Germany

Significant Reply to the Pope

BRASIL declared war on Germany Oct. 26, 1917, and President Braz sanctioned the act by official proclamation. The vote of the Chamber of Deputies in favor of the war declaration was 149 to 1; in the Senate it was unanimous. The Germans, in anticipation of the action of the Brazilian authorities, set on fire and sank the German gunboat Eber at Rio Janeiro, a vessel of 984 tons. A few days later German submarines in the Atlantic sank two Brazilian ships, the Acary and the Guaniba, which had formerly belonged to Germany.

President Wilson on Oct. 30 cabled as follows to the President of Brazil:

Allow me, speaking for the people and the Government of the United States, to say with what genuine pleasure and heartfelt welcome we hail the association with ourselves and the other nations united in war with Germany of the great republic of Brazil. Her action in this time of crisis binds even closer the bonds of friendship which already united the two republics.

The Chamber on Nov. 7 adopted the following measures of reprisal against Germany. They had been recommended by the President:

Annulment of contracts for public works entered into with Germans.

Prohibition of new land concessions to German subjects.

Control of German banks, eventual annulment of their license, and the extension of these measures to German commercial firms.

Prohibition of the transfer of ownership of German properties.

The internment of German subjects.

A few days after the declaration of war strikes were reported throughout Southern Brazil, said to be due to Germans. The German population in three States of Southern Brazil is as follows:

	Total Population.	Germans.
Rio Grande do Sul.....	1,682,736	200,000
Parana	554,934	180,000
Santa Catharina.....	463,997	85,000

The Brazilian Army on Nov. 8 was concentrated in the State of Rio Grande

do Sul for strike duty, and plans were inaugurated to increase the army to 100,000 by conscription, including men between the ages of 17 and 30.

Shortly after Brazil entered the war Secretary Lansing at Washington made public two dispatches which had been sent through the Swedish Minister at Buenos Aires by Count Luxburg, the German Chargé d'Affaires of the Argentine Legation. They revealed a plot to violate the Monroe Doctrine by consolidating the German settlements in Brazil. The text of the telegrams was as follows:

No. 63. July 7, 1917.—Our attitude toward Brazil has created the impression here that our easy-going good nature can be counted on. This is dangerous in South America, where the people under thin veneer are Indians. A submarine squadron with full powers to me might probably still save the situation. I request instructions as to whether after a rupture of relations legation is to start for home or to remove to Paraguay or possibly Chile. The Naval Attaché will doubtless go to Santiago de Chile.

LUXBURG.

No. 89. Aug. 4, 1917.—I am convinced that we shall be able to carry through our principal political aims in South America, the maintenance of open market in Argentina and the reorganization of South Brazil equally well whether with or against Argentina. Please cultivate friendship with Chile. The announcement of the visit of a submarine squadron to salute the President would even now exercise decisive influence on the situation in South America. Prospect excellent for wheat harvest in December.

LUXBURG.

These dispatches had been made known to the Brazilian authorities prior to their declaration of war against Germany.

Reply to Pope's Peace Note

Brazil's views of the only manner in which durable peace may be obtained were set forth in the Government's reply to the peace proposal made last August by Pope Benedict. The note,

which was made public on Nov. 14, is signed by the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Nilo Peçanha, and is addressed to the Brazilian Minister at the Holy See. It explains that the President of the republic had not personally replied to the Pope's peace proposals because only now is Brazil in a state of war. The note follows:

The Brazilian Nation, which has never engaged in a war of conquest, but has consistently advocated arbitration as the solution for external conflicts in the constitution of the republic, and has no grievances and sufferings past or present to revenge; which has solved with serenity all questions regarding territorial limits, and with a precise knowledge of what belongs to her and an accurate acquaintance with the extent of her vast territory; which, thanks to the labor not only of her own sons, anxious to prove themselves worthy of so rich a patrimony, but of that of all foreigners whom our hospitality has assimilated; this nation, your Excellency can assure his Holiness, would have remained apart from the conflict in Europe in spite of the sympathy of public opinion for the Allies' liberal cause had Germany not extended the war to America and thereby prevented intertrading between all neutral countries.

Without renouncing her obligations as an American nation, this country could not fail to assume the position of a belligerent as a last resource, without hatred or any interest other than the defense of our flag and our fundamental rights.

Happily today the republics of the New World are more or less allied in their rights, but all, equally menaced in their liberties and their sovereignty, draw closer the bonds of the solidarity which formerly was merely geographic, economic, and historic, and which the necessities of self-defense and national independence now make political as well.

For such reasons Brazil can no longer maintain her isolated attitude, and now, in close solidarity as she must be and really is with the nations on whose side she has

ranged herself, she can even speak as an individual entity.

No Brazilian heart can receive without emotion the eloquent appeal of his Holiness in the name of the Almighty to the belligerents in the cause of peace. Though no State religion has been adopted by Brazil, and all creeds are equally free, none the less Brazil is the third Catholic country of the world, and has maintained unbroken for centuries relations with the Government of the Holy See. Brazil, therefore, recognizes the generous motives that inspired the appeal of his Holiness asking that by disarmament and arbitration and the establishing of a régime in which the brute force of armies shall give way to the force of moral law, the restoration of France and Italy should be granted, and the Balkan problem and the restitution of liberty to Poland be considered.

Only the countries most deeply interested in these questions can judge if the honor of their arms has been saved in this war, or if these modifications of the political map of Europe are likely to restore tranquillity.

So long as the political and military organization that suspended living law the world over and suppressed spiritual conquests supposed to be established beyond question—so long as this power continues to abuse the alleviating functions of war and to destroy the Christian spirit that inspired the society of nations, only these nations can say whether confidence in treaties has disappeared and whether any other force excepting some new spirit of order can be accepted as a guarantee of peace.

Through the sufferings and the disillusion to which the war has given rise a new and better world will be born, as it were, of liberty, and in this way a lasting peace may be established without political or economic restrictions, and all countries be allowed a place in the sun with equal rights and an interchange of ideas and values in merchandise on an ample basis of justice and equity.

The Colombian Senate on Oct. 20 adopted a resolution protesting against German submarine warfare.



President Wilson's Labor Address

Survey of the War Situation in a Noteworthy Speech Before the Federation of Labor

President Wilson, at the invitation of the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor, delivered the following address before the annual convention of that body in Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 12, 1917. An immediate effect of the speech was seen in the action of the labor leaders next day in calling off all strikes involving Government work. After a few preliminary sentences President Wilson said:

I AM introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I would be pleased if you would put the thought of the office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow-citizens who had come here to speak, not the words of authority, but the words of counsel, the words which men should speak to one another who wish to be frank in a moment more critical perhaps than the history of the world has ever yet known, a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception, and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life, elevated to where men have views of the long destiny of mankind.

I think that in order to realize just what this moment of counsel is it is very desirable that we should remind ourselves just how this war came about and just what it is for. You can explain most wars very simply, but the explanation of this is not so simple. Its roots run deep into all the obscure soils of history, and in my view this is the last decisive issue between the old principles of power and the new principles of freedom.

Germany Before the War

The war was started by Germany. Her authorities deny that they started it. But I am willing to let the statement I have just made await the verdict of history. And the thing that needs to be explained is why Germany started the war. Remember what the position of Germany in the world was—as enviable a position as any nation has ever occu-

pied. The whole world stood at admiration of her wonderful intellectual and material achievements, and all the intellectual men of the world went to school to her. As a university man, I have been surrounded by men trained in Germany, men who had resorted to Germany because nowhere else could they get such thorough and searching training, particularly in the principles of science and the principles that underlie modern material achievements.

Her men of science had made her industries perhaps the most competent industries in the world, and the label "Made in Germany" was a guarantee of good workmanship and of sound material. She had access to all the markets of the world, and every other man who traded in those markets feared Germany because of her effective and almost irresistible competition.

She had a place in the sun. Why was she not satisfied? What more did she want? There was nothing in the world of peace that she did not already have, and have in abundance.

Monopoly Methods Employed

We boast of the extraordinary pace of American advancement. We show with pride the statistics of the increase of our industries and of the population of our cities. Well, these statistics did not match the recent statistics of Germany. Her old cities took on youth, grew faster than any American cities ever grew; her old industries opened their eyes and saw a new world and went out for its conquest; and yet the authorities of Germany were not satisfied.

You have one part of the answer to the

question why she was not satisfied in her methods of competition. There is no important industry in Germany upon which the Government has not laid its hands to direct it and, when necessity arise, control it.

You have only to ask any man whom you meet who is familiar with the conditions that prevailed before the war in the matter of international competition to find out the methods of competition which the German manufacturers and exporters used under the patronage and support of the Government of Germany. You will find that they were the same sorts of competition that we have tried to prevent by law within our own borders. If they could not sell their goods cheaper than we could sell ours, at a profit to themselves, they could get a subsidy from the Government which made it possible to sell them cheaper anyhow; and the conditions of competition were thus controlled in large measure by the German Government itself.

Aimed to Dominate World's Labor

But that did not satisfy the German Government. All the while there was lying behind its thought, in its dreams of the future, a political control which would enable it in the long run to dominate the labor and the industry of the world. It was not content with success by superior achievement; it wanted success by authority.

I suppose very few of you have thought much about the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. The Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway was constructed in order to run the threat of force down the flank of the industrial undertakings of half a dozen other countries, so that when German competition came in it would not be resisted too far—because there was always the possibility of getting German armies into the heart of that country quicker than any other armies could be got there.

Look at the map of Europe now. Germany, in thrusting upon us again and again the discussion of peace, talks about what? Talks about Belgium, talks about Northern France, talks about Alsace-Lorraine. Well, those are deeply interesting subjects to us and to them, but

they are not talking about the heart of the matter.

Take the map and look at it. Germany has absolute control of Austria-Hungary, practical control of the Balkan States, control of Turkey, control of Asia Minor. I saw a map in which the whole thing was printed in appropriate black the other day, and the black stretched all the way from Hamburg to Bagdad—the bulk of the German power inserted into the heart of the world. If she can keep that, she has kept all that her dreams contemplated when the war began. If she can keep that, her power can disturb the world as long as she keeps it, always provided—for I feel bound to put this proviso in—always provided the present influences that control the German Government continue to control it.

I believe that the spirit of freedom can get into the hearts of Germans and find as fine a welcome there as it can find in any other hearts. But the spirit of freedom does not suit the plans of the Pan Germans. Power cannot be used with concentrated force against free peoples if it is used by a free people.

Allusion to Austria-Hungary

You know how many intimations come to us from one of the Central Powers that it is more anxious for peace than the chief Central Power; and you know that it means that the people in that Central Power know that if the war ends as it stands they will, in effect, themselves be vassals of Germany, notwithstanding that their populations are compounded with all the people of that part of the world, and notwithstanding the fact that they do not wish, in their pride and proper spirit of nationality, to be so absorbed and dominated.

Germany is determined that the political power of the world shall belong to her. There have been such ambitions before. They have been in part realized. But never before have those ambitions been based upon so exact and precise and scientific a plan of domination.

May I not say that it is amazing to me that any group of people should be so ill-informed as to suppose, as some groups in Russia apparently suppose, that any reforms planned in the interest

of the people can live in the presence of a Germany powerful enough to undermine or overthrow them by intrigue or force? Any body of free men that compounds with the present German Government is compounding for its own destruction. But that is not the whole of the story. Any man in America, or anywhere else, who supposes that the free industry and enterprise of the world can continue if the Pan-German plan is achieved and German power fastened upon the world is as fatuous as the dreamers of Russia.

What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists, but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it, and they do not.

You will notice that I sent a friend of mine, Colonel House, to Europe who is as great a lover of peace as any man in the world, but I did not send him on a peace mission. I sent him to take part in a conference as to how the war was to be won, and he knows, as I know, that that is the way to get peace if you want it for more than a few minutes.

Nobody Must Block the Way

All of this is a preface to the conference that I referred to with regard to what we are going to do. If we are true friends of freedom—our own or anybody else's—we will see that the power of this country, the productivity of this country, is raised to its absolute maximum and that absolutely nobody is allowed to stand in the way of it.

When I say that nobody is allowed to stand in the way, I don't mean that they shall be prevented by the power of the Government, but by the power of the American spirit. Our duty, if we are to do this great thing and show America to be what we believe her to be, the greatest hope and energy of the world—then we must stand together night and day until the job is finished.

While we are fighting for freedom, we must see, among other things, that labor is free; and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous

by the war—but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in conferring from time to time with your President, Mr. Gompers. And, if I may be permitted to do so, I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesmanlike sense of what is to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral.

Capitalists Are Included

Now to "stand together" means that nobody must interrupt the processes of our energy, if the interruption can possibly be avoided without the absolute invasion of freedom. To put it concretely, that means this: Nobody has a right to stop the processes of labor until all the methods of conciliation and settlement have been exhausted; and I might as well say right here that I am not talking to you alone. You sometimes stop the courses of labor, but there are others who do the same. And I believe that I am speaking of my own experience not only, but of the experience of others, when I say that you are reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists.

I am not saying these things to them personally yet, because I haven't had a chance. But they have to be said, not in any spirit of criticism. But in order to clear the atmosphere and come down to business, everybody on both sides has got to transact business, and the settlement is never impossible when both sides want to do the square and right thing. Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. * * *

We are all of the same clay and spirit, and we can get together if we desire to get together. Therefore, my counsel to you is this: Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to co-operate with all other classes and all other groups

in a common enterprise, which is to release the spirit of the world from bondage.

Manifestations of Mob Spirit

I would be willing to set that up as the final test of an American. That is the meaning of democracy. I have been very much distressed, my fellow-citizens, by some of the things that have happened recently. The mob spirit is displaying itself here and there in this country. I have no sympathy with what some men are saying, but I have no sympathy with the men that take their punishment into their own hands, and I want to say to every man who does join such a mob that I do not recognize him as worthy of the free institutions of the United States.

There are some organizations in this country whose object is anarchy and the destruction of law, but I would not meet their efforts by making myself a partner in destroying the law. I despise and hate their purposes as much as any man, but I respect the ancient processes of justice and I would be too proud not to see them done justice, however wrong they are. And so I want to utter my earnest protest against any manifestation of the spirit of lawlessness anywhere or in any cause.

Why, gentlemen, look what it means: We claim to be the greatest democratic people in the world, and democracy means, first of all, that we can govern ourselves. If our men have not self-control, then they are not capable of that

great thing which we call democratic government. A man who takes the law into his hands is not the right man to co-operate in any form of or development of law and institutions. And some of the processes by which the struggle between capital and labor is carried on are processes that come very near to taking the law into your own hands. I do not mean for a moment to compare them with what I have just been speaking of, but I want you to see that they are mere gradations of the manifestations of the unwillingness to co-operate.

New Instrumentalities

And the fundamental lesson of the whole situation is that we must not only take common counsel, but that we must yield to and obey common counsel. Not all of the instrumentalities for this are at hand. I am hopeful that in the very near future new instrumentalities may be organized by which we can see to it that various things that are now going on shall not go on. There are various processes of the dilution of labor, and the unnecessary substitution of labor, and bidding in distant markets, and unfairly upsetting the whole competition of labor, which ought not to go on—I mean now on the part of employers—and we must interject into this some instrumentality of co-operation by which the fair thing will be done all around. I am hopeful that some such instrumentalities may be devised, but, whether they are or not, we must use those that we have. * * *

Organized Labor on War Issues

THE annual report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, submitted at the federation's convention in Buffalo, Nov. 12, 1917, showed organized labor in the United States to be in substantial accord with the war aims of the Government. It demanded a representation of wage earners at the peace conference when the war ends, and opposed all "vindictive" indemnities. The text of the report is in part as follows:

It is an imperative duty from which

there is no escape that wage earners, as well as all other citizens of this Republic, support our Government in its righteous effort to defend principles of humanity and to establish democracy in international relations. Because we desire permanent peace, it is our duty to fight and sacrifice until these purposes can be achieved.

When nations can send representatives to negotiate peace terms in accord with this concept, we maintain that the basic provisions of the peace treaty should be formulated with regard to the rights and welfare of the men, women, and children constituting the nations, rather than the

Governments of the nations. The Government should be only an instrumentality of the people, instead of dominating and actuating their lives. This terrific war must wipe out all vestiges of the old concept that the nation belongs to the ruler or Government.

We hold that the same principles should apply to relations between nations, and that secret diplomacy should be replaced by diplomatic representatives responsible to their own people and received by either the Parliament of the country to which they are accredited or by a representative of the people, responsible to them.

Working people have never been properly represented in diplomatic affairs. The future must be constructed upon broader lines than the past. We insist, therefore, that the Government of the United States provide adequate and direct representatives of wage earners among the plenipotentiaries sent to the Peace Congress, and urge upon the labor movements of other countries to take like action.

After outlining the principles upon which peace should be negotiated, the report offers a suggestion for reconstruction of labor conditions:

We suggest that all prejudice and partisan spirit can best be eliminated by reconstructing international labor relations and thus bring to new problems and a new era activity and co-operation unhampered and unperverted by former alliances or old feuds. The basis of reconstruction should be the trade union movements of the various countries. We recommend that an international labor conference of representatives of the trade union movements of all countries be held at the same time and place as the World Peace Congress, that labor may be in touch with plans under consideration and may have the benefit of information and counsel of those participating in the congress. * * *

In our own country there is evident in every kind of war work the necessity for some national agencies for better adjusting the supply of workers. We are entering a period where there must be greater economy in the use of the man power of our country. A central, efficient employment agency with its branches is plainly necessary in performing the gigantic task that is now before the Emergency Fleet Corporation and in the necessary work of production of war supplies.

With the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men for military purposes there is necessity for readjustment in the industrial field. Effective employment agencies, under the control of the Department of Labor, co-operating with local agencies and associations, would be

an invaluable adjunct to our war machinery. Such agencies will also be keenly needed in the transition period that will follow the declaration of peace and the work of demobilization.

Since the war began, the report says, the American labor movement has secured the best agreements with the Government that have been secured in any warring country. "The agreements established a new period in the industrial world," says the report, "a period in which the Government has sanctioned standards based upon principles of human welfare and has substituted these standards for the old system under which profits were paramount."

Concerning the much-discussed suggestion for the conscription of labor, the report says:

Immediately after the declaration of war by the United States Government an agitation was commenced for the purpose of organizing what was to be known as an "Industrial Reserve." It was proposed that men in industry should become part of a semi-military organization to be directed and controlled by our military establishment, to the end that those employed in industry could be shifted from one location to another. Because of its military feature, the proposition was opposed by the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

In the light of the experience gleaned in foreign countries now engaged in war, it appears that the shifting of workers has not only been necessary but vital to the carrying on of the great conflict. Several plans have been proposed, but none thus far has been accepted as a proper solution of the problem. If the war continues for any considerable period, this question will have to be met. The primary agency necessary for dealing with proper adjustment of workers is a national employment bureau, equipped to give workers information of employment opportunities and employers information of available and suitable workers. It is one of the necessary and essential activities of the war that certain industries on occasions are called upon to materially increase production, and, in this event, some plan must be inaugurated to meet the needs of the Government.

The report recognizes the possibility that war conditions may bring about a "more general advent" of women in industry. Demand is made that equal pay be given for equal work without regard to sex.

Effect of the United States in the War

By Arnold Bennett

By Arrangement With The London Chronicle

IF you pessimistically doubt whether the United States will ever be able to exercise her admitted power in the European arena, consider how all pessimistic prognostications about the United States have been falsified. (Incidentally, do not forget that she is already exercising that power, in the economics and on the seas of the European arena.) It was said that President Wilson did not mean what he wrote to Germany. He did mean what he wrote. It was said that he would lose the Presidency. He did not lose the Presidency. It was said that he could not unite the nation. He did unite the nation. It was said that the nation would not go to war on a scale commensurate with its strength. It has gone to war in the grand manner. It was said that the selective draft law would be a failure, and would occasion riots. It did not occasion riots, and it was not a failure; on the contrary, it enrolled 10,000,000 men in one day. It was said that the \$2,000,000,000 loan would be a failure. The \$2,000,000,000 loan was greatly oversubscribed, by over three million people, and the bulk of it was subscribed in small sums. (And recollect that the rate of interest is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which, allowing for the fact that interest on capital rules appreciably higher in the United States than in Western Europe, is the equivalent of at most 3 per cent. here.)

The Expeditionary Force

Finally, it was said, and is said, that the United States will not succeed in transporting her army to the field of war. Events have not yet contradicted this particular pessimism, but that they will do so I have not the slightest doubt. The means of transporting the army are being prepared concurrently with the army itself, and that army will duly arrive—unless Germany falters earlier—and when it arrives it will satisfactorily account for itself. Self-satisfaction alone

—and the American people have higher motives than that—would compel the United States “to do its damndest” in this war. The United States is on its mettle; it has to prove its quality to Europe, and it will do so. The speeches of all American leaders of opinion show a complete grasp of the moral issues of the war, a complete adherence to those democratic principles which a strong party in Britain still refuses to accept, and a complete determination to achieve the definite triumph of those principles. And if the general conduct of the nation shows anything, it shows that the nation and the leaders are in admirable unity.

But, highly as I value the physical contribution which the United States is making and will make to the war, I value still more highly the moral contribution which she will make to the collective common sense of the belligerents when the peace congress at last meets. The thought that our statesmen now in power will represent the British Commonwealth at the peace congress is humiliating and positively disquieting to a very large proportion of Britons, myself among the number. I will say nothing about allied countries except that I doubt if they will display more sagacity in the matter of peace terms than our own Government is likely to show.

The Lesson of 1870

The fact is that the suggested allied peace terms agreed upon by the Allies, and untimely revealed to the world at Petrograd in the early part of this year, showed that the Allies had learned little from history, and that especially they had not learned the great lesson of 1870. The peace terms thus disclosed could not possibly have resulted in a permanent peace. Far from that, they had in them the seeds of permanent discord, since they repeated the very mistake made by Prussia in 1870 and by other military oligarchies in all ages. One of the worst

items in the terms was denied by M. Ribot, but in a dubious formula which was nearly as unsatisfactory as the thing it tried to contradict.

Before the entry of the United States into the war the democrats of all allied countries were in a quandary. They wanted, and rightly wanted, a military victory over Germany; but they feared that a military victory over Germany would mean a militaristic peace with all the anti-democratic and reactionary and fatal consequences of a militaristic peace. And that this fear was reasonably justified there can be no doubt. The entry of the United States into the war has liberated democrats from their quandary. They can now desire a military victory without any dread of a militaristic peace which would permanently antagonize Germany and give the German military scoundrels a new hold over the duped German people. They can do this, because the United States, when peace comes, will be the strongest and the least exhausted partner among the Allies, and the United States will not consent to a militaristic peace. The United States is led by an extremely powerful and an unusually far-seeing individuality, and the opinions of President Wilson about the principles of peace are known, and he is committed to them.

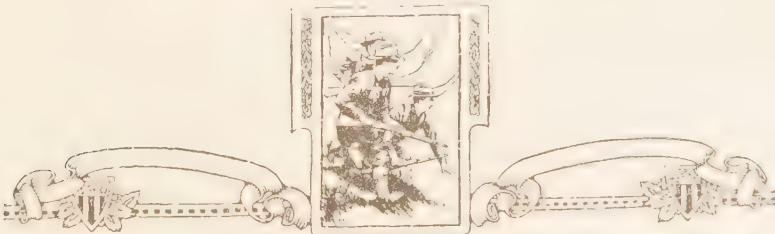
All this does not imply that I look on the United States as Paradise and the citizens of the United States as paragons of political wisdom far superior to ourselves. I do not. The United States has much to learn, and to learn even from us. It suffers from many faults, (some of which have been indicated—of course, with keen approval—by Lord Northcliffe in his article.) But it does happen that in the universal acceptance of certain great ax-

ioms of democracy, the United States, like Australia and New Zealand, is further advanced in the evolution of political opinion than we are. The influence of the United States will be employed against all vicious European vested interests, and against the natural but unwise promptings of revenge, and against any insidious indirectness of speech or act. And I rank this future moral work of hers above her purely military work.

When Peace Is Signed

And the participation of the United States will react favorably upon affairs not merely beyond the war, but beyond the peace treaty. It is agreed by all expert authorities that after the peace treaty has been signed the supply of the raw materials of the world will have to be regulated for a long time by some international board—whatever happens to the hoped-for league of nations. The doings of that board will form the very basis of world reconstruction. Now the standing of the United States on the board will be much surer, and her action is likely to be much fairer, as an ex-belligerent, than they would have been had she remained neutral. The fact that she has fought side by side with the Allies cannot fail to affect her attitude and mold her conduct. The sympathy between Britain and herself will be notably deepened, and the force of the democratic ideals of all the English-speaking peoples thus combined will be increased accordingly. For all kinds of reasons the English-speaking peoples, if they remain together in good faith, will be in a position to work wonders in the huge affair of reconstruction. For example, they control between them the world's supply of gold, rubber, wool, cotton, copper, and tin.

London, Sept. 19, 1917.



Clothing and Food Control in the Central Empires

GERMANY has pursued a steadily progressive policy of restriction in order to conserve the clothing supply of the country. The adoption of a more rigid embargo by the United States is still further reducing the supply of textile materials and will necessitate further restrictive measures.

By military order, dated Feb. 1, 1916, the entire textile industry and a great part of the clothing industry were placed under State control and stocks were requisitioned at prices fixed, in case of dispute, by an Imperial Arbitration Office. Besides clothing suitable for the army, navy, civil service, or for prisoners of war, these requisitions involved blankets, bedding material, and other household linen, handkerchiefs, &c. The issue of uniforms to many railway employes was at the same time stopped. By an order of Feb. 25, 1916, it was made a penal offense to advertise or hold any kind of stocktaking or bargain sales, and an appeal was made to the patriotism of German women to maintain a simplicity of dress "more in keeping with the seriousness of the times." Later in the Spring of 1916 the Ministry of War gave its approval to an order fixing a maximum length of material to be employed in making each article of dress for women and children.

Clothing Bought Only by Permit

By a Federal order dated June 10, 1916, the Government added clothing to the large list of articles subjected to rationing in Germany, and a system of clothing tickets was accordingly introduced. It was laid down as a principle that while there could be no standard of consumption applicable to all classes of the population, it was possible to establish the minimum requirements of individual classes, and local authorities were enjoined to grant permits for as much clothing as might be considered a minimum for each class. As a rule people

were not to be permitted to go beyond 20 per cent. of their normal requirements. Persons applying for permits for the first time were to be questioned as to the details of their wardrobe, and only if they were found not to possess an adequate stock of clothing could the permit be issued. Well-to-do people were to be directed to purchase articles of luxury (which were embargo free) rather than goods which were in general demand. Before long it was found that the differentiation between rich and poor in the matter of facilities for buying clothes was causing bitterness.

A stocktaking of the country's clothing supplies in the Autumn of 1916 showed that still greater economy would have to be enforced, and consequently a long list of further articles was brought under the ticket system. At the end of 1916 Government control was extended to second-hand clothing and underwear. Under an order issued on Christmas Day ordinary trade in second-hand clothing, linen, and footwear was put an end to, and the old-clothes business was transferred to the local authorities. Second-hand clothing could only be sold by these authorities against a permit. In February, 1917, there was fresh evidence of the progressive exhaustion of the stocks of clothing materials and clothing in Germany. Purchase permits for underwear and stockings were only obtainable with great difficulty, not more than two pairs of stockings being allowed to any one person in three months. The well-to-do were appealed to officially through the press to deliver up every article of clothing and footwear which they possibly could spare.

Clothing Materials Requisitioned

By an order dated March 22, 1917, a general requisition of clothing and clothing materials for civilian use was instituted. On April 2 a series of drastic regulations prescribed the absolute maximum of wearing apparel of all kinds for

men, women, and children and babies, and the local authorities were prohibited from issuing purchase permits to any person already in possession of the authorized maximum. Simultaneously new regulations were issued prescribing in minute detail the amount of material that might be used in any garment or article of household linen; and proprietors of hotels, boarding houses, &c., were warned that they could not be allowed to purchase fresh bed and table linen. In May, 1917, the public were officially enjoined to use paper fabrics for shrouds, while the use of shoes and stockings for burials was forbidden. At the same time the Government started relief measures on a large scale by the issue of standard clothing to the poor. It would seem that much of the clothing now worn throughout Germany, including military uniforms, is made from materials diluted in varying degrees with substitutes such as paper yarn and cellulose, the warmth and wearing properties of which are doubtful as compared with materials spun, woven, or knitted wholly from wool and cotton.

Women's Hair for Straps

The great spinning district of Alsace is almost without employment, for there is no material. New goods are made wholly or in part of wood-pulp paper. The manufacturers use ring-spinning machines or twisting machines, not mules. The paper is cut into strips from three-sixteenths to half an inch wide, and by their new method they make thread from this paper which can be woven into cloth. Workmen's blouses and children's clothes are the commonest fabrics of this kind, while at Leipsic Fair were shown women's dresses made of the paper material. But it is also impregnated for use as sacking, tent cloth, and sandbag material. Latterly there is a certain falling off of the import of raw material from Sweden even for this "substitute," and everything capable of being pulped is being commandeered by the Government.

Alsace also furnishes what a traveler calls the weirdest female product of this war—girls wearing red caps with the inscription, "I have given my hair for

the Fatherland." Women's hair is very high in price for it is woven into straps which are employed as driving-bands for machinery. It is even rumored (so serious is the leather shortage) that hair will be "commandeered" early next year, and that women will have to sacrifice it to the Fatherland.

The Weekly Food Ration

The grain situation in October, 1917, was such that the German Government could give no definite assurance that the bread supply would last until the next harvest, even with the greatly reduced ration then in use. It was stated by authoritative observers that the existing bread ration could be maintained only by the use of substitutes further affecting the quality of the bread. Flour was and is milled to 94 per cent. of the grain. Bread and potatoes are the bulk of the ration, and the potato crop is much smaller than was expected. It was stated in October that the meat allowance would almost certainly have to be decreased; infants' milk had already been reduced, and milk and butter would soon be obtainable in still scantier amounts.

Information concerning the weekly ration allowed the German people and the civilian population in the occupied portions of Belgium and France was received and made public in October by the United States Food Administration. The published statement, beginning with the German ration per person per week, was as follows:

Flour, 3.45 pounds; potatoes, 7.05 pounds; cereals, (oats, beans, and peas,) 7 ounces; meat, 8.8 ounces; sugar, 3 ounces; butter and margarine, 2.8 ounces, and other fats, 2.8 ounces.

Stated in terms of American housekeeping these items amount to sufficient flour to bake $4\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of bread; one-half peck of potatoes; a cupful of beans, peas, and oatmeal; one-half pound of meat; 12 dominoes of sugar; 6 individual patties of butter, and an equal amount of other fats.

For the population of that portion of Northern France occupied by the Germans the allowance is as follows:

Sufficient flour for 5 pounds of bread; one-fifth peck of potatoes; one cupful of cereals; 12 1-3 ounces of bacon and lard, and 10 dominoes of sugar.

Here meat, butter, and margarine are all replaced by bacon and lard. The allowances of flour and cereals are slightly

increased, but the allowance of potatoes is less than half the German ration, while that of sugar is also reduced even below the meagre German allowance.

The ration for the civilian population of the occupied portion of Belgium is similar to that of Northern France, except bacon and lard are replaced by meat and butter.

The German ration, compared with the ration used as standard for purposes of comparison by the Food Administration, shows that in body building protein the Germans have 0.41 of a pound and the standard ration 1.08 pounds. In fats the German ration contains 0.43 of a pound, as compared with standard 0.7 pound. In carbohydrates the German ration contains 4.17 pounds, as compared to 9.9 pounds for the standard ration. In total calories the German ration aggregates 10,542, as compared to 24,000 in the standard ration.

The standard ration is regarded as sufficient only for a person in a sedentary occupation or one involving relatively slight physical labor, and yet it provides two and one-half times as much body-building protein and nearly twice as much fat and nearly two and one-half times as much carbohydrates as the German ration.

American Woman's Experience

Miss Ellen Worfolk, an American woman who has lived in Berlin ten years, landed at an American port on Nov. 6, 1917, and described war conditions in Germany as follows:

Food is scarce in Germany and people are getting very thin. I became so weak through the lack of proper nourishment that I had to apply for a milk card, and was placed on the same diet as the babies, which resulted in an improvement in my health. The death rate among infants is not so great as reported in the newspapers outside Germany, and in fact is not much higher than it was before the war. The reason for this is that the fresh milk is given to babies and old people, and healthy persons under 45 cannot obtain any milk for their tea or coffee. The people have two ounces of butter and an ounce of margarine per week doled out by the Government, and sometimes they can buy a little extra butter at \$3 a pound. The sugar allowance is one pound and a half a month and 75 cents a pound for any that can be obtained from the grocers.

There is no white bread in Germany. The average German eats war bread, which is dark in color and not very palatable, and there is another kind called whole-wheat bread, which is bought by the wealthy classes, but it has very little wheat in it. Half a pound of meat a week

is allowed to each person. When there were no potatoes last Spring the Government served out a pound of meat per person. The people were also encouraged to make marmalade for use instead of butter and had an extra ration of one pound and a half of sugar served out to them.

Women are now employed in operating transit facilities all over Germany and the deaths and accidents have increased from 200 to 500 per cent. In regard to accidents on elevators the increase was partly due to the fact that when cables were worn out they were replaced by ropes of an inferior grade. Most people walk up and down stairs now in Berlin and other cities.

Clothing is poor and must be purchased on a ticket. Cotton goods have almost entirely disappeared from the stores. Men are allowed one suit of clothes, with an extra pair of trousers, a year, and the women one house gown and two other dresses a year. There is a great deal of mourning to be seen in the streets of Berlin, in spite of the official suggestion that it should not be worn. The Emperor cannot prevent the German people mourning their dead.

Famine Prices in Austria

Lieutenant Alberto Virgili, a Roman officer who escaped from the prison camp at Haismacher, Hungary, tells of seeing Serbian and Russian prisoners raking through rubbish heaps and eating the refuse they found. They were literally starving, having no friends at home, as the Italian prisoners have, to feed them by parcel post. The situation in Austria-Hungary, as described to a New York World correspondent by Lieutenant Virgili, may be summarized as follows:

Olive oil costs \$8 a pint. Butter and soap are not to be had. The Austrian authorities try all known ways to get food through Italian prisoners, who are fed exclusively on the parcel post packets their families send them.

The civil population of Austria get a weekly ration of one pound of bread and are supposed to make up the deficiency by means of potatoes, which cost 50 cents a pound; dried beans, formerly much used in making soups, are \$1 a pound, and corn flour is scarce at \$3 a kilo, (somewhat over two pounds.)

For millionaires and invalids who can afford to make the sacrifice, a few Viennese bakers are still selling famous long

rolls weighing two pounds, made of white flour from Hungary, at \$2 each. A few fortunate storekeepers still have some white flour which was bought in Hungary at the beginning of the war, but this costs \$5 a pound.

Coffee is as rare as diamonds. Whoever happens to have any can easily sell it to the rich at \$50 a pound. Then the buyer gives a party and everybody talks about it for a week afterward. A poor woman in Trieste hoarded twenty pounds of coffee. A rich Vienna woman journeyed twelve hours to Trieste and bought it all for \$800.

A man's ready-made suit of shoddy costs from \$100 to \$150 even in the small cities, where labor is cheap. Boots and shoes cost from \$30 to \$50 a pair. They are made of substitutes for leather. A

pair of cotton socks costs, if real cotton, \$1.

Yet not one of the escaped prisoners, exchanged officers, and refugees with whom the correspondent talked sees any prospect of a revolution in Austria. The key to this seems to lie in the fact that no young men are left in the villages and smaller cities. It is true that the women revolted in Vienna, Prague, and Gratz, but the Moslem troops fired upon them, killing several hundred.

The army is tolerably well fed, and the people, disciplined to obedience for centuries, are in the main devoted to the house of Hapsburg, which is less an imperial house than an institution. The Austrian people are encouraged by frequent promises of revolution in Italy and France.

Germany's Political Changes

Count von Hertling Succeeds Dr. Michaelis
as Chancellor—Liberals Claim a Victory

DR. GEORG MICHAELIS, who had held the portfolio of Imperial Chancellor of Germany since July 14, 1917, placed his resignation in the hands of the Kaiser on Oct. 24, 1917. The resignation was accepted, and Count Georg F. von Hertling, who was occupying the position of Prime Minister of Bavaria, was named as his successor, though Dr. Michaelis temporarily retained the office of Prime Minister of Prussia. The resignation of Michaelis was due to his lack of sympathy with the majority groups of the Reichstag and his suspected attitude of opposition to broadened Parliamentary powers. It was charged that he was not candid in his declarations respecting the Reichstag peace proposals and showed a partiality to the extreme Pan-German annexationists.

Count von Hertling consulted with various groups before he accepted the portfolio, which fact was hailed by the liberal leaders as the dawn of a new day in Parliamentary reform; also as the

first real evidence of the democratization of German institutions. This view, however, was vehemently attacked by elements of the liberal press.

The Emperor sent the following autograph letter to the retiring Chancellor:

I am unable to deny the weight of the reasons for your resignation, and I have by decree complied with your request for release from the offices of Chancellor, President of the State Ministry, and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In difficult times you, with self-sacrifice and readiness, responded to my call and performed useful service in the highest offices of the empire, the State, and the Fatherland. I cannot forego expressing to you my thanks and my acknowledgment of your faithful, untiring labor.

As a token of my esteem I confer upon you the Chain of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle. The decoration goes herewith.

Hoping you will continue gladly to place your proved powers at the service of the Fatherland, I remain, your well-disposed Emperor-King, WILHELM.

Count von Hertling is 74 years old. He was the Bavarian Premier for five and a half years. In the past he was always

regarded as extremely conservative and opposed to Parliamentary reforms. He was opposed to the idea that a Chancellor should be responsible to Parliament. On Oct. 10, in the Bavarian lower house, in discussing the question of the "disannexation" of Alsace-Lorraine, he expressed himself unmistakably in favor of the division of this imperial territory, suggested last Spring, between Prussia and Bavaria.

"Of the sacrifice of this German territory," he said, "there can be no talk. In the question of Alsace-Lorraine, Bavaria must represent not Bavarian but German views. According to Bavarian views, the union of Alsace with South Germany and of Lorraine with Prussia would be expedient, but the idea of autonomy is a great mistake, and would not produce any reconciliation with France.

"It is not yet time," he also said, "for Germany to make any declaration with regard to her pawn, Belgium. In all the circumstances she must take care to obtain political and economic guarantees against the future hostility of Belgium, but we must proceed with moderation and with consideration for the wishes of the Belgian people."

Count von Hertling was born in Darmstadt in 1843. He studied at Münster, Munich, Berlin, and in Italy, and in 1882 became a Professor of Philosophy at Bonn. He served in the Reichstag from 1875 to 1890 and from 1896 to 1898. In 1912 he was made Bavarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister.

Among his works are "Matter and Form and Aristotle's Definition of the Soul," "The Limits of the Mechanistic Interpretation of Nature," "John Locke and the Cambridge School," "The Principles of Catholicism and Science," and a study of Albertus Magnus.

Friederich von Payer, a progressive leader, was designated as German Vice Chancellor, succeeding Dr. Karl Helfferich, who was particularly obnoxious to the liberals. Herr Friedberg, national liberal leader, was made Vice President of the Prussian Ministry. The resignation of Admiral von Capelle as Minister of Marine was not accepted.

The fact that both the new Chancellor and the Foreign Minister, von Kühlmann, are leaders in Catholic circles has left the impression that their appointment presages closer relationship between Germany and the policies of Austria-Hungary and the Vatican.

French War Economies

A WAR correspondent tells of the remarkable results of the measures adopted by the French military authorities to prevent waste. At the beginning of the war there was inevitably a terrible waste in clothing. Today everything—old uniforms, old boots, old socks, down to the merest rags—is turned to some purpose. To this end large establishments have been organized in various centres, where thousands of hands are employed, to deal in each case with the waste from one particular army. A typical example of these establishments is to be found at Orléans. Here, on the one hand, fresh uniforms and clothing are warehoused and distributed among the troops, and, on the other hand, all the old clothing sent back from the front is renovated and transformed.

For the heavier work reservists of the oldest contingents, assisted by prisoners of war, are employed. The great bulk of the labor, however, is done by women and children, whose wages render them independent of other assistance. Over 6,000 women and children are employed at this one establishment in Orléans, and of these 4,500 are able to work in their own homes. During August no less than \$85,000 was paid out in wages.

Two hundred and thirty different articles of clothing and equipment are dealt with in this factory, and each day a train of thirty trucks, which in Winter is increased to forty-five, arrives loaded with the soiled linen, torn and worn-out clothes of the army. The linen is washed, repaired, and returned. The clothes are sorted and disinfected. Boots still worth

mending are repaired. Those that are not are taken to pieces, and any sound leather that remains is used to form the uppers of the wooden-soled trench boots. Fragments of leather are converted into bootlaces, and waste pieces not utilizable for other purposes are transformed into buttons for prisoners of war. Five hundred good pairs of boots leave the workshops every day.

Whenever possible uniforms are mended and cleaned until they look like new. Repairs to soldiers' overcoats alone represent a saving to the country of between \$2,500 and \$3,000 a day. Uniforms that are past repair are unpicked and the woolen cloth utilized for many purposes, the smallest fragments being used to make the little round collar badges which distinguish the different companies in the battalion. All cotton waste is sent to the explosives factories. Socks, buttons, blankets, and sheepskin coats are all

sorted and renewed. There is even a workshop for dealing with metal objects, such as helmets, water bottles, and the like.

Every day 2,000 cartridge pouches are turned out as good as new at a cost of a few centimes, as against 4 francs for the new article. The repairing of sheepskins alone shows a daily saving of \$1,600. Each day 8,000 pairs of slippers are made from pieces of old clothes, representing a value of \$3,200, while 300 knapsacks, which would cost 24 francs each if bought new, are turned out every day at a cost of 60 centimes each.

There is a special workshop for women who have from time to time an unoccupied hour, though they are unable to give up the whole of their time. They can come into this workshop at any time they like and can work as long as they like. They are paid so much an hour, and are paid on the spot.

War Museums in France

BOTH the French and the British are establishing temporary war museums near the front in France, preparatory to the creation of a great permanent war museum after the struggle is over. They illustrate the variety of implements in modern warfare and emphasize episodes in the immediate present which, no doubt, will be invested with reverence for the future historian.

In one of the temporary museums back of the British front may be seen the carved oak table from shelled Arras used by Sir Douglas Haig at his headquarters throughout the battle of the Somme. There are other memorials of Sir Douglas Haig. There is the First Corps headquarters flag which he carried in the Mons retreat, his first flag as commander of the First Army, and souvenirs of the Marne and the early Belgian campaigns. There is a British Red Ensign from Verdun, the gift of the commandant of the citadel, which was suspended in that fortress during the German attack last year; the Union Jack which the Warwicks brought into Péronne and placed in the Grand Place, together with their

crest and motto painted on a wooden panel. There are several other flags of great interest—of which one must not forget to mention the first tanks flag—the first Portuguese flag in the trenches, the first American flag to fly in France after the declaration of war by the President, on the Hotel de Ville, Paris. There are German flags, too, as, for instance, a large one unearthed in the Hotel de Ville at Péronne, another from Beaumont Hamel. But, in the matter of flags, the pride of place is naturally assigned to the great Union Jack unfurled in the early days of August, 1914, from the Hotel de Ville at Boulogne, to greet Great Britain's arriving troops, the first modern British banner to be officially flown in France.

After flags come captured guns. But there is here only room for the smaller engines of war, such as trench mortars, minenwerfer, and granatenwerfer, with a few machine guns damaged in battle. There is a great, ungainly minenwerfer, captured at Vimy by the Canadians, and other pieces taken by the Scottish Rifles, the Royal Engineers, and other units in

special circumstances of valor. There are dozens of enemy rifles, inscribed with the names of villages in the Somme or Arras region where hand-to-hand conflicts were waged.

"One could write a long chapter on these rifles alone," says an English reporter, "from the first brought back from a dead German in the great retreat to one wrenched from the hands of a Bavarian giant at St. Julien only the other day—not until he had slain several of our men. German material is here in profusion—shells of every calibre, shell-cases and basket carriers, flammenwerfer, bombs, axes, knives, pistols, wire-cutters, and a unique collection of trench clubs, including one with a flexible handle and a heavy steel head positively devilish in its ingenuity. There are also to be seen a series of gas alarm gongs, a German field telephone with a history, and a German bicycle on which an adventurous

obche rode up to our lines at the Menin Gates, Ypres. Scattered through this museum are life-size figures attired in enemy uniforms and modeled and colored by a Colonel who is also a Royal Academician. In one case the head and body armor has been scoured and burnished so that the white steel glitters and makes the figure look like a representation of a mediaeval warrior. Over his shoulders he carries a crossbow which discharged grenades in the Winter of 1914-15, and behind him is one of our own catapults which saw service at Neuve Chapelle.

"Then there are the enemy proclamations on the walls, enemy prints depicting our soldiers, enemy maps captured on the battlefields and sometimes stained with blood, German officers' notebooks and sketchbooks, German trench signs and street signs—one bears the legend, 'Nach Verdun,' another 'Nach Vimy'—sometimes portentous, occasionally poetical."

John Galsworthy's Pen Picture of War Victims in France

The English novelist John Galsworthy, in the course of his labors for the French Wounded Emergency Fund, wrote to an American friend this description of the pitiful struggle of the people whose homes have been destroyed by the war:

ON our way home from Noyon we passed through a small place completely destroyed, and to our surprise saw an old woman bending over a washtub. We got out of the car and picked our way through high grass, barbed wire, and stones. The poor old body—70 years old—had crept back seven weeks before to look for her home, and, finding it in ruins, had taken up quarters in the next-door cottage, where one room was watertight, and in which she had a few things the soldiers billeted in a near hamlet had given her. She was the sole occupant of the place, and began to cry bitterly directly we spoke to her. She had taken a door from another ruined house and propped it up against the one she had adopted, which had

none. Of course there was no glass in the windows, and the stone flooring was entirely broken up.

She had planted a few potatoes, carrots, and beans, which were coming up. She could neither read nor write, and had heard no news of her only relatives—a son and his wife—he a soldier in the hospital.

Saucepans, cups, knives, or plates did not exist. She made her little fire on a few bricks with bits of wood out of the dugouts and trenches near by.

In her garden with a mass of barbed wire and weeds were growing some currants and gooseberries, which she insisted on picking for us, and her poor old brown face quite cheered up when we told her we would come back with some things and give her a helping hand to tidy up her little hovel.

We visited Omiecourt—there is nobody living there at present, but plenty longing to come back if somebody will help them.

We also investigated Hynecourt-le-Petit, where we found ten people, (population before the war 150,) three of them men. One, a dark-brown, cheery old peasant, was the Mayor! They had all been driven out by the Germans a year ago, and his wife and child were still unheard of. They ran from the ruins, dragging their children and greeting us with outstretched arms. One room in that place was watertight—and in it they were all sleeping; some on wooden beds made with trench wood, covered with hay, and some on the floor.

And so the story runs everywhere. Practically the whole population of this desert, who have trickled back by twos and threes since the Germans drove them out and burned their villages, is without living accommodation.

To enable the land to bear crops next year the peasants must return to these destroyed villages this Winter. There are perhaps from two to thirty houses or rooms in each village, according to its size and condition, which can be temporarily repaired if help can be secured. The Government (French) can do nothing at present. The first thing to do is to make a few watertight rooms with tarpaulin roofing, and there must be garden and farm tools, (all burned by the Germans,) cement, cooking utensils, clothing, beds, bedding, (all ruthlessly destroyed by the Germans,) food and farmyard stock, such as chickens and rabbits, in order that the former inhabitants may return.

There is nothing but the bricks and the dust left behind by the Germans. You

see small children playing among all this, and until these were clothed by outside help many of them were found naked immediately after the Germans retreated.

Of this huge scar on the face of France we are asked to heal a tiny portion and to make again a living thing out of death; to give back some sort of future to a few hundreds of poor souls utterly deprived.

One can only grasp it in terms of our own countryside. Each one knows some country village; let him or her think of that without a tree, without a wall standing, with every means of livelihood cut off, without beasts or birds, save the rats and the crows; a mass of rubble and rusty wire, deep holes, and unexploded shells.

Let him imagine that this goes on mile after mile, village after village, county after county. Let him fancy the villagers he knows—little shop-folk, cobbler, postman, blacksmith, laborers, their wives, daughters, mothers, the children he sees daily going to school—all killed, captives, or dispersed, bereaved of each other, robbed and ruined, without a place to set foot, shelter from the night, stick, stone, or penny left, as naked of subsistence as the day they were born.

Let him picture the old folk, fit only for care of others; living like that old woman near Noyon! Broken homes, broken hearts, broken lives! There are hundreds of these villages out there, thousands upon thousands of homeless, hopeless, ruined folk.

Bronze Plaques to Mark the Sites of German Atrocities

The devastated City of Senlis, which was partly burned by the Germans, commemorated the third anniversary of the event by attaching to its walls three large bronze plaques, one of which bears this inscription:

On Sept. 2, 1914, by order, the German soldiers, with torches and incendiary bombs, set fire to the City of Senlis. One hundred and ten houses were entirely destroyed.

Another is erected near the hospital

against which the Germans turned their guns:

On Sept. 2, 1914, after having, in contempt of all law and humanity, thrown before their troops many innocent civilians, women and little children, the Germans turned their machine guns upon the hospital, riddling with bullets the rooms crowded with sick and wounded. On that day German bullets killed fifteen members of the civil population, and no gesture of protest or defense was offered to justify this barbarism.

The third plaque, set in the wall of the City Hall above the door, reads thus:

On Sept. 2, 1914, in City Hall Square, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the Germans of von Kluck dragged out the Mayor of Senlis, Eugene Odent, aged 59 years, and, after a day of torture, shot him in the evening in the woods of Chamant. With

him six unfortunate workmen were taken as hostages and assassinated.

Léon Bourgeois, the Minister of Labor, presided at the exercises that attended the erection of these accusing inscriptions, the first of many with which the Ligue Antiallemande has undertaken to mark the sites of German atrocities in France.

Desolation in the French War Zone

Described by Sir Edward Carson

Member of the British Cabinet

Sir Edward Carson, former First Lord of the Admiralty, after a visit to the war zone in France on Sept. 26, 1917, thus vividly described his impressions:

WRITTEN accounts of the front convey but a small idea of the extent of the territory covered by a ruthless hive of industry wholly devoted to the purposes of war. The ceaseless movement in every direction of countless machines and vehicles of every conceivable description, the immense numbers of men busy at all sorts of occupations, as in a great industrial centre which densely covers mile after mile at long distances from the actual fighting, give a first impression of an almost chaotic variety of activity, until one remembers that behind it all is a directing mind which co-ordinates everything toward the accomplishment of a single preconceived purpose. It is thus realized how interdependent are all the parts of this stupendous war machine—how each separate wheel, bolt, piston, and pin plays an essential part in the whole, from which it could not be abstracted without crippling the work in hand. One thus sees spread out before one's eyes a picture of our national effort converted into tangible results, and one grasps how literally true it is that the man at home in the workshop, the shipyard, and the mine is the comrade and fellow-worker of the soldier in the trench.

Just as no written account gives a true notion of the magnificent work our men are doing in Flanders and in France, so, too, no written account can enable one

to conceive the frightful devastation that has been wrought by the Germans. You may read of defiled and ruined churches, of crumbled villages, of destroyed woods, of deserted fields pitted with water-logged shell holes, but not the most vivid imagination can picture the reality which these phrases try to describe. Even when one stands on the ground itself, among thistles knee-deep and stretching in every direction as far as sight, aided by field glasses, can reach, and when one tries to thread one's way between holes, the smallest of which would hold a taxicab and the largest a church, it is difficult to believe that what looks like a vast expanse of rough moor or fen, covered with every conceivable kind of litter and filth, and without a sign of human habitation or human care, was, until the coming of the Hun, a rich plateau of wheat and rye, of beet and potatoes, of hops and apples and plums, with bright little clusters of gardened cottages, of which it is now difficult even to find a trace by searching among the rank weeds for the lime and brick dust that alone mark the site of former prosperous village life. My one regret is that this abominable desolation cannot be witnessed by every Englishman, if there be any such, who for one moment tolerates the idea of a peace without full reparation. This wilderness cannot, at all events for some generations to come, be made to blossom again like the rose. It will probably be afforested, if it can be sufficiently leveled even for such use.

What is to become of its former in-

habitants no one knows. Many families have disappeared altogether. The men have been killed; the women who survived have been deported. In other cases they are refugees to other parts of France, where they have managed to find some sort of subsistence, and where they will probably remain permanently. Occasionally some owners are allowed to make a temporary return to search for possessions buried, perhaps, in garden or orchard, but which are but rarely to be found, since it is almost impossible to determine even the site of any particular

plot of ground now merged in the surrounding wilderness. Germany has suffered none of this terrible devastation, and has had the advantage of carrying on this destructive work on the soil of Belgium and France along the western front.

No reparation can ever make good what Germany's crime against humanity has destroyed; but no one can witness the work of the Hun without vowing that the reparation shall be as complete as France and her allies can exact from the despoiler.

Treachery of King Constantine and His Queen

THE pro-German activities of ex-King Constantine and his German wife—the Kaiser's sister—were revealed by the discovery of secret documents in the Palace at Athens. Among the telegrams given out Nov. 4, 1917, was the following, dated Nov. 23, 1916, by the Queen to her brother Wilhelm:

By a miracle we are unhurt. The Allies bombarded the palace for three hours with the French fleet, which opened fire without warning. We took refuge in the cellars.

There was lively street fighting today, revolutionaries firing from houses on the army and people, who fought magnificently. It was a great victory against four great powers, whose troops fled before the Greeks and withdrew, escorted by Greek soldiers.

There is great anxiety as to the demands which the Entente will make, but we are prepared for anything. Please tell us when the army of Macedonia will be sufficiently strong to take the offensive definitely.

Emperor William replied to his sister as follows:

I thank you cordially for your telegram, which has caused me deep emotion. I know the dangers through which you and Tino have passed. I admire your courage at this difficult time.

I also note with pleasure the magnificent attitude of the army and their loyalty to the royal house. May God deliver you from your horrible position.

The Entente once more has shown its hand, and nothing remains for Tino to do but to take open action against these brutes. The intervention of Tino, with his forces co-operating against Sarraïl's western flank, would bring about a decision in Macedonia and the liberation of poor Greece. Tino knows that.

A dispatch from King Constantine dated Jan. 21, 1916, was as follows:

The King of Greece pledges his word to the German Emperor that in no circumstances shall any soldier or native be employed by the royal Government against the German troops or their allies. Greece consents to the use of the Drama-Seres Railway by Germany and her allies.

Another telegram, dated two days later, explains that the journeys of Prince Nicholas and Prince Andre to Petrograd and London had no political character. It says the visits were intended "to draw closer the bonds which existed between the royal house of Greece and the Courts of London and Petrograd—bonds which of late have very much relaxed." In later telegrams King Constantine bewailed that he could not do what he wanted to do because of Entente pressure and the blockade.

A Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Greek Chamber reported that official documents proved the following charges against all the members of the Skouloudis-Gounaris Cabinet except Admiral Coundouriotis:

1. That they assumed office, though not possessing the confidence of the nation, and dissolved the chamber unconstitutionally for the purpose of forcing the personal policy of the Crown upon the nation.

2. That they usurped the legislative power by promulgating, by unconstitutional decree, laws for the increase of the pay of army, navy, and gendarmerie officers.

3. That they contracted two secret loans in Germany without recording them in the public accounts, and without the knowledge or consent of Parliament.

4. That they dishonored the treaty with Serbia and committed numbers of acts tending to assist the Germans and Bulgarians as against the allied forces.

5. That they surrendered to the Germans and Bulgarians, voluntarily and by prearrangement, Fort Rupel and Eastern Macedonia, with a whole army corps and large quantities of arms, munitions, and supplies.

6. That they supported and protected in every possible way the pro-German propaganda managed by Baron Schenck, which included the corruption of the press, spend-

ing 6,000,000 drachmas (\$1,200,000) in one year alone.

7. That they employed violent and unlawful means to intimidate public opinion, and repeatedly violated the constitutional right of assembly.

8. That without any military necessity they prolonged the state of mobilization of the army for nine months, when they had no intention of making war, and thereby inflicted enormous economic losses upon the country.

9. That they carried on systematic propaganda in the army, during the mobilization, in order to poison the minds of citizens against Liberal policy, and in favor of the Crown's personal policy, thereby destroying the fighting spirit of the nation.

10. That, in order to win the votes of the Mussulman electorate in Macedonia at the elections, they surrendered to the Mussulman landowners the large estates which the State held as security for the restitution of Greek property which had been seized by the Ottoman Government.

All the accused are under arrest.

Zeppelins in a New Raid Meet Disaster

Dramatic Aerial Events of the Month

JUST when it had been taken for granted that the Germans would use no more Zeppelins in their air raids on England, one of the most determined attacks was made. This was on the night of Oct. 19, 1917. At least eleven airships took part in the attack. On their return journey across France five were lost, including one captured complete and undamaged at Bourbonne-les-Bains.

The casualties in all districts of England visited by the raiders were twenty-seven killed and fifty-three injured. An aerial torpedo which fell in London killed eight children of one family. Altogether it destroyed three houses, with a loss of fourteen lives, thus almost wiping out two whole families. Those who were not killed were seriously injured.

The raiding Zeppelins were chased all the way across France by airplane squadrons, aided by anti-aircraft guns. At least five failed to escape, namely:

1. L-44, destroyed at St. Clement, near Lunéville. All the crew perished.

2. L-45, brought down at Mison, near Gap

in the High Alps, forty-eight miles south-southeast of Grenoble. Destroyed by crew, who were all captured.

3. L-49, forced down near Bourbonne-les-Bains and captured with its crew.

4. Official number unstated, brought down between Gap and Sisteron, (in the High Alps.) Set on fire by crew, who were captured.

5. Official number unstated, chased by French aviators near Fréjus, (Toulon district,) and believed to have drifted out over the Mediterranean and fallen into the sea during the night.

Of the eventual fate of L-50, which came down at Dammartin, in the Haute Marne Department, and reascended after jettisoning some of her crew and one of her gondolas, nothing definite is known. Two other Zeppelins were not accounted for in any way, and they may have escaped across the French frontier via Switzerland.

Members of the captured crews said that the original squadron of raiders numbered twelve vessels, which started from three separate ports. The failure of the expedition, according to one of the chief officers of the French Army aero-

THE AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE



United States Troops Marching Through a Village Near Their Training Camp in France.
(Photo Pays de France.)

THE LIBERTY LOAN PARADE IN PHILADELPHIA



The Famous Liberty Bell Was Carried on a Float in the Parade for the Second Liberty Loan.
(*Photo International Film Service.*)

nautical service, was due partly to atmospheric conditions and partly to bad working of the wireless apparatus. The officer added:

The wireless stations in Germany, on which these vessels depend for their guidance—because no means have yet been found for calculating drift, and the compass seems practically useless without that—seem not to have been working well. We know that the L-49, brought down at Bourbonne, had a breakdown of its wireless motor and so could not possibly get the usual guidance. It had been completely lost for hours. These monsters have been built, so far as land raids are concerned, to reach and remain at a great height and to cover a long distance. The German Government has still so much faith in them that it is turning out two per month. They are 650 feet long, 116 feet high, and have a capacity of 183,000 cubic feet.

Since anti-aircraft guns can now do good practice at a height of three or four miles, they must commonly remain above this level. At this height their own bombs cannot be aimed at a precise objective, and the raiders are helpless before bad weather.

As to the cost and trouble of their construction, I have made a curious little calculation which shows that for the gold-beaters' skin, forming with a cotton lining the envelope of the ballonets of a single Zeppelin, the intestines of 300,000 cattle are needed. There are various ingenious details in the construction. Between the eighteen ballonets contained by the envelope a number of chimneys are set to carry out at the top any leakage of gas. A passage within the envelope contains the ballast, petrol bombs, and several beds. There are four cars. The front one carries the commander, most of the crew, the wireless machinery, and one of the five motors. The vessel can normally make forty-five to sixty miles an hour. All the instruments are well made. The ballast bombs and other packages are marked with luminous numbers at night. To get from one car to another is an awkward journey, as you must pass up a rope ladder and through the interior passage.

The L-49 has two vertical rudders and two lateral planes for rising and falling. It has two machine guns, but no upper platform. It carried eighteen men and two tons of bombs. It had reached a height of 7,000 meters (four and one-quarter miles) over London and had then encountered not only a strong north wind but a temperature falling as low as 33 degrees below zero centigrade. The men had frozen hands and became half stupefied with the cold. The water ballast

froze, although a certain amount of alcohol had been mixed with it to prevent this happening. Although there is an arrangement to raise the radiators within the protection of the cars, their water also froze. The compass was in good condition, but, in the circumstances, was useless.

Six tons of bombs were dropped by British aviators on the Burbach works west of Saarbrücken, Rhenish Prussia, on the night of Oct. 24. Four German air-dromes also were attacked, forty-five heavy bombs having been dropped and direct hits made on a group of hangars. On Oct. 30 French bombing escadrilles dropped large quantities of explosives in the Metz region, while the British continued to make raids on munition plants in Rhenish Prussia.

Seven hundred and four airplanes and seaplanes were brought or driven down on the western front—including the Belgian coast sector—during September. This is a higher total by nearly 300 than was reached in the preceding month, and compares with 467 in July, 713 in May, and 717 in April of this year. The German airplanes and seaplanes which fell to British and French airmen and gunners numbered 462. According to a statement issued by the German War Office on Nov. 12, the Entente losses in October were 244 airplanes and nine balloons.

One of the most notable of recent air raids was that made by a fleet of fourteen Italian machines on Oct. 10 against Cattaro, one of the principal Austrian naval bases. The airplanes started together from near Milan, flew to the Apennines in a gale and arrived in a body near Rome. There they rested awhile and then flew to their taking-off camp on the Adriatic shore and thence to Dalmatia and Montenegro and home. The squadron afterward flew together something like 1 000 miles without failure on the part of any machine or any hitch. The poet, d'Annunzio, who took part in the raid and received his fourth medal for valor since the beginning of the war, described the expedition in the following characteristic language:

In my opinion it was the most extraordinary ever attempted by airplanes fitted for flying overland. We crossed the sea with little aid from the compass, making

more than 250 miles without any landmark.

The flight was more enjoyable than any other I have made because of its character of adventure. It was a true and proper adventure of Ulysses. As we sighted the enemy's coast line each one of us felt a mysterious emotion which we shall never forget. The minutes consumed in recognizing places through the mist and the treacherous brilliance of the moon are for me among the most lyric of my memories. I would not exchange for any other remembrance of joy the emotion I felt in recognizing the points of Arza and Ostro. We felt in ourselves a subtle,

silent cheerfulness such as must sometimes have been that of Ulysses, while we struck the enemy in his sleep.

The uncertain play of his signal lights, [referring to the signals which the Austrians flashed, as they supposed, to one of their own flying squadrons, and which pointed out their targets to the Italians,] made us laugh homERICALLY in our seats. I turned toward my pilots and received their beautiful, youthful hilarity through their strange masks.

What shall I say of our return, of the moment when we discovered in the mist the thin line of our coast? It was like the ravishment of love.

What the Belgian Army Is Doing

Told by Emile Cammaerts

Emile Cammaerts, the Belgian poet, who is one of The London Telegraph's special contributors, visited the Yser front in October, 1917, and recorded his impressions in this spirited article:

I HAD not seen the Belgian front for three years. It was in December, 1914, on the morrow of the battle of the Yser, a vision of mud and rain, and a thousand hardships cheerfully borne. The work of re-equipment had scarcely started. Many things were still wanting, and some units looked, in their medley of uniforms, like irregular bands of brigands. A few farms could be seen emerging from the floods, like islets from the sea, and the men had to wade knee-deep to reach their advance posts. Everything was gray, misty, silent, and mysterious—a desert haunted by an army of ghosts. The thousands of dead whom we had just lost made their presence felt, and there was a pervading reek in the air.

To visit the Belgian trenches as they are today, with the vivid memories of what they used to be, is to step from dream into reality, from the trial of sacrifice into the hope of an early reward. The bright weather which we enjoyed still increased the contrast. We moved in a world of colors where the warm tones of khaki and of the screens of "camouflage" blended in strange harmony with the blue of the sky and the

vivid red of some freshly wrecked brick wall. The floods were much lower, covered with rustling reeds, alive with water hens and sea gulls. Around Dixmude, Ramscapelle, and Nieuport shells were bursting incessantly. Field guns were barking away close by, and the voices of many heavies could now be heard on our side. From time to time some long-distance shells whizzed overhead. Every detail of the scene brought the same message of life, struggle, and readiness, from the sturdy helmeted infantryman going to his rest camp after a spell in the trenches, to the well-organized defenses in every village close to the front, to the narrow footbridges leading to the advance posts in the floods where Belgians and Germans confront each other every night in an amphibious war full of surprises and thrilling incidents.

For even in the sector of the floods the front held by the Belgian Army has never ceased to be lively. With the exception of the counterattack of Steenstraete, during the second battle of Ypres, no operation on a large scale has been made since 1914, but the artillery duel has never stopped for more than a few days, and there is not one night

when some bombing expedition or some advance post raid does not take place. Those who would go to the Belgian front with the preconceived idea that nothing happens in that quarter might be sorely disillusioned. They might, for instance, undergo the same experience as the Italian aide de camp who, while accompanying King Victor Emmanuel and King Albert in their recent tour of inspection, found himself unexpectedly half buried by a shell. It would be a great mistake to judge the work of the Belgian Army, or, for the matter of that, of any army, from the extremely concise and guarded utterances of the official "communiqués."

A Contrast in Types

There is a small cemetery close to the church of Adinkerke, near Furnes, where the peasants and fishermen who lived in that village used to find a peaceful rest after a long and busy life. Here, among the civilians, close to the iron paling, is the simple tomb of our great national poet, Emile Verhaeren. The cemetery has been enlarged to make room for some of the boys whom Belgium has lost since the battle of the Yser. Only those who died of wounds in the neighboring hospitals are buried here, and similar cemeteries can be found closer to the front and in the rear as far as Calais. I have walked through these rows of graves, standing close together, and read there many familiar names on many simple crosses. Rich men, poor men, students, and laborers, some who fought since Liège, others who had come from the occupied provinces. Every tomb bears a number, and before I had reached the end of the last row I counted 2,000 of them. There are, indeed, many more things happening than the official communiqués allow us to dream of.

I have just said that the tomb of Verhaeren is at Adinkerke, but his body is no longer there. Owing to the frequent German air raids to which the village has been subjected lately, the poet's friends have had the coffin transported to a safer place, if any place can be called "safe" in independent Belgium. For there is not a town, not a village, in this

region which has not received some German shell or bomb. Furnes itself, which used to be King Albert's headquarters, has had to be abandoned, not only by the soldiers, but even by the charitable British ladies who used to comfort and help the wounded and the destitute civilians. The picturesque old market place, once a scene of great animation, is now deserted, and the grass is growing between its cobblestones. A few of the old Spanish gables stand crooked at a dangerous angle, and one house only is still inhabited by an old lady and her daughter, who keep a small café. The four or five soldiers and civilians who are allowed to remain in the town gather there, after their day's work, to drink a glass of beer and play a game of cards, for the Belgian instinct of companionship is hard to kill.

I had the opportunity of talking with the old lady who presides over this peaceful assembly. She told me that she had only just come back from a "holiday" she had been obliged to take in France after the last raid, and she confessed to me that this war had been a great worry to her: "Oui, Monsieur, cette guerre, c'est bien ennuyeux." The day before I had met at Arras a Frenchwoman who had kept her little shop open throughout the bombardment. She was very neatly dressed, and, with a bright smile, explained that she had been congratulated by the "préfet." "Oui, m'sieu," she declared, "j'suis une martyre d'Arras." There you have the two types of Flemish and French temperament in a nutshell. They express themselves differently, but they act in the same way.

Brave Englishwomen

From the top of the clockhouse of Furnes, amid a cloud of frightened, cawing crows, you could see the whole country spread before you like a map in the evening light. Nieuport was clouded with bursting shells, and the straight line of the Belgian front could clearly be seen along the Yser floods as far as Caeskerke, and further on beyond Dixmude and Loo, where the enemy line stands so close to our own that in calm weather the faintest whisper can be heard on either side, and is invariably followed by a hail of hand grenades. Straight before

us we could see Ramscapelle, which we had not been able to visit owing to a heavy bombardment, and Pervyse, where we had called on two English ladies who established there a first-aid station in 1914, and have remained faithfully at their post.

Some change also had occurred there. The "miss," as they are called, have had to leave their old home owing to the visitation of a German shell, and to take up new quarters at the end of the village, on the ground floor of a red-tiled cottage. The first floor has disappeared, but the roof has been skillfully repaired and lowered so that the house looks more or less like a little boy who has tried on his father's hat. If I did not fear to be indiscreet, I should also mention that one of these ladies—who, needless to say, remains a "miss" for the soldiers—has married a Belgian officer, and is now Mme. la Baronne de T. There is not a corner of this Belgian front at Furnes, La Panne, Adinkerke, or Pervyse where Belgian heroism has not been comforted by English kindness, and where the smile of some Englishwoman has not alleviated the sufferings of some Belgian soldier.

On my way back on the boat, as luck would have it, I met a Belgian officer on leave, to whom I expressed my admiration for the transformation which had occurred during these last years, and how happy I felt to see the Belgian Army re-equipped and stronger in men and material than it had ever been before. This was his answer:

Yes, we have worked a good deal, but there is something much more amazing than these physical improvements; it is the fact that the men, after so many months of patient waiting, have kept up their spirits. When Londoners see our soldiers coming on leave without their trench equipment and in fresh uniforms they do not realize the hard life which they are leading in Flanders. If, instead of enjoying this bright weather, you had experienced a spell of slush and rain you would have gathered a very different impression.

You are, of course, aware that it is nowhere possible to dig one's self in in this part of Flanders, so that everywhere our trenches must be built up with sandbags. That means, of course, that the least bombardment upsets your defense works and obliges the men to repair them constantly.

A spell of rain after dry weather is nearly as bad, and you can see your parapet melting and slipping away before your eyes. Then there is the "camouflage," those screens of reeds which you find so picturesque. Do you realize that these reeds must be cut at night in the floods and carried in bundles to the roads? When they are dried they are strung together and fixed by wires to poles ten feet high. And there are miles and miles of roads to be screened. You must never forget that there is no division of work in the Belgian Army, no shock troops, no fatigue parties. We cannot afford that. The same man fills sandbags one day and joins in a raid the next, after a three-mile walk. I once weighed one of my men's greatcoats after such a night march through the clay, mud, and the rain. It weighed over fifty pounds.

Quite apart from the fact that the soldiers are cut off from their people, and that a few only hear from them from time to time, there is the tedious monotony of pursuing the same work amid the same difficulties. In every other army some shifting of troops is possible. We are still marking time on the same spot. Many men would gladly risk their lives for a change of surroundings. As it is, the only trouble we have with them is in trying to avoid useless losses. Only a few days ago I lost two men who, in spite of strict orders, were foolhardy enough to play cards on their parapet close to the German lines. And if by chance they kill a rabbit or any other game they will not wait until the evening to go and fetch it in full view of the snipers. There will be only one difficulty about an advance, to keep them from rushing into their own barrage. * * * But, of course, it cannot be helped. We must remain on Belgian soil around the King. * * *

The King's Self-denial

I had passed, a few hours earlier, before the simple house in which King Albert lives with the Queen, surrounded by a few aides de camp, and I had endeavored to imagine the monotonous round of his daily work; his visit to headquarters, where, helped by his Chief of Staff, General Rucquoy, he examines all the measures dealing with the main administration and direction of the Belgian Army; then some inspection either in the rear or toward the front lines, where so many soldiers have met him more than once in dangerous corners and bad weather, by day and night.

Once a week King Albert presides over a council of Ministers, taking his large

share of responsibilities in the work of reconstruction which is already confronting his Government. He keeps himself informed not only of the least incident happening in the army, but of all the news which might reach him from occupied Belgium. And this incessant work and worry is only relieved, from time to time, by a short visit to the British or French front in France. With the exception of a few days spent with her children abroad, Queen Elizabeth has remained at the side of her husband, and, thanks to her influence and active work, the Belgian field ambulances and hospitals are now among the best on the western front.

Some people have regretted that King Albert should never leave the zone of danger; others have wondered why, if not for himself, at least for the sake of his people, he would never consent to gather, in Paris, London, or New York, the fruits of his worldwide popularity. * * * His glory may shine for the world, but he ignores it. He has refused to reap the crop which he has sown in anguish before the joy of victory has ripened it. With the humblest of his soldiers he prefers to wait patiently until the day of deliverance crowns his efforts. He is much too simple and unaffected to make a vow

of reserve and silence, but, with a sure instinct, he has chosen the best way of disarming criticism and preserving to the last his people's loyalty, his soldiers' affection, and his friends' confidence.

Lesson of the Yser

There is a great lesson to be learned on the Yser, whether you speak to the men in their dugouts, to the civilians in the wrecked houses, or to the General at headquarters. The soldier will tell you "that he is longing to go forward, since he is tired of remaining where he is, and there is nowhere else to go in Belgium"; the civilian admits that the war is a nuisance, but that "there is no place like home," even if the shells are dropping close to it; and the General will explain to you that the most difficult part of his work is not so much giving the right orders as "oiling the machine in order to see them properly carried out." In this last strip of free Belgium, where cab-bages grow against the trenches, close to the flowered tombs of three years ago, common sense has become heroic and heroism has become matter of fact. Inspiration does not alight on men's brows like a bird sent from heaven, it crowns their heads like the solid steel helmets worn by the soldiers, and protects them against bullets sent from hell.

Artillery Fire for a Canary Bird

How one little canary bird caused consternation among an entire division of British troops and brought down upon its own head a hurricane of rifle fire and finally point-blank shell fire, is told by Dr. Robert Davis, recently arrived in the United States to lecture at the Officers' Training Camps on the activities of the Red Cross in Europe.

For more than a month on a northern sector of the line the British had been secretly mining beneath the German trenches. The work was almost complete. During the operations several canary birds were, as usual, kept in the excavations to warn the workers of the presence of fire damp, which is fatal to the birds. One little songster, however, escaped from its job, flew into the middle of No Man's Land, and, alighting on a bush, began to sing.

Consternation reigned in the British lines. If the bird should be discovered by the Germans the work of weeks would go for nought, as the enemy could easily interpret the meaning of its presence, and prepare to combat the sapping operations. The infantry was immediately ordered to open fire on the canary to destroy it. But it seemed to bear a charmed life. Even the sharpshooters failed to bring it down as it hopped from twig to twig. Finally the artillery had to be called on. A trench gun with a well-timed shell blew the bird and the bush and the song into nothingness.

The Armed Merchantman

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts and of the United States Naval Institute

THE armed merchantman originated from the necessity of the first peaceful traders upon the seas to defend their lives against pirates. Yet, after piracy had become extinct, taking away any use for arms in the pursuit of commerce, it has remained for the twentieth century to produce a Government that has deliberately reverted to the tactics of the pirate—and this has again made the armed merchantman a necessity to defend the lives of passengers and crew.

The first daring Phoenicians who made ventures on the Mediterranean were not by any means peaceful traders, and they were armed as a matter of course. These earliest merchants knew that their customers were often ready to acquire their merchandise by force without any payment—and it must also be stated that many of the earliest trading ships carried away with them the customers as well as the goods. But in a short time it became evident that the best way to secure permanent trade did not consist in knocking on the head the visiting trader and his crew. On the other hand, there was not a warm welcome for the return of a trading ship which on its last visit had carried away its customers into slavery. These quickly learned lessons became the basis of commerce, which has proved the greatest factor in the intercourse of nations, and of which the essential element has been peaceful fair dealing.

Even in the time of Solomon, a thousand years before the Christian era, when Tyre was the great commercial port of the world, there was an established code of ethics in trading over the seas. Such commerce became a potent influence in the spread of civilization, and the merchants of the different countries united in regulation and protection of peaceful traffic.

In contrast to these merchants pursuing their trade, those traders who still

resorted to predatory methods became outlawed. They were repulsed from the ports of trade, and they resorted to attacks on peaceful trading ships to plunder their cargoes. Even in ancient times these raiders became known as pirates—and against them the peaceful merchantmen armed themselves.

Mediterranean Pirates—and Pompey

With the commerce of the Mediterranean under the control of the Phoenicians, who extended their voyages beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the pirates were never a seriously disturbing element. But after the destruction by Rome of Carthage, the successor of Tyre, piracy increased to alarming proportions. The Romans, to whom the control of the Mediterranean had passed, were not instinctively a maritime nation, and commerce on the seas was only an auxiliary of their dominion on the land.

Finding great profit from raids on peaceful commerce, these pirates were recruited from all the various nations of the Mediterranean, and there grew up organized pirate communities, whose strongholds were Crete and Cilicia. These pirates finally had the audacity to plunder the grain ships destined for Rome; and this at last aroused the dormant power inherent in the S. P. Q. R.

In 67 B. C., Pompey was given three years' unlimited command (*Lex Gabinia*) over the Mediterranean and its coasts for fifty miles inland. Using these powers rightly, Pompey, by a concerted campaign, accomplished results that would be considered extraordinary even in these days of enlarged figures. Plutarch's straightforward account of this war is such a statement of great achievement that it should be quoted:

However, Pompey, in pursuance of his charge, divided all the seas and the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, allotting a squadron to each, under the com-

mand of his officers; and having thus dispersed his power into all quarters, and encompassed the pirates everywhere, they began to fall into his hands by whole shoals, which he seized and brought into his harbors. As for those that withdrew themselves betimes, or otherwise escaped his general chase, they all made to Cilicia, where they hid themselves as in their hives; against whom Pompey now proceeded in person with sixty of his best ships, not, however, until he had first scoured and cleared all the seas near Rome, the Tyrrhenian, and the African, and all the waters of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily; all which he performed in the space of forty days, by his own indefatigable industry and the zeal of his lieutenants.

The results of this wonderful campaign were: Three thousand vessels captured, 10,000 pirates put to death, 20,000 captives settled in the interior, the destruction of all the pirates' strongholds, and the freeing of all the Mediterranean from piracy. After this drastic treatment, as long as Roman domination endured, the merchantman only needed to arm against skulking foes in the Mediterranean; but this armed protection had to be increased in voyages beyond the Pillars of Hercules. In the outlying seas dangerous raiders were still to be encountered.

Powerful Moorish Pirates

As the Roman power waned, and after the last remnants of the Roman Empire were destroyed by the downfall of Constantinople, piracy was revived. The Moors had conquered the northern coasts of Africa, and, although they had been expelled from Spain, they maintained strongholds in Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, &c., and these ports became nests of the most dangerous pirates the world has ever seen. Again it was necessary for merchantmen to arm for defense in the world's greatest area of commerce, the Mediterranean Sea.

Until the middle of the seventeenth century there was some semblance of a government of these regions by Turkish Pashas, but after this time the African ports were frankly piratical communities, living on plunder and from the sale and ransom of captives. The number of Europeans held for ransom and sold into slavery was astonishing—and more as-

tonishing was the fact that some of the powers of Europe indulged these pirates and used them as a means of injuring their rivals. Great nations actually paid tribute to these Moorish pirates for immunity for their ships, a disgraceful subservience almost unbelievable in these days.

Our young nation early in its history broke away from this custom, and in the Tripolitan war (1801-05) and by the expedition against Algiers under Decatur (1815) asserted the right of American ships to pursue their commerce without submitting to tribute.

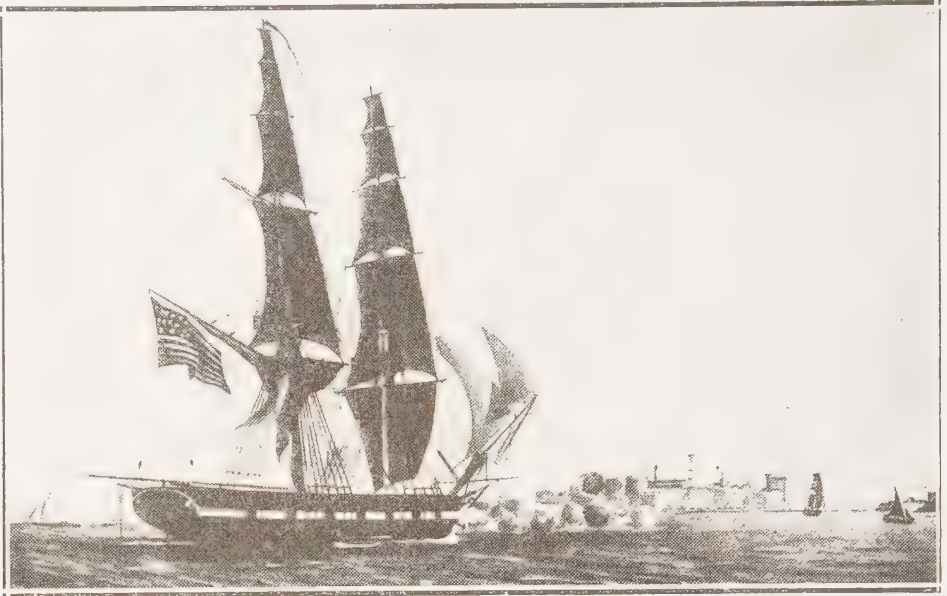
After the peace of 1815, when there was no longer any need for European powers to use the Moorish pirates against their enemies, conditions in the Mediterranean much improved, and the capture of Algiers by the French in 1830 meant the end of pirate strongholds on the northern coasts of Africa.

Pirates of the Spanish Main

It must be kept in mind that piracy on any large scale depended for its existence on ports of refuge and the resultant markets for disposing of the plunder. Although the Mediterranean refuges had been destroyed, the extended use of the oceans had in the meantime developed other resorts for pirates, of which the most notorious were the West Indies, the islands of the Pacific and of the Indian Ocean, and the east coast of Africa. The term "Spanish Main," of our romantic reading, did not mean the high seas, but the American mainland coasts ruled by Spain. These resorts of pirates increased the dangers of the seas, and arms remained a necessity for the protection of merchantmen.

It was in this period that the infant merchant marine of the American Colonies received its hard education in armed resistance against plunder on the seas. Not only did our early mariners have to arm against pirates, but they were also compelled to defend themselves against another enemy. Privateers had come into use by the warring powers, especially England and France, in the wars that preceded the American Revolution.

The privateer, as its name implies, was



A PRIVATEER OF THE WAR OF 1812: THE LETTER OF MARQUE GRAND TURK, OF SALEM, 14 GUNS, AT MARSEILLES, 1815

a privately owned ship to which its Government had given letters of marque, empowering it to wage war against an enemy's shipping. Such ships were allowed to receive the profits from their prizes; and in the various wars between England and France the merchants of the two countries equipped many such ships as a matter of private venture for profit. Many of these merchants were undoubtedly successful in making money, but the tactical results of privateering were merely matters of give and take, and it is doubtful if either power gained any real advantage from the use of privateers.

Era of American Privateers

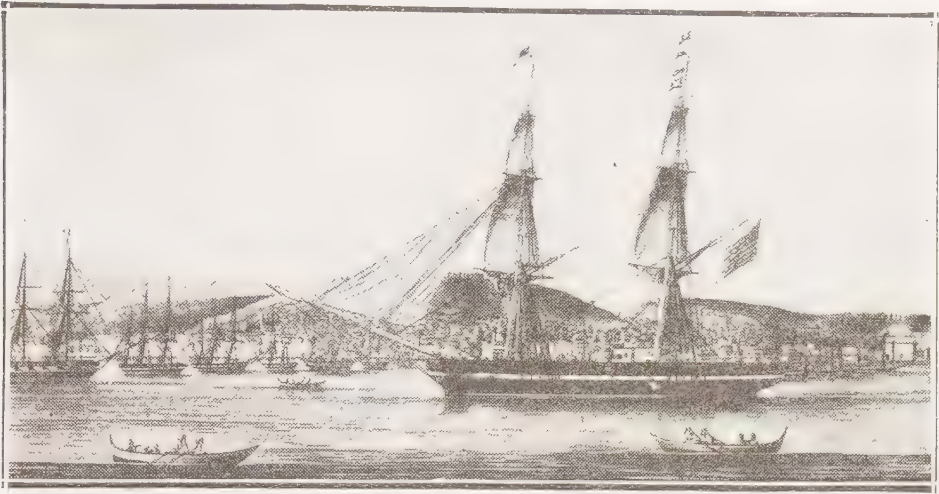
It remained for the American merchant marine first to make privateering a real factor in warfare on the sea. Our sailors, in their struggle to maintain their commerce against pirates and privateers, had become notably skillful in their dangerous profession. American seamen, on their armed merchantmen, had fought their predatory enemies in all parts of the world. Their ships were of the best design and noted for their speed. This constant life of adventure

had developed a resourcefulness in all circumstances of danger which had equipped them for offense as well as defense.

Consequently, in the War of the Revolution and in the War of 1812, when American merchants equipped their armed merchantmen as privateers and manned them with seamen taught in this school of raiding warfare, the American privateers were more efficient than any that had been used in warfare. In both wars these privateers inflicted such unprecedented damage that their ravages accomplished more than anything else to make Great Britain give an advantageous peace after each of these wars.

Authorities unite in describing the influence on the British public mind of the losses inflicted by these American raiders of commerce. This public sentiment was not to be wondered at, when one realizes that, in the War of 1812, the Americans captured 1,300 prizes of the value of \$39,000,000—enormous figures for those days.

We should also remember that, in spite of their great successes, after peace had been made, the American ships returned to peaceful trade and did not yield to the



A TYPICAL AMERICAN ARMED MERCHANTMAN: THE BRIG TENEDOS, OF BOSTON, LYING AT SMYRNA, JULY 4, 1834

tendency of armed merchantmen to become privateers—and then to become pirates! There were notable outbreaks of this kind of piracy after many of the old treaties of peace. The last instance of this was after the peace of 1815. In fact, Nelson always maintained that privateers were no better than pirates.

Steady Decrease of Piracy

With accessions from the privateers to swell the numbers of the pirates on the seas, merchantmen were still forced to carry arms after the treaties of 1815. But in the long years of peace that followed, with the extension of commerce and the growth of trading colonies in all parts of the world, the refuges for pirates decreased rapidly.

An interesting account of the extirpation of pirates in the West Indies, by Rear Admiral Caspar Goodrich, U. S. N., has been appearing in the recent Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute. The islands of the Pacific also became peaceful settlements, and by degrees the former haunts of piracy became safe for peaceful commerce.

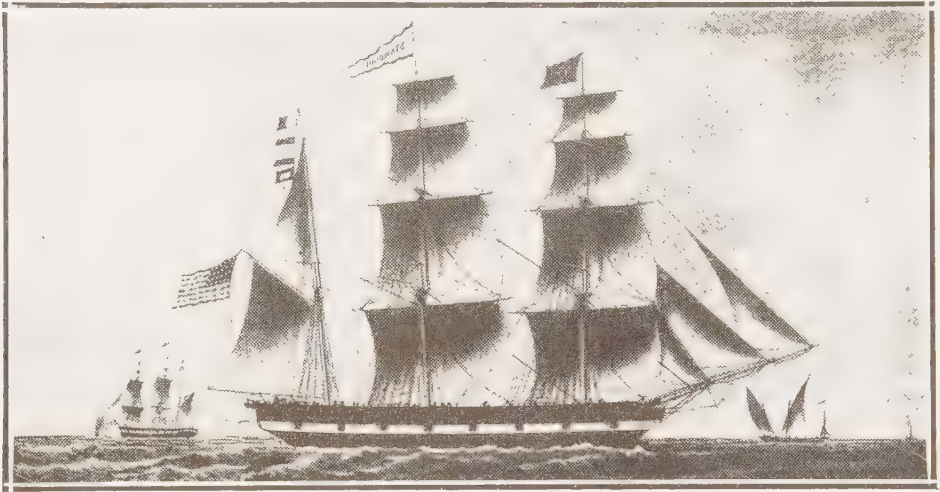
The destruction of pirates in Borneo by the British Navy, aided by Rajah Brooke, made an end of the last communities which may be said to have systematically engaged in piracy. After this the pirate became a furtive wan-

derer upon the seas, with no refuge except by concealment. There were a few ports where the pirate might trade and refit, by connivance with corrupt officials or smugglers, but this was a heavy drain on the booty, and the Jolly Roger became an unprofitable flag to sail under. Even such unreliable havens grew more and more dangerous, with no wars to divert the attention of the navies and coast guards, and the avowed pirate, the rakish craft of story, disappeared from the seas.

Armed Ships of Later Days

Yet, far along through the nineteenth century it was necessary for merchantmen to be armed on certain voyages. The Red Rover was no longer to be dreaded, but in the Eastern seas, and even in the Mediterranean, a ship becalmed was in great danger. The peaceful small craft of the native coasts frequently became pirates at such opportunities, and there were many desperate fights and many tragedies long after the actual pirates had disappeared from the seas.

The writer well remembers the time when a couple of serviceable guns amidships were considered necessary for such voyages, and these guns were not for appearances, but the crews were trained to handle them to prevent native craft from using sweeps to close in on a becalmed ship and overpower her.



AMERICAN ARMED MERCHANTMAN, WITH SIDES PAINTED IN IMITATION OF A MAN-OF-WAR: BARQUE STAMBOUL, OF BOSTON, AT MARSEILLES, 1844

These latest of the old armed merchantmen were often also painted with the white streak and many dummy ports to imitate men-of-war, as shown in the picture of the Stamboul. This camouflage, in addition to the actual guns, was a great protection, as can be imagined. The man-of-war also used to imitate the merchantmen by painting out its ports, giving a slovenly guise to its rigging, and thus inducing this kind of gentry to attack the man-of-war—of course with disastrous results to the pirates! The U. S. S. *St. Lawrence* made use of this last ruse to lure to destruction one of the few privateers sent out by the South in the civil war.

With the advent of steam, the increased use and policing of the sea and the civilization of the coasts from commercial settlements, these last remnants of piracy disappeared. Privateering had been abolished by the Declaration of Paris, (April, 1856.) "Privateering is and remains abolished." In our civil war the Confederates attempted to revive this practice; but they had no ships of any ability to keep the seas, and this attempt was short lived. Consequently, at the dawn of the twentieth century it is fair to say that an armed merchantman was as much an anachronism as a galleon.

The idea of converting the great liners

into auxiliary warships in times of war had been adopted, especially by the British and German Navies, but these were to be essentially warships. Their status is sharply defined by The Hague Convention, (1907,) and it will be evident from the following extracts that these ships are not to be considered armed merchantmen, but improvised warships pure and simple.

"A merchant ship converted into a warship" must be "under immediate control and responsibility of the power of the flag which it flies." It must "bear the external marks which distinguish the warships of their nationality." Its "commander must be duly commissioned" and its "crew subject to military discipline." It must "observe the laws and customs of war," and the belligerent must as soon as possible announce conversion "in the list of warships." It will be seen at once that all this is outside of the definition of an armed merchantman.

In international law the status of a ship is determined by its employment, and it has been established that merchantmen are allowed to arm for defense only. Such an armament does not abate their rights as traders engaged in lawful commerce. It is also established that, although an armed merchantman may re-

sist an attack by an enemy ship, only a man-of-war can attack a man-of-war. It must also be noted that any act of resistance against a man-of-war forfeits all the rights of the merchantman to immunity from sinking as a peaceful trader. Keeping these principles in mind will help the reader to understand the real status of an armed merchantman.

Fear of Auxiliary Cruisers

From these definitions it can be seen that in the twentieth century, following established usages on the seas, there was no use for arms on a merchantman. Pirates and privateers had disappeared, and there was no object in arming against a man-of-war. Yet Great Britain had announced an intention of arming merchantmen. This was not a defense against U-boats, whose ravages had not been foreseen, but it was to protect merchantmen against the class of converted warships which has been described.

In 1913 Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, had stated that there was "good reason to believe that a considerable number of foreign merchant steamers may be rapidly converted into armed ships by the mounting of guns." The statement plainly shows that Great Britain had feared Germany would improvise a fleet of commerce destroyers by arming merchantmen in foreign ports, or on the high seas. This is confirmed by the First Lord's statement: "It would be obviously absurd to meet the contingency of considerable numbers of foreign armed merchantmen by building an equal number of cruisers."

As a matter of fact, nothing of the kind happened in the present war. The German commerce destroyers which did so much damage were, for the most part, regular cruisers of which the location should have been known and against which it was folly to arm merchantmen. But, expecting raids from these extemporized cruisers, Great Britain early in the war armed many of her merchant steamers and notified the Secretary of State of the United States that these armed merchantmen would use our harbors.

Status Carefully Defined

The British Government carefully defined the status of these ships in notes culminating in the following, which may be said fairly to describe the essentials of an armed merchantman before the complications brought about by the submarine. The note is from the British Ambassador to the Secretary of State:

BRITISH EMBASSY,

Washington, Aug. 25, 1914.

Sir: With reference to Mr. Barclay's notes Nos. 252 and 259 of the 4th and 9th of August, respectively, fully explaining the position taken up by his Majesty's Government in regard to the question of armed merchantmen, I have the honor, in view of the fact that a number of British armed merchantmen will now be visiting United States ports, to reiterate that the arming of British merchantmen is solely a precautionary measure adopted for the purpose of defense against attack from hostile craft.

I have at the same time been instructed by his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to give the United States Government the fullest assurances that British merchant vessels will never be used for purposes of attack, that they are merely peaceful traders armed only for defense, that they will never fire unless fired upon, and that they will never, under any circumstances, attack any vessel. I have, &c.,

CECIL SPRING-RICE.

The German Government promptly assumed the position that the purpose of such armament was "armed resistance against German cruisers. Such a resistance is contrary to international law, because a merchantman is not permitted military defense against a man-of-war: such action would entitle a man-of-war to sink the merchantman with her crew and passengers."*

This contention was half true and half false. It was true that the act of resistance against a man-of-war forfeited the immunities of a merchantman, but this act of resistance did not in any way make an outlaw of the resisting ship. The tendency to apply the law of "franc-tireur" is evident here. This inexorable ruling that a civilian who offers armed resistance to military forces forfeits his

*Promemoria of the German Government, Oct. 13, 1914.

life cannot be stretched to apply to the merchantman as the civilian of the sea.

The extreme application of this would be that a duly commissioned motor boat might hold up a huge armed steamer, and any act of resistance would make that ship an outlaw liable to destruction by any other warship. One of our Judges in an important case declared that the law was founded on common sense.

International law on the sea, especially, may be so described as the product of generations of the common sense of the world in questions of right and wrong on the seas.

The American Secretary of State at this time (1914) very properly decided that such ships were to be treated as regular merchantmen, in so far as their armament was to serve exclusively for purposes of defense. As the submarine had not then been developed as a commerce destroyer, there was not much made of the matter, and thus the position of the armed merchantman remained unchanged.

Complications Due to U-Boats

But with the astonishing leap of the submarine into the rôle of the most efficient commerce destroyer that has ever been seen, all this was ended. At once, from the very nature of the U-boat, there arose a mass of complications such as never before had been known in international law on the seas.

The following change in directions to British armed merchantmen, early in 1915, shows vividly the immediate effect of the use of the U-boats against commerce on the seas: "If a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship by day, and "it is evident to the master that she has "hostile intentions, the ship pursued "should open fire in self-defense, notwithstanding the submarine may not "have committed a definite hostile act, "such as firing a gun or torpedo."*

The Germans maintained that such orders were equivalent to arming merchantmen for attacks on submarines, and then followed the involved controversies over the use of the U-boat. A great deal of this is outside the province of this article, but one way of keeping the mind

clear in this matter is to remember the established standing of the armed merchantman as described.

The armed merchantman, in the common sense of the applied law, was armed for defense against pirates, privateers, and small fry among the men-of-war. Pirates and privateers had disappeared, and cutters and such small deer were also extinct. Consequently, for practical purposes, as the first months of the war proved, the armed merchantman was useless. Resisting the ordinary man-of-war was out of the question—and there was nothing else in sight.

Submarine Outlawry

Suddenly there appeared the U-boat, the most extraordinary combination of weakness and strength ever devised. Obviously here was a warship that might be resisted, and its double life above and below the water made it something to which all existing laws could not be applied. It was plain at once, from the makeup of the U-boat and the limitations of its crew, that the submarine could not carry out the prescribed program of visit, search, taking off the crew, putting on board a prize crew—or else destroying the prize. This, with the added element of its great vulnerability, made it evident that there must be some modifications of the existing rules.

If the Germans had attempted to reach a solution of this problem in accordance with the common sense of sea usage, and with due regard for ordinary humanity, Germany might have retained some of the respect of the world. It is idle to consider in what manner these rules might have been drawn, because the German Government has deliberately chosen to throw aside all dictates of humanity in the use of the submarine. It has made no attempt to deserve the good opinion of the world. The chosen policy of the German Government is ruthless destruction of ships, enemy and neutral alike, without any decent regard for the lives of the passengers and crews.

When the official representative of Germany cold-bloodedly advised sinking without trace the Argentine ships, it was evident that there was no limit to the

*Feb. 25, 1915.

cynical cruelty of the present German Government. Argentina had been specially friendly to Germany, yet this Government of Germany treated the friendly nation as few of the most hardened of

the old pirates would have treated their friends. In fact, the merchantman is now armed against tactics that would have disgraced the worst of the pirates in their own eyes.

The Romance of the UC-12

Revelations of a Submarine's Log

Dr. Walter W. Seton, an English writer familiar with Italian affairs, is responsible for the following dramatic bit of history:

THE Italian naval authorities have recently lifted the veil of mystery which shrouded the story of submarine UC-12. The story begins in May, 1915, a very short while after the declaration of war by Italy upon Austria. It will be remembered that, in spite of the alliance in arms between Austria and Germany, Germany was not included in the declaration of war, and remained outwardly, at all events, on friendly terms with Italy until August, 1916.

There was, however, plenty of ground for supposing that the friendliness of Germany was outward only, and that she was in reality secretly aiding Austria in every possible way. Toward the end of June, 1915, the Italian mine-sweepers, while performing their daily task near one of the Italian naval bases in the Adriatic, suddenly came upon a new form of secret destruction, consisting of a barrier of twelve mines in the water.

They were carefully cleared away and the mine-sweepers continued day after day their accustomed work, when suddenly another barrier of mines was found in very much the same position. It was not difficult to guess how the mines got there; they could only have been placed there by a submarine, which was able to cruise below the water and in secret to lay her deadly eggs. The Italians determined that the next attempt on the part of the submarine should be less successful, and should, on the other hand, result in her own destruction.

They had to wait for some time and possess their souls in patience until March 16, 1916, when the enemy submarine ventured once again into the waters of the naval base to lay another batch of eggs. She ventured in, but this time she did not make her escape silently and unobserved, for she fell a victim to the Italian mines which were lying in readiness for her. A loud explosion made it known to the Italian watchers that their plan had succeeded. That might have been the end of the story of the UC-12, an end which has doubtless come to many another U-boat during the present war.

But the enterprise of the Italian commander of the naval base gave a fresh turn to the story and brought to light facts which proved the duplicity of Germany once again. The water in which the submarine met her fate was not particularly deep, and a brilliant idea occurred to the commander of attempting to salve the vessel and to send her out repaired, refitted, and re-equipped as a unit in the Italian Submarine Service.

It was not an easy task to undertake, for the commander knew well that the sunken submarine almost certainly carried her usual cargo of mines. After divers had first been sent down to ascertain where the submarine lay and the condition in which she was, she was cautiously fished up to the surface a broken, tangled mass, apparently quite useless. It was not, however, until she reached the surface that her previous history began to be understood. She then stood revealed as the UC-12, built in Germany at the Weser Dockyard by the firm Ditta Siemens Schuckert.

It was now clear that while Germany

remained nominally on terms of friendship with her former ally, Italy, she had lent one of her submarines to operate in the service of Austria in the Adriatic and to lay mines in Italian waters. But how did the submarine make her way from the harbor of her birth to the Adriatic? That is a question which may well be asked, and it would not be an easy one to answer were it not for the fact that on board the UC-12 was found her log from birth to death. She had made her trial trip on the Weser, after which she was towed through the Kiel Canal in May, 1915; at Kiel she took on board the mines which she was to be sent to sow in Italian waters.

After having made her trials she was sent in three pieces by rail from Kiel to Pola, where she arrived on June 24, 1915. She left her German flag at Pola and adopted instead an Austrian flag, but, being ready for all emergencies, she was provided also with the British flag and a French flag, so as to be able to pose as an ally, and also with a Greek flag, in case it became necessary for her to become a neutral. These flags were found on board the submarine when she was raised to the surface.

The log contained records of her cruises on July 25, 1915, and Aug. 15, 1915, the two dates upon which she had been en-

gaged in laying down mines in the Italian waters. It must not be supposed, however, that UC-12 was unoccupied between her second mine-laying exploit in August, 1915, and her third attempt in March, 1916. In December, 1915, she had been carrying a cargo of rifles from the Austrian base of Cattaro to Port Bardia in Cyrenaica, for the benefit of the rebels against the Italian Government.

In February, 1916, also UC-12 had been active in the Adriatic. She was round about Durazzo while the Italians were engaged in transporting the remains of the Serbian Army from the eastern to the western side of the Adriatic. Such was the revelation of the log of UC-12. But an investigation of the mangled remains of the ship and her crew proved even more completely the perfidy of Germany and the connivance of Austria. Her crew was German, too. There was absolutely nothing Austrian on board the submarine except the Austrian flag.

For many months Italian naval engineers were busy on the remains of UC-12. It was an ambitious task to salvage her, but it has been accomplished, and not long ago UC-12 was once again placed in commission, and took to the water, flying the Tricolore, emblem of the position claimed by Italy as Queen of the Adriatic.

British Navy Has Transported 13,000,000 Men

Premier Lloyd George in an address to Parliament on Oct. 29, 1917, summarized the war activities of the British Navy and gave some illuminating figures. He said:

But for the navy, disaster would have fallen upon the allied cause. Prussia would be mistress of Europe and, through Europe, of the world. Despite hidden foes, despite illegitimate naval warfare, despite black piracy, the navy has preserved the highways of the seas for Britain and her allies. Since the beginning of the war the navy has insured the safe transportation to the British and allied armies of 13,000,000 men, 2,000,000 horses, 25,000,000 tons of explosives and supplies, and 51,000,000 tons of coal and oil.

The losses of men out of the whole 13,000,000 were only 3,500, of which only 2,700 were lost through the action of the enemy. Altogether, 130,000,000 tons have been transported by British ships.



Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton,

Major Third Battalion, Fifteenth New York Infantry

X.—The Spring and Summer of 1916 on the Russian Front

THE Hindenburg axiom that the war was to be won on the eastern front appeared to suffer some loss of prestige as 1915 ended. In that fatal year the Germans had conquered all Western Russia, from Courland to Bukowina, and, in addition to the loss of cities, fortresses, and provisions, the Russians had lost men to an unparalleled number. The killed, wounded, and prisoners totaled over 2,000,000 men, and the territory lost amounted to 65,000 square miles.

Such a defeat would have seemed sufficient to eliminate any nation, and yet so vast was the reserve power of Russia that the German hope was doomed to bitter disappointment in the following year, when great Russian armies resumed the offensive in Volhynia, Galicia, and Bukowina. In the pursuit of the retreating Russian armies in the Summer of 1915 great numbers of prisoners had been taken in rearguard battles and in beleaguered fortresses, but nowhere along that long front did the Germans succeed in cutting off any army. In each sector the Russians fought their way clear of the flanking forces with which von Hindenburg sought to envelop them, and although defeated and depleted, all the Russian armies succeeded in preserving an efficient nucleus upon which, in the Winter, new levies could be grafted.

The most tangible fruit of victory for the Germans seemed to be the winning to the Teuton side of Bulgaria, which in October, 1915, decided to join the ranks of the Central Powers, and thereby insured an open road through middle Europe from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. The more immediate result which had been hoped for failed, for the Russian fighting spirit was still too strong to be quenched, and the armies which, according to von Hindenburg's theory, ought to

have been freed for use on the western front had still to face eastward. Russia had suffered an overwhelming defeat, but still remained a dangerous factor in the war.

The German campaign in the north had



GENERAL A. A. BRUSILOFF

been halted before Riga and Dvinsk, and all through the frozen Winter months it was supposed that plans were maturing for the capture of both cities when Spring arrived. In the south at Christmas time General Ivanoff attempted to take Czernowitz, but failed, and in the next few months there was little more than local trench fighting to record, although a number of desperate battles were fought around the bridgehead of Uscieszko in January and February. About the middle of March the Austrians were driven out

of this strong position, and the Russians effected the crossing of the Dniester.

Battles at Lake Narotch

About the middle of March, 1916, an important offensive was developed against von Hindenburg's lines seventy miles south of Dvinsk, where, between Lakes Narotch and Vishnevsky, four Russian corps belonging to General Ewart's right centre and under the immediate command of General Baluyeff began an attack which lasted for a month.

A victory here would have reopened a road to Vilna and Kovno, two of the most important places captured by the Germans in 1915, and so the Germans resisted desperately the Russian effort to break their lines in this sector. Eight battles were fought among the marshes and sand hills between the lakes, and at the cost of some 12,000 casualties, the Russians won part of the German first line positions. All the ground won was lost in one day, (April 28,) when an overwhelming bombardment with high explosive shells paved the route for a powerful infantry attack, which smashed a way through Russian regiments, whose losses were as high as 75 per cent. Ewart's effort was a costly failure so far as the intention to break through the German lines below Lake Narotch was concerned, but it is generally believed to have spoiled von Hindenburg's plan to assail Riga early in April, when the waters of the gulf would have been open to the German fleet while the Russian naval forces were still bottled up by the ice further north.

Brusiloff's Great Attack

In May, 1916, the Austrian armies of the Archduke Karl smashed the Italian defenses and seemed destined to overrun the Venetian Plains. In France the Germans, after months of furious battling, were close to Verdun. The British and French had not yet opened their campaign north of the Somme. A diversion especially for the sake of Italy was greatly needed, and Brusiloff, the brilliant cavalryman, hero of the Russian campaign in the Carpathians in 1914-15, replaced Ivanoff in command of the

southern army group along the battle front from the Pripet marshes southward to the Rumanian frontier, a distance of nearly 300 miles.

On June 3, after a twelve-hour bombardment, the Russian infantry attacked at many places on that long line. In the region of the famous Volhynian triangle, between Lutsk and Rovno, the armies of Kaledin and Sakharoff stormed and broke the Austrian front under the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand. Achieving an overwhelming success, the Russians drove forward, and on June 6 took Lutsk with enormous booty of heavy guns, shells, and prisoners. Two days later Rojetché and Dubno fell, and the Russians held again all the Volhynian fortresses. On June 13 Kolki was captured, and after a severe battle Svidniki on the Stokhod was taken. In less than a fortnight the armies of Kaledin and Sakharoff had advanced fifty miles to the Galician border and captured over 70,000 Austrian prisoners and fifty-three guns.

The seriousness of the situation was apparent, and von Hindenburg began to send reinforcements into the threatened sectors under von Ludendorff. In Volhynia von Linsingen resumed the command and conducted a series of counter-attacks during the latter weeks of June.

Further toward the north, where the Germans defended stubbornly their important centre of railway communications at Baranovitchi, General Rogoza's Fourth Russian Army fought hard against the forces of General von Woyrsch, but after promising early successes the Russians were halted by Prussian and Silesian troops. In the middle of July von Woyrsch tried to recover some of the ground lost in the first days of the month, but both sides appeared to have reached the limit of their power for offense, and the fighting in this sector gradually died down.

Checked by Linsingen

In June the Russian line under the impetus of Kaledin's successes had bulged ominously on a wide curve from Czar-torysk to Radziviloff. The salient of this advance west of Lutsk was along the route toward Vladimir-Volynsk, while an equal advance northwest of Lutsk was

AMERICA'S NEW ARMIES IN TRAINING



Members of the Hospital Corps at Camp Wadsworth, Spartanburg, S. C., Learning How to Remove Wounded Men from the Trenches.

(Photo © International Film Service.)

A TYPICAL SCENE AT A NEW ARMY CAMP

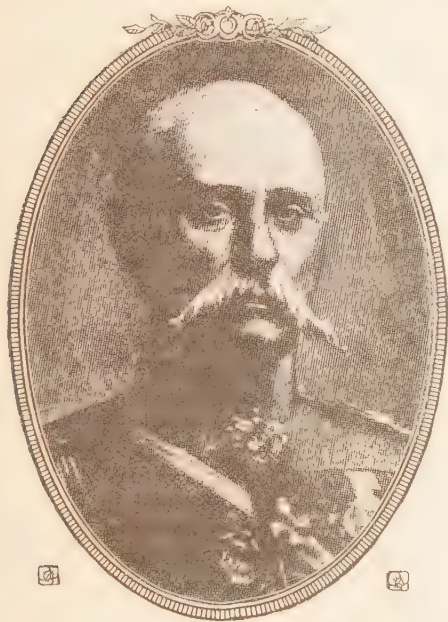


Recruits Going Through Different Stages of Training. Those in the Foreground Are Ready with Pick and Shovel to Start Trench Digging.

(Photo © International Film Service.)

getting dangerously close to Kovel at Svidniki. The task of arresting this Russian success was assigned to von Linsingen, who directed a series of heavy counterattacks in the latter half of June. The Russians were driven back from Svidniki, and Kovel was saved.

Had Kaledin succeeded in taking this



GENERAL LECHITSKY

city, with its radiating railways, it is probable that the whole German line in the south would have been compelled to fall back to the line of the Bug, a strong, natural line of defense, where it had been thought in the previous year the Germans might be content finally to establish their new military frontier.

Below Czartorysk, along the River Styr, furious battles were fought, and the town of Gadomitchi was won and lost several times. Along the road Lutsk-Vladimir-Volynsk the Austrians attacked in great force and drove Kaledin's men back fully five miles to a position running through Zaturtsy and Bludov.

While Kaledin had been threatening Kovel further to the south, Sakharoff's army crossed the Sereth and advanced toward Brody. Still further down on that long line the army of Scherbacheff made a number of thrusts against the enemy.

Along the line of the Tarnopol-Lemberg railway von Bothmer's Austro-German forces gave the Russians a severe check. Below this sector, however, the Russians defeated the enemy along the Stripa River and captured Buczacz. This part of the line might apparently have been pushed much further toward the west had it not been for the check on the north.

Lechitsky's Successes in Bukowina

While these great battles were being fought in Volhynia and Galicia, Lechitsky carried Brusiloff's left flank forward in great successes through Bukowina. On June 4 the attacks began, and after many desperate hand-to-hand battles with the bayonet the picked troops of Hungary, under Pflanzer-Baltin, were compelled to yield ground. Within a week the Russians advanced to Dabronovtse and captured nearly 20,000 Austrians. The enemy retreated all through the region between the River Dniester and Czernowitz, with the Russian infantry close on their heels. On June 12 Horodenka, twenty miles north of Czernowitz, was captured, and the Russians gained control of the roads above the city. In great confusion the badly demoralized Austrian forces continued to retreat along the line of the Pruth. Sadagora was evacuated and thousands of prisoners were picked up daily as the Russians advanced. About June 16 the Pruth was crossed, and on the 17th Czernowitz was captured.

Lechitsky pursued tirelessly, crossed the Sereth, and took Kutu, Pistyn, and Radantz. In the last week of June he was in Kimpolung, the most southerly town of Bukowina. Here the Russian left flank, in a wonderful victory, was far down against the Rumanian frontier and close to the Carpathian passes at Kirlibaba and Dorna Watra.

The great Russian advance through Volhynia, Galicia, and Bukowina had in three weeks of victorious battles along a front of several hundred miles gained the one really great success of the war for the Allies. In addition to notable advances in the two northerly provinces, Bukowina had been entirely recovered. Nearly 200,000 prisoners were captured,

with over 200 cannon and about 650 machine guns.

The Russian victories, particularly in Bukowina, were so threatening to Austria as to compel the immediate withdrawal of every man who could be spared from the forces which had been on the verge of a successful invasion of Northern Italy. This campaign of Brusiloff was one of the very few instances in the whole war where the Allies succeeded in rescuing a small adherent to their cause from impending disaster. The credit belongs entirely to Russia, and ought not to be forgotten in later days of evil fortune, when internal dissensions robbed the great eastern nation of the power to continue the splendid successes won by the skill of her Generals and the courage of her soldiers in the Summer of 1916. Russia had Austria in full retreat and apparently on the verge of a catastrophe, which was only averted by the most vigorous measures of Germany's ablest Generals, with heavy reinforcements so distributed as to restore the shattered morale of the Austrian armies.

Brusiloff's Further Victories

When June ended with Bukowina securely held by the Russian right, Brusiloff found his next great task along the middle Dniester, where Bothmer's army covered Halicz. Kovel, Brody, and ultimately Lemberg, remained, too, as chief objectives still to be won.

As July began General Ewart renewed the Russian effort against Baranovitchi, and although powerful infantry and artillery attacks won initial successes, the Russian effort in this sector was ultimately defeated with very heavy losses.

At the same time, south of the Pripet marshes, General Lesch delivered a great attack on a front of more than twenty-five miles east of the Styr River, in the region of Kolki. Here the Czartorysk salient had been a bloody battleground for long months. On the night of July 4 Lesch's men crossed the Styr above Rafalovka and were soon a dozen miles to the west of the river. A heavily fortified position at Vuka-Galuziskaya was stormed in heavy fighting, and several towns in the direction of Kolki fell. The

Czartorysk salient collapsed, and the Russian cavalry rode into Manievitch station, midway between the Styr and the Stokhod, on the line of the Kovel-Sarny railroad. Above this Lesch's right flank reached the Stokhod just south of the Pripet marshes. By the end of the first week in July the Russians were across the Stokhod, having driven the Austro-Germans back fully twenty-five miles and captured more than 12,000 prisoners. They were within twenty miles of Kovel, a main objective.

The Austrians had concentrated heavy reinforcements below the Lutsk salient for a great counterstroke, but Brusiloff, aware of their intention, struck hard before the Austrian concentration was completed. In quick, hard attacks on July 16 Sakharoff's men smashed several Austrian and one German division, and captured at Mikhailovka, on the Lipa, great stores of munitions. The Austrians retreated west on the Lipa to Gorochoff, losing en route about 13,000 men taken prisoners, with thirty cannon. Within the next week the Russians, pressing on, took Berestechko, southwest of the junction of the Lipa and the Styr, with still another 12,000 prisoners. After several days of hard fighting in forests and marshes, Brody was stormed on July 28, and 14,000 prisoners, with forty-nine guns, captured. Driving on tirelessly, the Russians advanced southward, and early in August won a number of villages about the upper Sereth, and by the 10th of the month were within a few miles of the Tarnopol line.

On the northern sector, meanwhile, the Russian armies made further progress along the Stokhod and captured several thousand Germans, with a number of guns. On Aug. 3 a hard battle occurred at Rudka Marynska, a strongly fortified village, which the Germans lost and later recaptured. About this time the Russian line had advanced to within some twenty-five miles of Kovel, and seemed well nigh irresistible, although facing an army composed principally of Germans.

Austrian Debacle in Galicia

About the time when Lechitsky was winning Bukowina the Austrians in Galicia were retreating rapidly, and by



MAP OF THE REGION OF RUSSIA'S GREAT ADVANCE IN THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1916

the end of June were behind the Dniester River and holding the bridgeheads from Halicz to Nishnioff. Proceeding against the Austrian right rear, the Russian commander on June 28 started an attack northwest of Czernowitz in the direction of Kolomea, and on the first day captured over 10,000 officers and men.



GENERAL VON LINSINGEN

The next day Kolomea fell, and the panic-stricken Austrians were in headlong flight. On June 30 a brigade of Circassian cavalry captured Tlumatch, south of the Dniester, but with the arrival of German reinforcements the Austrian resistance stiffened, and on July 2 the Russians were driven out of Tlumatch.

Further to the south the Russian successes were uninterrupted, and town after town was captured, until, on July 8, Delatyn, twenty miles west of Kolomea, on the Pruth, was taken. Between June 22 and July 8 in this region more than 31,000 Austrian officers and men were captured.

In July heavy rains raised raging floods in the two great rivers, Pruth and Dniester, and the attacks were arrested, but on Aug. 7 Lechitsky recaptured Tlumatch and fought his way to

the banks of the Dniester. On Aug. 10 he was in Stanislaw and Scherbacheff's men crossed the Zlota Lipa River, one of the numerous tributaries flowing into the Dniester from the north. The Austrians under General Bothmer were threatened on both flanks and once more were compelled to yield ground by retreating to a new position, whose centre was at Brzezany with the left back of Zboroff, along the Tarnopol-Lemberg railway.

The net results of Brusiloff's great offensive were enormous. Besides vast quantities of supplies of every description, fully 400,000 prisoners were taken and 7,000 square miles of territory recaptured of the 65,000 square miles lost in the previous year.

Rumania in the War

As Summer ended, Russian efforts were diverted to helping Rumania, whose declaration of war against the Teutons was the signal for an attack upon Southern Austria. For a few weeks this gave promise of great things. Very shortly, however, the tide there turned, and von Falkenhayn and von Mackensen swept over Rumania almost as completely as the Teuton military machine had crushed Serbia in the previous year.

Having declared war on Aug. 27, 1916, Rumania rushed troops into Transylvania, a much-coveted Austrian province, which lay just north of the frontier. Defeats soon sobered Rumanian enthusiasm, and the German campaign under the two great Teuton tacticians worked out with a cruel precision that never seemed to suffer much more than temporary inconveniences from the opposition of the combined Rumanian and Russian Armies. Bucharest fell on Dec. 6, 1916, and the survivors of the defending armies were huddled away across country into Eastern Moldavia. The Teutons closed up to the Danube at Braila and held the country, except the valley of the Sereth, from the Danube up to the mountains in the northeast corner of the country. What was left of the Rumanian Government settled in Jassy, close to the Pruth, which forms the border between Rumania and Russia.

In a few months von Mackensen captured 10,000 square miles of territory rich in wheat fields and oil lands. The Rumanian-Russian losses were fully 400,000 men. The losses here much more than offset the gains of Brusiloff in the north. The crushing of Rumania was a fresh evidence of the inability of the Allies to give efficient help to small nations drawn into the vortex of the war on their side. The Teutons were content to leave them unmolested in Moldavia, while the invaders have remained undisturbed masters of all the rest of the country since the end of 1916.

Teutons Regain Initiative

An astonishing feature of the war in 1916 was the ability of the Germans to produce great mobile reserves whenever and wherever needed. A number of divisions were hurried over from the western front, and with large reserve bodies from Germany united to stop the dangerous Russian offensive in Volhynia, Galicia, and the Balkans. Austria brought troops back from the Italian campaign, and at least two divisions of Turks were brought up to the threatened area.

By the middle of October the Germans were attacking on a front of 300 miles from the Pinsk marshes to the Rumanian frontier, and in November, in a battle on the Stokhod, 4,000 Russian prisoners were taken with the front-line positions. The initiative had once more passed into the hands of the Germans, and by early December the Russian-Rumanian defenses in the south were being smashed to pieces, while further north, where Brusiloff had been winning great victories in the Summer, the Russians were again reduced to the defensive, and at places it was a precarious defense.

Early in December, in the high tide of German successes, the German Chancellor announced the willingness of Germany and her allies to discuss peace. At the end of the month the Allies published their refusal to listen to any proposals until Germany should have first been punished.

In March, 1917, the whole war situation was seriously affected by the Russian revolution, which banished the Czar

and all royalty and created a republic. The Russian Army was seriously crippled by the spirit of independence which followed the passage of laws relieving soldiers from the duty of saluting their own officers. In many places whole regiments refused to fight at all, and with very little effort the Germans recovered all the ground which the Russians had so valiantly captured during the previous Summer. Kerensky, the popular idol of the nation, although not a soldier, went to the south, and by his personal influence induced the Russian soldiers to remember their duty to their country. For a while in the Spring a part of the forces seemed like the splendid fighting organization of 1916, but a sip from the cup of liberty had intoxicated the army as well as the civil population, and no great concerted aggressive effort could be induced. In places all along the line from north to south Russian and German troops fraternized in No Man's Land. At the same time in other sectors other regiments preserved their morale and still fought for the honor and integrity of Russia.

In midsummer of 1917 absolute chaos reigned in Russia. Kronstadt, the fortification defending Petrograd, was for a time in the hands of a commune, and while the authority of the Central Government was finally acknowledged, it is still matter of grave doubt whether a German fleet would meet much resistance if it should pass through the Gulf of Finland into the Neva en route toward Petrograd.

Riga, the important northern naval base, which had valiantly held out against every German attack for a year, has passed into German hands, as well as all the waters of the great Gulf of Riga and the islands along the coast at Moon Sound. When Riga fell the defenses along the Dvina River, which had been impregnable for a year, crumbled, and the Teutons, crossing easily, marched some distance toward Petrograd. The folly of becoming involved in a Winter campaign among the frozen lakes and marshes of that northern interior soon became apparent to the Germans, and their troops were drawn back to the line

of the Dvina, where they are likely for the present at least to maintain that military frontier, established at the end of von Hindenburg's great campaign of 1915.

Effects of Russia's Collapse

Germany's military interests will be best served by the creation of several independent small States, such as Finland promises to be. Buffer States of that type on the east would reduce to an absolute minimum the need for German troops on that side. That it has already been possible to withdraw great numbers of troops has been indicated by the appearance in the Alps of great German armies, which in a few weeks in this Autumn of 1917 have undone all that had been accomplished by Italian valor along the Isonzo in a year and a half of bloody warfare. If it should prove to be possible for von Hindenburg to take the bulk of his forces from the east and use them successfully to crush separate elements of the Allies, such as Italy, while holding the western line fairly steady, then the soundness of his proposition that Germany must win the

war in the east would be well accredited. The year 1915 proved that driving Russian armies back in successive defeats meant little toward ultimate victory if the necessity remained to keep great armies out there ready to repel counter-attacks. If the loss of all internal cohesion in Russia changes that condition, then von Hindenburg will become a very successful prophet so far as theory goes.

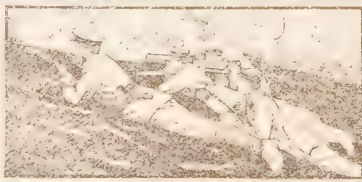
Practically, however, it will not bring victory to Germany now, for the great resources of the United States will soon begin to tip the scale heavily against all that the Teuton can do. The same situation two years ago, after the end of von Hindenburg's great drive in the Summer of 1915, would have been serious if not disastrous for the Allies. In 1917 it is serious, but can no longer be disastrous for the Allies as a whole, although it may prove to be so for Italy.

[The author of this valuable series has been called to service in France, where he will take an active part in the great drama whose chief military events he has narrated in these pages. The series will be concluded next month with an article bringing the other phases of the war down to the present year.—Editor.]

38,000,000 Men Bearing Arms

The United States War Department, on Oct. 22, 1917, issued estimates based on published reports from various countries, showing that at least 38,000,000 men are bearing arms in the war—27,500,000 on the side of the allies and 10,600,000 on the side of the Central Powers. These figures do not include naval personnel strength, which would raise the total several millions. Against Germany's 7,000,000, Austria's 3,000,000, Turkey's 300,000, and Bulgaria's 300,000 are arrayed the following armed forces: Russia, 9,000,000; France, 6,000,000; Great Britain, 5,000,000; Italy, 3,000,000; Japan, 1,400,000; United States, more than 1,000,000; China, 541,000; Rumania, 320,000; Serbia, 300,000; Belgium, 300,000; Greece, 300,000; Portugal, 200,000; Montenegro, 40,000; Siam, 36,000; Cuba, 11,000, and Liberia, 400.

Military experts do not regard these figures as entirely accurate, but believe they represent in round numbers the comparative strength of the contending armies.



The Beginnings of the War

A Review of the Antecedent Causes and the Thirteen Critical Days

By M. Louise McLaughlin

THE Balkan States, where occurred the inception of the great war, had long been a menace to the peace of Europe, more through the fault of their more powerful neighbors than through any sins of their own. Some of these States had occupied the position of distinct nationalities for more than a thousand years. Indeed, Serbia appears in a map of Europe of the time of Charlemagne, not quite in its present position nor including within its limits its present capital, the ancient town of Nissa. The Rumini are also in evidence in several places. In a map of the latter half of the tenth century, Serbia still occupies its position, then including within its borders both Belgrade and Nissa, while the great kingdom of the Bulgarians occupies nearly all the remainder of the Balkan Peninsula. Bosnia is represented apparently under the title of Bosona, while Prussia is a little country scarcely the size of Serbia, on the shore of the Baltic, separated from Serbia and Bulgaria by Polonia and the Kingdom of Hungary. As subsequent changes brought into dominance the great powers, France, Germany, Russia, and Austria, the natural riches of the Balkan States, as well as the possession of ports on southern seas, aroused covetous plans and gave rise to various intrigues for the attainment of influence over them or actual ownership by their powerful neighbors.

Bosnia, at whose capital of Serajevo the murder of the Archduke Ferdinand occurred, is, with the adjoining province of Herzegovina, under the control of Austria. The original kingdom, founded in 1378, was conquered by the Turks in 1463.

In 1877, when Russia made war against Turkey in defense of Bulgaria and especially because of the atrocities committed by the Turks against the Christian inhab-

itants, she apparently desired to placate Austria and to prevent that power from interfering with her plans; to this end she entered into a secret agreement to recognize the claim of Austria to an interest in the administration of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On this occasion it was necessary for Russia to go through Rumania, just as in 1914 it seemed necessary for Germany to go through Belgium in her advance upon France, but, as Rumania did not resist, that country was merely occupied.

Later, when Russia had suffered defeat at Plevna, Rumania was called upon to assist, and through her aid Russia was finally victorious, and almost under the walls of Constantinople forced the Turks to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. Rumania in return for the aid given was made an independent State. Bulgaria also became an independent kingdom, and the interest gained by Russia through these circumstances was important on account of the possession by Bulgaria of seaports on the Aegean Sea.

The Congress of Berlin

Aware of this, the other European powers saw a menace to the balance of power and insisted on bringing the matter before an international conference. Accordingly, the Congress of Berlin was called in 1878. Bismarck presided. England was represented by Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, Russia by Prince Gortchakoff.

The great Chancellor had two objects in view—he desired an alliance with Austria and he also wished to retain friendly relations with Russia. The decisions of the Congress of Berlin were satisfactory to neither of the parties directly concerned. Russia was not permitted to place the boundary line between her dominions and those of Turkey where she desired, as England, through an unfor-

fortunate blunder of the Russian representative, had become aware of the extreme concession that Russia was prepared to make and insisted on that. The Turkish delegates were themselves surprised when it developed during the proceedings that a secret agreement had been made between their Sultan and England that the Island of Cyprus was to be ceded to her as the price of her intervention.

The provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano with regard to Rumania and Bulgaria were allowed to stand, the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria was permitted, and Serbia, having aided Russia in the war, was granted independence. The province of Tunisia, which Italy had expected to obtain, was given to France. Russia took from Rumania the province of Bessarabia and gave in return that of Dobrudja. The arbitrary provisions of the Congress of Berlin did not satisfy all the participants, but the peace of Europe had been retained for the time being. The next year Bismarck attained his desire of an alliance with Austria, thus preventing what he had feared—an alliance between that country and France.

Friction in Colonial Matters

It was about this time that, contrary to his previous policy, Bismarck began to take an interest in colonial expansion for Germany. France became involved in colonial friction with England, and, having taken possession of Tunisia in 1881, thereby incurred the anger of Italy. In 1889 an important treaty was arranged between England and Germany by which Germany came into possession of Samoa. Referring to this in a speech in Parliament, Lord Salisbury said:

This morning you have learned of an arrangement concluded between us and one of the Continental States with whom, more than with others, we have for years maintained sympathetic relations. The arrangement, above all, is interesting as an indication that our relations with the German Nation are all that we could desire.

In February, 1900, Lord Rosebery said: "The Government made pressing overtures to Germany and to the United States for an alliance last December." But the influence which finally culminated in the Triple Entente of England, France,

and Russia had now begun to be effective in the policy of M. Delcassé, the French Minister.

The Fashoda incident had brought M. Delcassé into office through the resignation of his predecessor, M. Hanotaux. The difficulty caused by this affair almost led to war between England and France. In 1882 the British had undertaken to crush a native rebellion in Egypt and had bombarded the City of Alexandria, afterward landing troops, which were still in occupation. The other powers had protested in vain.

There had been some trouble as to the failure of Great Britain to carry out certain treaty rights of France in regard to fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland, and now a more serious difficulty arose as to the Sudan. A French expeditionary force was in that country when a rumor arose as to a possible intention of diverting the waters of the Nile. Great Britain promptly annexed the Sudan, and when Colonel Marchand, the leader of the French expedition, finally made his way to Fashoda, a village on the Nile, he found Kitchener in possession, and after a conference was obliged to withdraw. France was not in a position to defend her claim against England by force of arms, although feeling in regard to the incident ran high in France. Her Minister, M. Hanotaux, was obliged to resign.

M. Delcassé, succeeding to the office, endeavored to maintain peaceful relations, although the task was not an easy one, with Italy also assuming a hostile attitude with regard to Tunisia. In 1902 an agreement was made with Italy which contained a proviso that she would not join in an aggressive war against France. This probably influenced Italy's action in 1914. Italy was also induced to accept a revision of the Tunisian treaty, thus recognizing the claims of France to that province.

Rise of the Triple Entente

The idea of war with Germany was never very far from the thought of French politicians after 1870, and, indeed, war was barely averted in 1875. M. Delcassé did not like Germany, but in his policy of conciliation he even drew upon

himself the charge of having "sold out to the Germans" because he went to Russia to intercede with the Government of that country to withhold opposition to the German project of a railway to the East. In his quest of a defensive alliance, however, he turned to Great Britain. The new order of things, which changed the ancient enemies into allies and resulted in the formation of the Triple Entente, had given signs of its approach, from the time, indeed, when it might have been expected—the retirement of Bismarck. From this time the change in the relations of Germany and Russia may be dated. Bismarck's intention was always to retain the friendship of Russia, and a disagreement on this subject between the young Kaiser and the aged Chancellor is supposed to have led to the latter's retirement in 1890. The following year the alliance between France and Russia was consummated, although the full text of this alliance was not made public until 1897 upon the occasion of the visit of the Czar Nicholas to Paris. Great resentment was felt in Germany when the terms of this alliance were known, and the war party did not conceal its dissatisfaction with the Kaiser for his policy of maintaining peace.

It was three years before this that the photograph of the Kaiser, with his arm encircling the shoulder of the Czar, was taken, upon the occasion of the latter's betrothal to the cousin of the Kaiser. When this picture was exhibited in a shop window of Paris, at the time of the Czar's visit in 1897, the Parisians objected so strongly that it had to be removed.

But the dominating force of Bismarck no longer controlled the politics of Europe, and it became more and more evident that the other countries resented the exercise of German influence and entertained a growing fear of German military power. It was after the Boer war that the enmity developing in England became apparent. Great Britain, humiliated by the mismanagement of that war and the criticisms her conduct toward the Boers had called forth, was inclined to meet the overtures of France. The Associated Chambers of Commerce of London passed a resolution in favor of

an arbitration treaty with France in the interests of trade. King Edward visited Paris, and President Loubet and M. Delcassé returned the visit. It is understood that King Edward was largely instrumental in establishing friendly relations with France, and it is also believed that his personal association with the Kaiser, his nephew, had not been agreeable.

Entente Cordiale Signed

The "Entente Cordiale" between England and France was signed in 1904. By the entente the two Governments pledged themselves not to interfere with each other, or, rather, "to afford to one "another their diplomatic support in "order to obtain the execution of the "clauses of the present declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco." The secret portions of the treaty were not made public until seven years afterward.

When, the following year after the entente was signed, the Kaiser arrived at Tangier in his yacht and, in a speech to the Sultan, offered his services if needed, and also expressed his intention of safeguarding the interests of Germans in Morocco, the French people, who were not aware of the underlying causes, were extremely indignant. The secret portion of the entente, which related to a possible partition of Morocco, would appear to have come to the knowledge of the Kaiser. Great Britain had desired to protect her interests in Gibraltar, and in the event of a partition of Morocco, while not demanding a share, asked that the portion lying opposite her possessions should belong to Spain, and that that country should give a pledge that no fortification would be erected thereon which could menace the British occupation of Gibraltar. As this portion of the treaty was not made public until 1911, the action of the Kaiser indicated that he had learned of its provisions. His visit to Tangier was also timed after the defeat of the Russians by the Japanese at Liao-Yang. France, not being prepared to fight, was obliged to consent to the demand of public opinion in Germany, which insisted that a conference of the powers should be held and that M. Delcassé should be asked to resign.

A conference of the powers was held at Algeiras in Spain in 1906. At this conference it appeared that Germany did not have the support of the other nations, as all those taking part voted against her except Austria and Morocco. Among those who thus voted were Belgium and the United States, although the fact of the presence of our representative was withheld from the Senate. Again the war party of Germany regretted the settlement of this matter by diplomacy, in which they did not excel, instead of the sword, which at this time they could have drawn with every prospect of success. The maintenance of peace, however, seemed to be most desired, and efforts at conciliation continued to be made.

Austria's Annexation of Bosnia

But again the Eastern question arose. A revolution in Turkey overthrew the Government of Abdul Hamid. In power, the party of the Young Turks undertook to assert their sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria, ignoring the fact that the Congress of Berlin had merely given her a protectorate over those provinces, annexed them. In this act she was upheld by Germany, and the protests of the other powers were overruled. On account of interest in Slav nationalities, the Czar especially was insistent, but, as the Kaiser threatened war rather than abandon the support of his ally, Russia was forced to withdraw opposition, which she was the more willing to do, as she was then in no condition to undertake a war against Germany and Austria.

The affair of Agadir was the next menace to the peace of Europe, the scene being again laid in Morocco. There were German interests in that country, and there had been complaints of unequal treatment in commercial matters. It had been rumored that France was preparing to assume a protectorate over the territory. A military expedition had been sent to Fez, ostensibly to protect the interests of the French residents. Germany protested by sending a warship to Agadir. The crisis produced threatened to be serious, but at last the Kaiser recognized the French protectorate of Morocco

and as a compensation received a rather useless bit of territory in the Congo.

The Treaty of Bucharest

Italy now proceeded to take from Turkey her last remaining colonies in Africa, engaging in a war with the Turks without either the consent or participation of her allies. This war was followed by the war of the Balkan Alliance against Turkey in 1912. Earlier in this year a treaty had been made between Bulgaria and Serbia, from which it appeared that Serbia desired access to the Adriatic, while Bulgaria's object was the independence of Macedonia. The Serbians, cherishing a national spirit that had been aroused through the efforts of Austria to keep them in subjection, aspired to a union of those nationalities of the Balkan Peninsula which had a common origin or spoke similar languages. Austria opposed this aspiration and undertook to protect Albania from Serbia. The result of the war of the Balkan Alliance was in favor of Serbia, and Bulgaria was forced to accept a solution which she had gone to war to prevent.

The Treaty of Bucharest, which ended the war, has been pronounced one of the most iniquitous ever perpetrated. The demand to have it laid before the powers for revision was refused. Germany and Austria resented the advantages gained by Serbia and considered the result a victory for Russia. Serbia, on account of their common Slav origin, was the protégé of Russia, and on her own part recognized the advantage of the friendship of her northern neighbor, while that power realized that through Serbia lay the route to southern seas. Austria's policy was to subject Serbia to her domination and to frustrate any ambitions as to Pan-Slavonic development. Under these conditions, and with the Balkan question still unsettled, the peace of Europe was unstable.

In 1913 Germany passed a law giving a great increase to her army; Russia also voted enormous military credits, and France lengthened the enforced term of service in her army from two to three years. The stage was set for the great war, and on June 28, 1914, the incentive to trouble was given in the assassination

of the heir to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife at Serajevo.

The Fatal Thirteen Days

With the constantly increasing preparations for war, the endless speculations as to when it would begin, with everybody on the *qui vive* and the young German officers drinking to "The Day," it was evident that the provocation that would set a match to the tinder would not be far to seek. The increase in the German Navy and the extension of German competition in the commerce of all the marts of the world had also been a source of concern to England, while the German project of a railway from Hamburg to Bagdad was regarded by that country as inimical to her interests in the East. The crime of Serajevo precipitated the crisis.

The history of the great war begins with the first of the "Fatal Thirteen Days," July 23, 1914. On that day Austria sent an ultimatum to Serbia containing ten demands, with the request that an answer be returned within forty-eight hours. The important demand included in the ultimatum was that in which Serbia was asked to permit the collaboration of Austria "for the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy." It would seem that Austria had chosen the time as an opportune occasion to humiliate and browbeat Serbia.

At the moment Great Britain was occupied with the home-rule conference, and the ultimatum was sent on the very day that the conference failed and civil war in Ulster seemed inevitable. The President of France and his Prime Minister were in Russia, the French Ambassador to Serbia had gone away from the capital, the Russian Ambassador was about to leave for a fortnight's vacation, and left after receiving the assurance that the situation was not critical. It was evident that Germany knew of the action of her ally and was prepared to give her support. The demand of Austria, however, to be permitted to take part in the investigation of the crime which had been committed was felt to be an infringe-

ment upon the sovereign rights of Serbia which that country could not permit.

On July 24 the British Ambassador at Vienna reported to his Government that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, having been received by the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, had given as his own personal opinion that the Austrian note had been so drawn as to render its acceptance as it stood impossible, and that it was both unusual and peremptory in its terms. The Austrian Minister replied that unless the demands were accepted by 4 P. M. the following day the Austrian Minister at Belgrade had instructions to leave. On the same day the German Ambassador at Paris made known the hope of his Government that the conflict might be confined to Austria and Serbia.

On Saturday, July 25, Austria refused to extend the time limit imposed on Serbia. The British Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin reported a conversation had that day with the Secretary of State in which the latter said he "did not know what Austria-Hungary had ready on the spot, but he admitted quite freely that the Austro-Hungarian Government wished to give Serbia a lesson, and they meant to take military action." This seemed to be the general opinion among the Ambassadors.

Serbia's Answer to Austria

Serbia's answer, in which she accepted eight out of the ten demands of Austria, was dated upon this day. As to the remaining two demands, she declined to permit Austrian officials to conduct the investigation of her citizens, as such action would be a reflection on her sovereignty; but she offered to place the matter before The Hague Tribunal or the great powers. The Austrian Minister at Belgrade spent forty minutes in considering the answer and left for Vienna.

Sunday, July 26. The British Ambassador at St. Petersburg reported a conversation with the German Ambassador in which, in reply to his question if the Russian Government might not be induced to intervene on account of kindred nationality, the German Ambassador said that everything would depend on the personality of the Russian Minister for For-

eign Affairs—but he did not think that official would take a step which would open up so many frontier questions; besides, France was not at all in a condition to make war.

On this day Sir Edward Grey proposed that the four powers most directly interested should authorize their Ambassadors to meet and seek some formula of agreement, while in the meantime neither Serbia, Austria, nor Russia should enter into military preparations. France and Italy agreed to this, and the proposition was also favored by Russia, who had already made overtures to Austria for the purpose of entering into direct conversations. Germany, while appearing to approve of this suggestion on principle, objected that it would be tantamount to calling Austria and Russia before an international court, which was out of the question. M. Cambon, the French Ambassador at Berlin, pointed out that in such a crisis the matter of form might be disregarded, and if a peaceful solution could not be found, the responsibility would rest with Germany. The German diplomat still refused.

Monday, July 27. Sir Edward Grey informed his Ambassador at St. Petersburg that he had learned from German and Austrian sources that they believed that Russia would not take action as long as Austria agreed not to take Serbian territory.

Austria Refuses a Parley

Tuesday, July 28. The Austrian Ambassador at Berlin assured the British Ambassador that a general war was most unlikely, that Russia neither wanted nor was in a condition to make war. This seemed to be the opinion in the German capital. On this day, however, the offer of Russia to discuss the matter with Austria was refused, and the Austrian Premier withheld from his Ambassador at St. Petersburg the authority to hold conversations with the Russian authorities in regard to the terms of the note to Serbia.

Austria declared war upon Serbia.

Wednesday, July 29. The Italian Minister made a suggestion to the British Ambassador at Rome to the effect that, as it appeared Germany was desirous of

maintaining friendly relations with England, it would be well if she were given to understand that the latter country would act with France and Russia. To the entreaty of the French Ambassador, however, Sir Edward Grey replied: "In the present case the dispute between Austria and Serbia is not one in which we feel called upon to take a hand. Even if the question were one between Austria and Russia we should not feel called upon to take a hand in it. It would then be a question of the supremacy of Teuton or Slav—a struggle for supremacy in the Balkans—and our idea has always been to avoid being drawn into a war over the Balkan question."

It was on this day that the Kaiser, according to his letter, given to our Ambassador, Mr. Gerard, on Aug. 10, for transmission to President Wilson, received the verbal message from his brother, Prince Henry, which had previously been transmitted by telegraph. This message, he asserts, was to the effect that King George, in a conversation with Prince Henry, had assured him that England would remain neutral "if war broke out on the Continent involving Germany, France, Austria, and Russia"; but King George flatly denies ever having sent such a message.

The German Chancellor promised that if England would stand aside, Germany would seek no territorial aggrandizement from France, although he would make no promises as to French colonies. Also he would guarantee to respect the neutrality of Belgium if she did not side with France.

Britain's Attitude Made Clear

Thursday, July 30. Sir Edward Grey refused the German offer of the previous day. What Germany asked, he said, was in effect

to stand by while French colonies were taken and France is beaten, so long as Germany does not take French territory as distinct from her colonies. From the material point of view such a prospect is unacceptable, for France, without further territory being taken from her, could be so crushed as to lose her position as a great power and become subordinate to German policy. Altogether apart from that, it would be a disgrace for us to make

this bargain at the expense of France, a disgrace from which the good name of this country would never recover. The Chancellor also asks us to bargain away whatever obligation or interest we have as regards the neutrality of Belgium; we could not entertain this bargain, either.

At 2 o'clock on this morning the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg had a second interview with the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and asked M. Sazonoff to offer some suggestion that could be telegraphed to his Government as a last hope. M. Sazonoff then drew up and handed to the Ambassador the following formula:

If Austria, recognizing that her conflict with Serbia has assumed character of question of European interest, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum points which violate sovereignty of Serbia, Russia engages to stop all military preparations.

Austria Recedes a Step

Learning of the military preparations of Russia, Count von Berchtold, the Austrian Premier, agreed to permit the resumption of diplomatic conversations, saying that his former refusal to permit this interchange with the Russian officials had been based on a misunderstanding, and begging the Russian Ambassador to do all in his power to remove the false impression that "Austria had brutally banged the door on negotiations." He also informed Paris and London that Austria had no intention of impugning the sovereign rights of Serbia. The Russian Ambassador at Vienna in his turn gave assurance that his Government would take into consideration the demands of Austria in "a far more generous spirit than was expected." At St. Petersburg the Austrian Ambassador accepted the discussion proposed, and agreed to accept the mediation of the powers suggested by Sir Edward Grey and drafted by the Russian Minister.

Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador at Berlin, informed his Government of an extraordinary council which he believed had been held at Potsdam the previous evening, consisting of the military authorities under the Presidency of the Emperor, and which "had decided upon mobilization, a fact which explains the Lokal-Anzeiger's special edition, [con-

taining the order for mobilization,] but that various influences [England's statement that she reserves full liberty of action, exchange of telegrams between the Czar and Wilhelm II.] have caused the serious measures which have been determined upon to be suspended."

Kaiser to President Wilson

Referring to the situation at this point, the Kaiser, in his letter to President Wilson, says that his Ambassador at London communicated to him the position of England as given by Sir Edward Grey in a private conversation—that England would not move even if Russia was involved with Austria—but if Germany entered the conflict "she would take quick decisions and grave measures; i. e., if I "left my ally Austria in the lurch to "fight alone, England would not touch "me." Continuing (Part 4):

"This communication being directly "counter to the King's message to me, I "telegraphed to H. M., on the 29th or 30th, "thanking him for kind messages through "my brother and begging him to use all "his power to keep France and Russia—"his allies—from making any warlike "preparations calculated to disturb my "work of mediation, stating that I was in "constant communication with H. M. the "Czar.

"In the evening the King kindly answered that he had ordered his Government to use every possible influence with "his allies to refrain from taking any "provocative military measures. At the "same time H. M. asked me if I would "transmit to Vienna the British proposal "that Austria was to take Belgrade and a "few Serbian towns and a strip of country as a 'main-mise' to make sure that "the Serbian promises on paper should "be fulfilled in reality. This proposal "was in the same moment telegraphed to "me from Vienna for London, quite in "conjunction with the British proposal; "besides, I had telegraphed to H. M. the "Czar the same as an idea of mine, before I received the two communications "from Vienna and London, as both were "of the same opinion.

"I immediately transmitted the telegrams vice versa to Vienna and London. I felt that I was able to tide the "question over and was happy at the "peaceful outlook."

The telegrams here referred to have not appeared in the German official reports of the diplomatic proceedings. Mr. Gerard, to whom the Kaiser's cablegram was given for transmission, relates that

directly after receiving it he was questioned in regard to its contents by a certain person in high authority whose identity he did not wish to disclose. Requesting that the cablegram be shown to him, this personage suggested that it would be best in the interest of good feeling between Germany and America that it should not be published. This precaution evidently applied to the closing paragraph, (Part 7,) in which the Kaiser said that the neutrality of Belgium "had to be violated on strategical grounds." Why that admission should have been considered imprudent then, or why the publication three years afterward when we were at war with Germany was considered as an important confession, it is difficult to understand, when Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg, on the very day that the act was committed, announced the fact that they "found it necessary to enter Belgian territory."

The Kaiser to the Czar

But we have left the Kaiser at the close of the day when he was "happy at the peaceful outlook." That night a telegram was sent to the Czar and received by the latter at 1 o'clock A. M., which was worded by the Kaiser as follows:

My Ambassador has been instructed to call the attention of your Government to the dangers and serious consequences of mobilization. This is what I told you in my last telegram. Austria-Hungary has mobilized only against Serbia, and no more than part of her army. If it is the case, as your telegram and the communication of your Government indicate, that Russia is mobilizing against Austria-Hungary, the success of the mission of mediation with which you amicably trusted me, and which I accepted at your request, will be endangered or perhaps made impossible. The whole burden of the decision to be arrived at now rests on your shoulders, which will have to bear the responsibility of war or peace.

The reply to this telegram was received in Berlin at 1:20 P. M. and was as follows:

The military measures which have now been taken were decided upon five days ago as a precaution against the preparations of Austria. I hope most sincerely that these measures will not in any way hinder your mediation, which I value very greatly.

Meanwhile the Kaiser, as he states in

his letter to President Wilson, was in the act of preparing a letter to the Czar "to inform him that Vienna, London, and Berlin were agreed about the treatment of affairs" when he received a telephone message from his Chancellor that "the night before the Czar had given the order to mobilize the whole of the Russian Army, which was, of course, also meant against Germany; whereas up till then the southern armies had been mobilized against Austria."

From this time the Kaiser openly manifested his resentment at the action of the Czar and adopted the aggressive attitude that within forty-eight hours precipitated the war. He stated that he considered the Czar's reply to his telegram evasive, and was evidently angered at what he construed as a defiance from Russia.

Czar's Efforts for Peace

A light has been thrown upon the conduct of the Czar recently, which absolves him from deliberate intention to produce the result which followed. It has been pointed out that demobilization at the demand of the Kaiser would have been the deepest possible humiliation for Russia, yet in the trial of the Russian General Soukhomlinoff on the charge of treason by the revolutionary authorities it was brought out that the Czar actually did give an order for arrest of mobilization, which upon the night in question was changed by General Januschkevitch because of news which he said had been received of mobilization by Germany. On being informed of this in the morning, the Czar was said to have thanked the General for his action.

The efforts of the Czar to preserve peace are made plain, but also the fact that he was manipulated by one of his officers, or that they were both the victims of false information.

Mr. Gerard says that in Berlin peace talk continued, but that on the afternoon of this day he had a conversation with Baron Beyens, the Minister from Belgium, and Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador, who were very much depressed, and who told him that nothing could now prevent war but the intervention of the United States.

Acting on his own responsibility, Mr. Gerard sent this letter to the Chancellor:

Your Excellency: Is there nothing that my country can do? Nothing that I can do toward stopping this dreadful war? I am sure the President would approve any act of mine looking toward peace. Yours ever, (Signed) JAMES W. GERARD.

To this no reply was sent.

Friday, July 31. Mr. Gerard cabled the State Department that a general European war was inevitable.

At 2 P. M. the Kaiser telegraphed to the Czar:

I undertook to mediate between your Government and the Austro-Hungarian Government. While this negotiation was still proceeding your troops were mobilized against Austria-Hungary, my ally, and, in consequence of this, as I have already informed you, my intervention has become almost illusory. In spite of this, I continued.

I have just received reliable information of serious warlike preparations on my eastern frontier, and, as I am responsible for the security of my empire, I am obliged to adopt similar measures of defense.

I have done everything possible in my efforts to keep the peace, and it is not I who will bear the responsibility of the frightful disaster which at present menaces the whole civilized world.

Even now it depends only upon you to prevent it. No one threatens the honor and authority of Russia, and she might very well have awaited the result of my intervention.

No reply was given to this telegram, and the same day an official summons was sent to Russia to demobilize within twelve hours. It is definitely asserted that a telegram from the Czar offering to place the matters at issue before The Hague Tribunal, which received no reply, was deliberately omitted from the German diplomatic record. Indeed, all the events which led to the crisis have been the subject of bitter controversy. For, although there are those who, like stormy petrels, ride this whirlwind with evident delight, no one wants to assume the responsibility of having started it, and it has been the peculiarity of this war that every nation that has entered it, those of the Central Powers as well as those of the Allies, has proclaimed that it did so in self-defense.

At 7 P. M., the same hour at which the demand upon Russia to demobilize was made, the *Kriegsgefahrzustand*, or "con-

dition of danger of war," was proclaimed in Berlin.

German and Russian Mobilization

Aug. 1. At 5 P. M. the order for mobilization of the German Army was given, and at 7:10 P. M., the twelve hours of the ultimatum to Russia having expired, war was declared against that country.

Perhaps the most important of the controversies that have been waged as to the responsibility for the breaking out of the war has been that in regard to the dates of mobilization in Germany and Russia. We have, as given above, the official time of Germany's order for mobilization as reported by our Ambassador, Mr. Gerard—5 P. M. on Aug. 1. The Czar, in his telegram to the Kaiser on the 30th, admitted that the military preparations of Russia had been decided upon five days before, thus apparently giving the Russian mobilization a precedence of about six days before that of Germany. Christopher Schnurrer, a graduate of the University of Leipsic, has recently been arrested in this country, and among his effects was found a card issued by the Imperial Government of Germany directing him to report for military duty on July 17, 1914. This agrees with the stories that were current about the time of the breaking out of the war, going to show that Germany had anticipated the event by summoning officers of her army on leave at distant points to return; and that some of them had been making their way from Canada and remote parts of the United States ten days or two weeks before war was declared.

That, on account of the trouble between Austria and Serbia, Germany had considered the possibility of being drawn into a war with Russia, was admitted in the diplomatic correspondence published in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Aug. 24, 1914, known as the German White Paper. In this document the following statement was made: "We are fully aware in this connection that warlike moves on the part of Austria-Hungary against Serbia would bring Russia into the question and might draw us into a war in accordance with our duties as an ally."

This accounted for preparations made by Germany for mobilization. The increase in the German Army the previous year, the military preparations of Russia, and the lengthened term of service in the French Army; in fact, all the efforts of the great powers to be prepared for the emergency had previously indicated the state of apprehension that existed.

It was expected that France would enter into the war. Her Premier had said that she would act as her interests demanded, but to insure the neutrality of Italy it was felt that France should abstain from aggressive movements, and her troops were ordered to retire ten kilometers from the border of Germany.

German Invasion of Belgium

Aug. 2. At 7 P. M. the German Government announced to Belgium its purpose to violate the neutrality of that country, either with or without her consent. Accompanying the note was the assurance that "the German troops with their iron discipline will respect personal liberty and personal property of the individual in Belgium, just as they did in France in 1870." Article 4 of this communication also contained the warning: "Should Belgium oppose the German troops, and in particular should she throw difficulties in the way of their march by resistance of the fortresses on the Meuse, or by destroying railroads, tunnels, or other similar works, Germany will to her regret be compelled to consider Belgium an enemy."

In the Reichstag that day, Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg said:

"We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law—anybody who is threatened as we are threatened and is fighting for his highest possessions can have only one thought—how he is to hack his way through."

Monday, Aug. 3. At 7 o'clock in the morning Belgium delivered her reply, that she was resolved to repulse by every means in her power any attack upon her rights.

Later in the day, the Germans, having crossed the frontier, the King of the Belgians appealed to England for diplomatic intervention.

Great Britain and Belgium

Tuesday, Aug. 4. On this day the climax arrived which threw the great powers of Europe into the war, and which has now drawn into its toils nearly the whole world. The German Chancellor stated to the Reichstag the events which had led to the declaration of war against Russia. With regard to France, while he admitted that the French had agreed to respect a zone of ten kilometers from the border, he asserted that in reality aggressions had been made on German territory (in Alsace-Lorraine) by "bomb-throwing fliers, cavalry patrols, invading companies." Proof of this has not been given, and the Kaiser does not refer to it definitely in his letter to President Wilson, stating the case in relation to France as follows:

In a telegram from London my Ambassador informed me he understood the British Government would guarantee neutrality of France and wished to know whether Germany would refrain from attack. I telegraphed to H. M. personally that mobilization being carried out could not be stopped, but if H. M. could guarantee with his armed forces the neutrality of France I would *refrain from attacking her, leave her alone*, and employ my troops elsewhere. H. M. answered that he thought my offer was based on a misunderstanding; and, as far as I can make out, Sir E. Grey never took my offer into serious consideration. He never answered it. Instead, he declared England had to defend Belgian neutrality, which had to be violated by Germany on strategical grounds, news having been received that France was already preparing to enter Belgium, and the King of the Belgians having refused my petition for a free passage under guarantees of his country's freedom.

Proof of a possible French invasion of Belgian territory has not been furnished; on the contrary, it is said that the French troops near the border were opposite the German frontier, not the Belgian.

As to possible occupation of Belgium by England in the event of a war with Germany, even without the request or consent of that country, proof that this had been discussed was alleged to have been found by the Germans in the archives of Antwerp, although the documents, which they have since published, indicate that the matter never went any further than certain conversations be-

tween the Military Attachés of England and Belgium in 1906, and again in 1912, over hypothetical situations. The King of the Belgians has published a statement in which, referring to the conversation reported by General Ducarme to the Minister of War in 1906, he says that so fearful was he of any act that could be construed as unneutral that he caused these matters to be communicated to the German Military Attaché at Berlin, and therefore, when the Germans went through the archives at Antwerp they knew exactly what they would find. When it became known that the Dutch contemplated fortifying the mouth of the Scheldt, both Great Britain and France protested. It was there that the possible landing of troops had been contemplated.

Early Diplomatic Conversations

In 1911 the Belgian representative at Berlin objected that the plans should also take into account an arrangement with Germany in the event of an invasion of Belgium by France and England. In the conversation between the Military Attachés Lieutenant Bridges and General Jungbluth in 1912, the former said that England could send an army of 160,000 men even if Belgium did not demand aid. To this the Belgian General objected that Belgium's consent would be necessary. Colonel Bridges answered that he was aware of that, but as the Belgians would not be able to prevent the passage of the Germans through their country, England would send troops into Belgium in any case. General Jungbluth contended that the Belgians would be perfectly able to prevent the passage of the Germans.

Details were discussed even in the earlier conversations as to the amount of time which would be required for the arrival of the British troops and if the Belgian preparations were sufficient for defense during the time, perhaps ten days, which must elapse before the landing was accomplished.

On the other hand, it is said that there were evidences of preparation on the part of Germany for the invasion of Belgium in the numerous railways leading in the direction of the frontier, ten of which

had been constructed, while eight more were under construction when most of them were unnecessary for the traffic of the region. In fact, the strategic importance of this region was recognized by both sides, and Flanders was again to be made the battlefield of the nations. To the fact that it had suffered so much through wars, Fergusson attributed the circumstance that it was so rich in architectural monuments, because the country had been so impoverished that it was unable to follow the custom of more prosperous places and destroy the fine mediaeval structures to give way to more modern but less beautiful productions.

Belgium's Neutrality Guaranteed

In 1830, when the independence of Belgium was demanded and obtained from Holland, its permanent neutrality as a State not strong enough to defend itself was guaranteed by the powers. In 1839 the Quintuple Treaty, made when Lemberg and Luxemburg had been divided between Belgium and the Netherlands, again guaranteed this neutrality. Although the German Empire as it is constituted today was not in existence at that time, the neutrality of Belgium had been understood as amply guaranteed by Bismarck, and Herr von Jagow had remarked in the Reichstag in 1913 that Germany was resolved to respect those conventions.

Mr. Gerard characterized the Kaiser's excuse for the violation of Belgian neutrality on the score of "strategical reasons," and because the King of the Belgians had refused free passage to his troops under a guarantee of his country's freedom, as weak; remarking that "it would, indeed, inaugurate a new era in the intercourse of nations if a small nation could only preserve its freedom by at all times, on request, granting free passage to the troops of a powerful neighbor on the march to attack an adjoining country." In fact it would be a new order of things if this were not done, but it is to be hoped that after this the custom will be discontinued. The Kaiser's method, although a custom more honored in the breach than the observance, is one that has been practiced many times without even the promise of

freedom to the country whose rights are thus violated.

England's Safety Involved

The fact that this was Belgium and that the neutrality of that country was essential as a defensive measure for England changed the situation. The possibility of making the coast of Flanders and that of Northwestern France a base for hostile demonstrations against England would, of course, be of vital importance to that country. It was probably in anticipation of such a contingency that a secret clause had been incorporated into the entente between England and France providing that in case of war with Germany the French coast would be protected by England. This was the reason why England could not proceed as in 1870 to arrange that Belgian neutrality should be respected by France and Germany.

In 1870 France had proposed to take possession of Belgium, and England had demanded that both France and Germany should sign treaties guaranteeing Belgian neutrality for the duration of the war. These treaties were signed by France and the North German Federation on Aug. 9 and 26, respectively, in 1870, to be observed during the war and one year thereafter, when matters were to continue as before. Now the secret agreement of the entente bound England to aid France as an ally, but the fact was unknown even to the members of the British Cabinet until it was revealed in the speech of Sir Edward Grey before Parliament on Aug. 2, 1914. This revelation led to the resignation of John Burns, Minister of Commerce, and that of two other members of the Cabinet, Lord Trevelyan and Mr. Morley, who thus renounced their political careers as a protest against the situation into which Sir Edward Grey had led the country. The leader of the Labor Party also resigned, and Arthur Ponsonby publicly denounced the practices of the Minister for Foreign Affairs in a letter in which he said that they had been assured again and again that Great Britain was under no obligation to go to the assistance of France, while now they found themselves so hopelessly involved that there was no retreat. Through the

provisions of the entente and the agreement for the defense of the coasts of France, England was now definitely aligned with the enemies of Germany.

On Aug. 4 Great Britain protested against the violation of Belgian neutrality and delivered to the German Government what was practically an ultimatum to the effect that if the neutrality of that country was not respected and a favorable reply received by midnight, the British Ambassador would demand his passports.

Bethmann's Reichstag Speech

In his speech before the Reichstag on this day the Chancellor said:

Concerning the French complaints in regard to violations of the border, I have received from the Chief of the General Staff the following report: Only one offense has been committed. Contrary to an emphatic order, a patrol of the Fourteenth Army Corps, led by an officer, crossed the border on Aug. 2. They apparently were killed. Only one man returned. However, long before the crossing of the border French fliers were dropping bombs in Southern Germany, and at Schluchtpass the French troops had attacked our border troops. [These assertions were never substantiated by Germany, and are denounced by France as falsehoods.]

Until the present our troops have confined their activity to the protection of our borders. They are now on the defense, and necessity knows no law.

Our troops have occupied Luxemburg, and perhaps have also found it necessary to enter Belgian territory. This is contrary to international law. The French Government has declared in Brussels that it will respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as the enemy respects it. We know, however, that France was ready to attack us. France could wait, but we could not, because a French attack on our lower Rhine flank would have proved fatal.

So we were forced to disregard the justified protests of the Luxemburg and Belgian Governments. We shall try to make good the injustice we have committed as soon as our military goal has been reached. When one is threatened as we are, and when one is fighting for a supreme good, one must consider only how victory can be gained.

That evening, in discussing Great Britain's decision with the British Ambassador, the Chancellor said:

Just for a word—neutrality, a word

which in time of war is so often disregarded—just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her. * * * What Great Britain had done was unthinkable, it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants.

England entered the war at midnight. Germany on this day declared war against France, Belgium, and England.

In the outlining of the historical facts cited above no account has been taken of the emotional phase of the situation, out of which has grown a mass of evidence from which it will be extremely difficult to separate the true from the false. We are dealing now with history. What has been cited above indicates the questions at issue. They are still unsettled, insoluble in the heat of conflict.

A recent report seems to strengthen the general belief that the war was the result of a deep-laid plan of the Central

Powers, which are represented as having held a conference some weeks before the ultimatum of Austria to Serbia, in which all the possibilities were discussed. It is said that when a few days after this meeting Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg became convinced that England would enter the war, he wished to withdraw, but it was too late. Among the Allies a settled belief has grown that the German plan involved nothing less than world conquest; that the invasion of Belgium included the plan of obtaining possession of Dunkirk and Calais, whence as a base, and by the aid of submarines, the commerce of the world could be controlled, and whence an expedition could separate the armies of Belgium and France and obtain possession of Paris. Whether this ambitious scheme had a place in the minds of the German military party or not, we can, with the evidence at hand, but leave in the realm of conjecture.

Legend of the Belgian Francs-Tireurs

Investigations of the Belgian Documentary Bureau

Germany has from the beginning based its defense of the atrocities in Belgium upon the assertion that the German soldiers were fired upon by armed Belgian civilians, usually called "francs-tireurs" or "free-shooters." Michel Annebault, a French writer, has dealt with this charge in the appended article, based on the investigations of the Belgian Documentary Bureau:

THANKS to the notes of the Belgian Documentary Bureau, drawn from the best and surest sources, the German campaign intended to accredit the legend of an organization of Belgian francs-tireurs may be seen in its true light as a villainous fabrication. That campaign was begun with a pamphlet entitled "Confessions of the Belgian Press," ("Der Franktireurkrieg in Belgien: Geständnis der Belgischen Presse.") The Belgian Documentary Records contain this comment: "The publication in question contains no word or mark to

indicate who is responsible for it or whence it emanates; yet the leading newspapers of Germany and Austria, including the official organs, have published long analyses of it and given it the benefit of wide publicity."

The German pamphlet accuses the Belgian Government of having instituted, on Aug. 8, 1914, a commission of inquiry "with the object of throwing light upon the violations of international law in Belgium." It pretends that there could not then be any question of violation, as Germany had only just crossed the frontier. [The frontier was crossed on the 3d.] The Belgian Government, it adds, had therefore gone faster than the events. But, either through negligence or through disdain for the truth, a few pages further along the pamphlet cites extracts from the Belgian press reporting the burning and pillaging of the first Belgian towns by the imperial troops.

The German pamphlet then accuses the Belgian Government of having organized that famous war of francs-tireurs, exciting the civil population to rebel against the conquering soldiers. It pretends to find proof of this in the royal decree of Aug. 5, which, according to the Belgian Documentary Bureau, "called into action the reserve regiments of the Civil Guard, and which corresponded with the general call of a nation to arms, issued through one or two Belgian newspapers of the same date." The argumentation of the pamphlet, fantastic in its smallest details, confuses the calling of the Civil Guard reserves with the organization of a war of francs-tireurs.

The Belgian Documentary Bureau goes on to give the antecedents of the Civil Guard, its rules and objects since its creation. It verifies the date and the calling of its inactive members to arms by the decree of the King on Aug. 5. It is shown that there was here no measure of illegal revolt, but a call foreseen in the laws of the guard. But Germany scorns these distinctions.

The German pamphlet continues to accuse the Belgian Government of inciting the civil population to take part in the hostilities. Now, that accusation falls of its own weight when one examines the State telegrams addressed on Aug. 4 to the administrative authorities of the 2,600 communes of the country, reminding them of the duties of the civil population in time of war. Besides, the official advice was reproduced daily by the press. Upon what documents, then, is the accusation based? Upon certain wild stories in the allied press, which gave way, in the first hours of the war, to partisanship, to the demand for legends, to the popular thirst for heroism and exaltation. With a view, evidently very human, to singing the praises of our soldiers and the courage of communities basely attacked, we at that time created the Romanesque and the fantastic. Witness the episode of the "Battle of the Francs-Tireurs of Herstal":

Two thousand German soldiers, arriving before the arms factory at Herstal, were greeted by a hail of bullets. All the houses, even the smallest, had been

transformed into veritable fortresses. Barricades had been thrown up in the streets. The women and children supplied the fighters with ammunition. Repulsed at first, the Germans returned to the charge; then the women poured boiling oil and water on the soldiers, who rolled on the ground, howling with pain. * * *

The Belgian Documentary Bureau adds with reason: "This story is really too sensational to be true." Nevertheless, Germany took note of these newspaper tales, and a part of its accusation is based on them. Since then we have reached a stage of greater modesty and more exactness. The accounts of pillage, thefts, and combats in the cities and the open country are written with names, dates, and details, after the manner of official statements. We have learned that phraseology is a dangerous thing in the hands of those who mutilate even a language.

If one follows the series of studies devoted to the legend of the Belgian francs-tireurs, one finds that the Belgian Documentary Bureau has devoted itself, throughout its notes, to refuting the German accusations, sometimes so inconsistent, with dates and precise facts of undeniable validity. Furthermore, on the subject of combats in which Belgian civilians are represented as taking part, the bureau denounces the sensational unreliability of certain Belgian journals, as exemplified in passages taken from their columns; it shows how they "illustrated with false photographs" the accusations in the German pamphlet.

Finally, it cites before the allied and neutral public the German White Book of May 10, 1915, on the warfare of Belgian civilians, contrary to the law of nations. What bearing has this new White Book on the subject? Does it furnish serious and unpublished documents on the pretended culpability of the Belgian civil population? No; it is nothing but a piece of propaganda, a "copious repetition of grievances long since known and refuted."

The Documentary Records then take up the study of the facts themselves—the fight of the people of Dinant, the case of the curate of Battice, the official protest of Bishop Heylem of Na-

mur, the Austrian ecclesiastical inquiry into the Belgian clergy's participation in the alleged war of armed civilians, the German legends and neutral comments; the bureau gives not only the dates and names, but also the depositions of witnesses. It is piling proofs upon proofs, thus creating one of the strongest indictments of German duplicity and falsehood. * * * The time will come, indeed, when the last of the neutrals will

cease to be tempted to search for truth in German documents, knowing them in advance to be mutilated, distorted, and falsified. At the same time they will find that the Belgian Documentary Bureau has done a valuable service in bringing together the simple facts, dates, and names, and in formulating unanswerable official statements, both individual and collective, of all kinds of German barbarity in Belgium.

La France Vous Salue, Étoiles!

Par EUGENE HOLLANDE

[Le Revue Bleue, Paris]

La France vous salue, étoiles!
 Blanches étoiles dans l'azur du fier drapeau
 Qui sur Paris flotta si beau
 Qu'un frisson fraternel en courut dans nos moëlls,
 Voici l'ovation des vivats et des fleurs!
 Étoiles du drapeau dont chantent les couleurs,
 Étoiles! entendez la France qui salue
 Votre triomphante venue!
 Nos façades avaient dès longtemps marié
 La soie
 De nos drapeaux amis qu'un même souffle épioie.
 Mais voici que Paris au grand coeur a crié
 Sa généreuse joie,
 Quand sur les étendards de ce peuple géant
 De l'Amérique si lointaine,
 Il a vu pour sa cause et pour la cause humaine
 Entrer dans le combat le ciel d'outre-Océan,
 Témoin auguste
 Des champions du Juste
 Accourus s'immoler sans regret et sans peur.
 Étoiles! dites-leur,
 Dites à ces vaillants de la mort volontaire
 Que l'honneur de leur race et de leur libre terre
 A jamais est en eux!



THE KAISER'S RESPONSIBILITY

A Former Ambassador's Analysis of Official Documents
Convicts the German Emperor of Forcing the War

By David Jayne Hill

David Jayne Hill, United States Ambassador to Germany from 1908 to 1911, in the subjoined article—prepared for THE NEW YORK TIMES—has made a new and close analysis of the official reports bearing on the commencement of the war, with the result that he definitely convicts the German Emperor of having caused the great conflict. The Kaiser's acts in the initial crisis, especially as seen now in the light of his recently published telegram to President Wilson, show that Wilhelm's later professions of sympathy with the idea that "in the future the material power of arms must be superseded by the moral power of right" are insincere.

I.—Germany's Plan to Localize the Conflict

LET us address ourselves to the standard of conduct by which the German Government wishes to be judged, namely, by the nature of the Kaiser's efforts to preserve peace. First of all, allow him to speak for himself. This he has done in his personal telegram to the President of the United States, written on Aug. 10, 1914, first published in August, 1917. It is in substance a detailed statement of the Kaiser's reasons for not desiring the mediation of the President with a view to ending the war and a justification of his desire to continue it.

In this telegram the Kaiser's first point is a complaint against England, which had entered the war on Aug. 4, after the invasion of Belgium. The charge is made that Prince Henry had informed the Kaiser that King George V. had empowered him to give verbal assurance "that England would remain neutral if war broke out on the Continent involving Germany and France, Austria and Russia."

The belief that England would take no part in a Continental war had other grounds than the alleged assurance of the King, for as is well known the German Embassy at London had assured the Kaiser that the internal condition of British affairs absolutely precluded such participation. Although it is officially denied in England that the assurance given by Prince Henry was ever authorized by the King, it is certain that Prince

Henry was in London and that he conversed with George V. The most charitable interpretation of the conversation is that one or the other did not understand the scope of the inquiry made or the implications of the answer, for the journey of Prince Henry was undertaken before there was any actual *casus belli* and when it was apparently possible that the Austro-Serbian controversy, in which England had no direct interest, might be settled in a judicial manner.

The Kaiser's Early Intentions

The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia was presented on July 23, and the reply of Serbia was not received at Vienna until the evening of July 25. It was on Sunday, July 26, that Prince Henry, as he informs us in the telegram he sent to King George on July 30, after his return to Berlin, was received by the King at Buckingham Palace. For the message the King had sent to the Kaiser, whatever it was, Prince Henry says in his telegram, "William was very thankful." So far as the Prince's language is concerned, we might suppose the message was that in case any danger of war should arise the King would use all possible means to help in preserving peace. But the Kaiser assures us in his telegram to the President that this was not the message he had sought and which Prince Henry had said he was "thankful for." The grateful communication, according to the Kaiser, was that

France and Germany, Russia and Austria, might fight it out without any interference on the part of England.

Before the Serbian answer was known, therefore, Kaiser William was not only expecting a general Continental war, but he was arranging to confine it to these four powers, a situation which would give to the Central Powers every advantage and the prospect of speedy triumph.

Until July 30, then, the Kaiser, as he himself informs us, was looking for a conflict of arms in which England would take no part. What he was "thankful for," according to his own version of the King's message, which may have been a mistaken one, was not that England would assist in preventing war, but that he could have it on his own terms. This was all he had sought. For peace he had spoken no favorable word.

Giving Austria a Free Hand

Did he know of the contents of the Austrian ultimatum before July 26, when Prince Henry had his conversation with King George? He may not have dictated the note, but he already knew its contents and had approved them.

From the beginning of the conflict [reports the German White Book] we assumed the position that there were here concerned the affairs of Austria alone. * * * We therefore directed our efforts toward the localizing of the war and toward convincing the other powers that Austria-Hungary had to appeal to arms in justifiable self-defense, forced upon her by the conditions.

It was also known that Serbia, otherwise helpless, would ask for a hearing by the other powers, particularly Russia, which was to be denied her. On the 26th Russia was warned by the Kaiser that any military measures to defend Serbia from an armed attack by Austria would be followed by German mobilization, and that German mobilization "means war." It was distinctly declared that an attempt on the part of Russia to secure the independence of Serbia as a sovereign State "would unchain a European war." The alternative presented to war was abject submission to the subjugation of Serbia, as the annexa-

tion of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been reluctantly submitted to in 1909 under a similar threat.

On that same day, July 26, Sir Edward Grey made a proposal to submit the differences between Austria-Hungary and Serbia to a conference of the Ambassa-



DAVID JAYNE HILL

dors of Germany, France, and Italy under his Chairmanship. But, the Kaiser then believing that England's intervention was not to be seriously considered, the German White Book asserts:

We declared in regard to this proposal that we could not, however much we approved the idea, participate in such a conference, as we could not call Austria in her dispute with Serbia before a European tribunal. Faithful to our principle that mediation should not extend to the Austro-Serbian conflict, which is to be considered as a purely Austro-Hungarian affair, but merely to the relations of Austria-Hungary and Russia, we continued our endeavors to bring about an understanding between these two powers.

That is, the "understanding" impressed upon Russia was that any intervention to prevent the attack of Austria upon Serbia would be answered by war, while that impressed upon Austria-

Hungary was that no interference with her humiliation of Serbia would be permitted.

Then, on July 30, came the great disappointment, which Kaiser William frankly sets forth as a personal grievance, and even as a breach of faith on the part of England. "On the 30th," states the next point in his telegram to the President, "my Ambassador in London reported that Sir Edward Grey, in 'course of a 'private' conversation, told 'him that if the conflict remained localized between Russia—not Serbia—and 'Austria, England would not move, but 'if we 'mixed' in the fray she would 'take quick decisions and grave 'measures, i. e., if I left my ally, Austria, 'in the lurch to fight alone, England 'would not touch me."

Here was a turning point. The war between Germany and France, Austria and Russia was then to be blocked. Kaiser William was no longer "thankful." Matters were taking a serious turn. There might be no war at all under these new conditions. Germany's bluff of Russia on the 26th was called by England on the 30th.

To comprehend what this meant to the Kaiser's plans it is important to note what had been occurring in this interval.

Germany Against Peace

On July 27 the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin wrote to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at St. Petersburg:

Before my visit to the Minister for Foreign Affairs today his Excellency had received the French Ambassador, who endeavored to induce him to accept the British proposal for action in favor of peace, such action to be taken simultaneously at St. Petersburg and at Vienna by Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and France. Cambon suggested that these powers should give their advice to Vienna in the following terms: "To abstain from all action which might aggravate the situation. * * * Jagow refused point blank to accept this suggestion in spite of the entreaties of the Ambassador.

Russian Orange Book, No. 39.

On July 29 the British Ambassador at Berlin telegraphed Sir Edward Grey:

I was sent for again today by the Imperial Chancellor, who told me that he regretted to state that the Austro-Hungarian Government, to whom he had at

once communicated your opinion, had answered that events had marched too rapidly and that *it was therefore too late* to act upon your suggestion that the Serbian reply might form a basis of discussion.

British Diplomatic Correspondence, No. 75.

On the same day, July 29, Czar Nicholas telegraphed to Kaiser William:

I am glad you are back in Germany. In this serious moment I ask you earnestly to help me. An ignominious war has been declared against a weak country, and in Russia the indignation, which I fully share, is tremendous. I fear that very soon I shall be unable to resist the pressure exercised upon me and that I shall be forced to take measures which will lead to war. To prevent a calamity, as a European war would be, I urge you in the name of our old friendship to do all in your power to restrain your ally from going too far.

German White Book, No. 21.

Now follows the telegraphic correspondence of the two Emperors, very actively prosecuted during July 29-31, consisting on the side of the Czar in urgent appeals to the Kaiser to moderate the military procedure of his ally, Austria-Hungary, and on the part of the Kaiser in emphatic demands upon the Czar that he take no military action to stay the attack of Austria upon Serbia, but to remain passive.

The one important observation to be made with regard to the "mediation" which the Kaiser undertook between Austria and Russia is that in the German White Book, published in August, 1914, to show Germany's attitude before the declaration of war by Kaiser William, although the correspondence between the Kaiser and the Czar is published in full, *there is not one word of any attempt on the part of the Kaiser to influence the action of Austria-Hungary against provoking a conflict with Russia!* The part Austria was to play had been already arranged, and the support Germany was to give was fully understood. There is no documentary evidence that the mediation Kaiser William had professed to be engaged in ever actually occurred. The Kaiser's rôle consisted solely until July 30 in flashing his sword in the face of the Czar, with the determination that Europe should have nothing to say about it.

II.—The Kaiser and King George

With July 30, for the reason already stated, a new chapter opened in the Kaiser's negotiations. He has himself written the introduction to it, and here it is:

This communication (the German Ambassador's telegram of July 30, above referred to) being directly counter to the King's message to me, I telegraphed to H. M. on the 29th and 30th thanking him for his kind messages through my brother, and begging him to use all his power to keep France and Russia, his allies, from making any warlike preparations calculated to disturb my work of mediation, stating that I was in constant communication with H. M. the Czar. In the evening the King kindly answered that he had ordered his Government to use every possible influence with his allies to refrain from taking any provocative military measures. At the same time H. M. asked me if I would transmit to Vienna the British proposal that Austria was to take Belgrade and a few other Serbian towns, and a strip of country, as a "main mise" to make sure that the other Serbian promises on paper should be fulfilled in reality. This proposal was in the same moment telegraphed to me from Vienna for London, quite in conjunction with the British proposal. Besides, I had telegraphed to H. M. the Czar, the same as an idea of mine, before I received the two communications from Vienna and London, as both were of the same opinion.

I immediately transmitted the telegrams vice versa, Vienna and London. I felt that I was able to tide the question over and was happy at the peaceful outlook.

The lack of precision in the Kaiser's statements requires a comment upon his general accuracy as a historian. So far as the records show, it was not by direct communication with King George, but through Prince Henry, that the King was asked to use all his power to keep France and Russia from making any warlike preparations, and it was through the Prince also that he received the reply. (See Nos. 1 and 2 of telegrams exchanged between London and Berlin.) In his telegram of July 30 to King George, Prince Henry expresses the opinion that the neutrality of Russia and France is, perhaps, "the only possible means of preserving the peace of Europe"—which is equivalent to saying that Germany would

not tolerate any interference with regard to the rights of Serbia, and rather than do so would unchain a general European war.

King George's Peace Plea

In his reply to Prince Henry, King George does not say, as the Kaiser reports, that he "had ordered his Government to use every possible influence with his allies to refrain from taking any provocative military measures." What he says is:

I earnestly desire that such a misfortune as a European war—the evil of which could not be remedied—may be prevented. My Government is doing the utmost possible in order to induce Russia and France to postpone further military operations, provided that Austria declares herself satisfied with the occupation of Belgrade and the neighboring Serbian territory as a pledge of a satisfactory settlement of her demands, while at the same time the other countries suspend their preparations for war. I rely on William applying his great influence in order to induce Austria to accept this proposal. In this way he will prove that Germany and England are working together to prevent what would be an international catastrophe. Please assure William that I am doing all I can, and will continue to do all in my power, to maintain the peace of Europe.

The Kaiser informs us that he received the same proposal "from Vienna for London," that he had telegraphed this as his own idea to the Czar, and that he immediately transmitted the telegrams, vice versa, to Vienna and London. The way of peace was thus apparently clearly opened.

Was This Message Suppressed?

Did the Kaiser in reality act in the sense he has here indicated, or is his statement merely an expression of what as a faithful mediator he ought to have done? The question is of crucial importance.

It is a singular fact that the German White Book in explaining the origin of the war makes no mention of any such message to the Czar. The whole incident is passed over without a reference; and is thus treated, like the Russian proposal that the Austro-Serbian question be referred to The Hague Tribunal, as a

matter of no importance. The German White Book purports to give the entire telegraphic correspondence between the Kaiser and the Czar, but there is in it no allusion to a suggestion by the Kaiser similar to the British proposal or of that proposal itself in any form. No proposal was made by the Kaiser to the Czar except unconditional abstention from any intervention on behalf of Serbia under penalty of a European war. The British proposal referred to by the Kaiser as opening the door for peace *was never at any time or in any form communicated by the German Government to the Czar or the Russian Government!*

The Kaiser himself, as we shall soon see, expressly states that he was about to send the British proposal to the Czar, but did not send it. He left the Czar in ignorance of the open door of peace and closed it by a declaration of war.

Sir Edward Grey's Proposal

The British proposal was never publicly referred to in Germany until Nov. 9, 1916, when Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg justified his Government against the charge by Sir Edward Grey by informing the Reichstag that on July 30, 1914, he had sent the following instruction to the German Ambassador at Vienna:

Should the Austro-Hungarian Government refuse all mediation, we are confronted with a conflagration in which England would go against us, and Italy and Rumania, according to all indications, would not be with us; so that with Austria-Hungary we should confront three great powers. Germany, as the result of England's hostility, would have to bear the chief brunt of the fight. The political prestige of Austria-Hungary, the honor of her arms, and her justified claims against Serbia can be sufficiently safeguarded by the occupation of Belgrade or other places. We therefore urgently and emphatically ask the Vienna Cabinet to consider the acceptance of mediation on the proposed conditions. Responsibility for the consequences which may otherwise arise must be extraordinarily severe for Austria-Hungary and ourselves.

"The Austro-Hungarian Government," he continues, "acceded to our urgent representations" by giving its Ambassador in Berlin the following instructions:

I ask your Excellency most sincerely

to thank Herr von Jagow, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for the information given through Herr von Tschirschki, and to declare to him that, *despite the change in the situation which has since arisen through the Russian mobilization*, we are quite ready to consider the proposals of Sir Edward Grey for a settlement between us and Serbia. *A condition of our acceptance is, of course, that our military action against Serbia should meanwhile proceed*, and that the English Cabinet should induce the Russian Government to *bring to a standstill the Russian mobilization directed against us*, in which case also we, as a matter of course, will at once cancel our defensive counter-measures forced upon us in Galicia.

The Chancellor does not, however, profess that this answer was sent to Russia.

Talk of Mediation

Confessedly, it was fear of England that on July 30 changed the attitude of the German Government. "Should the Austro-Hungarian Government refuse all mediation we are confronted with a conflagration in which England would go against us." The mediation which had up to this point been refused was now advised by the German Government. "Responsibility for the circumstances that may otherwise arise must be extraordinarily severe for Austria-Hungary and ourselves," concludes the note.

Let us see, then, how Germany acquitted herself of this responsibility:

While I was preparing a note to H. M. the Czar the next morning [that is, the 31st of July] to inform him that Vienna, London, and Berlin were agreed about the treatment of affairs, I received the telephones from H. E. the Chancellor that on the night before the Czar had given the order to mobilize the whole of the Russian Army, which was, of course, also meant against Germany; whereas up till then the southern armies had been mobilized against Austria.

That report, without waiting for confirmation, although it was known that weeks would be required for an effective Russian mobilization against Germany, put an end to all Germany's efforts for peace.

Regarding the time of receiving this report the Kaiser's mind was evidently in some confusion. In his telegram to the President he says "in the morning," but in his telegram to King George of July 31 he says: "Your proposals coin-

cide with my ideas and with the communication which I have *this evening* received from Vienna, and which I have passed on to London. I have just heard from the Chancellor that intelligence has just reached him that Nicholas this evening has ordered the mobilization of his entire fleet and army." (*Telegram No. 3.*)

Czar Kept in the Dark

An entire day thus passed and Nicholas had not been informed by the Kaiser of the British proposal. But he had received from the Czar the following telegram, dated at 2 o'clock that day:

I thank you cordially for your meditation, which permits the hope that everything may yet end peaceably. It is *technically impossible* to discontinue our military preparations, which have been made necessary by the Austrian mobilization. *It is far from us to want war. As long as the negotiations between Austria and Serbia continue my troops will undertake no provocative action. I give you my solemn word thereon.* I confide with all my faith in the grace of God, and I hope for success of your mediation in Vienna, for the welfare of our countries, and the peace of Europe.

On that same day the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs had sent to all Russian Embassies and Legations the following message to be delivered to all Governments:

If Austria consents to stay the march of her troops on Serbian territory, and if, recognizing that the Austro-Serbian conflict has assumed the character of a ques-

tion of European interest, she admits that the great powers may examine the satisfaction which Serbia can accord to the Austro-Hungarian Government without injury to her rights as a sovereign State or her independence, Russia undertakes to maintain her waiting attitude.

All for Peace But Germany

Austria also, at the same time the reply was made to the British proposals, sent this to all embassies and legations:

Negotiations dealing with the situation are proceeding between the Cabinets at Vienna and St. Petersburg, and we hope that they may lead to a general understanding.

At the same time Sir Edward Grey, in a telegram, declared:

If Germany could get any reasonable proposal put forward which made it clear that Germany and Austria were striving to preserve European peace and that Russia and France would be unreasonable if they rejected it, I would support it at St. Petersburg and Paris, and go to the length of saying that if Russia and France would not accept it His Majesty's Government would have nothing more to do with the consequences.

On that very day, apparently before the Austrian reply had been received, the German Government sent an ultimatum to Russia which it was known it was technically impossible to accept, and the next day, the twelve-hour limit of time not having been observed, on Aug. 1, war on Russia was formally declared.

III.—What Rendered War Inevitable

What rendered war inevitable, according to the Kaiser's statement, was that on July 31 a general order of mobilization was issued by the Czar. It mattered nothing that it would require weeks to render the order really effective as against Germany, and that the Czar had assured him, in a telegram dated 2 P. M. of the day war was declared:

I comprehend that you are forced to mobilize, but I should like to have from you, viz., *that these measures do not mean war, and that we shall continue to negotiate for the welfare of our two countries and the universal peace which is so dear to our hearts.* With the aid of

God it must be possible to our long-trying friendship to prevent the shedding of blood. I expect with full confidence your urgent reply.

German White Book. No number.

Not content to meet Russian mobilization with German mobilization, which the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs was assured by the German Ambassador even on Aug. 1 "did not mean war," (*Russian Orange Book, No. 70.*) and wholly ignoring the Czar's expressed belief that "these measure do not mean war" and his disposition "to negotiate for the welfare of our two countries and the universal peace," the declaration of war was

without delay presented at St. Petersburg.

And what was going on in Germany in these last days of July? On July 30 the Russian Ambassador at Berlin had telegraphed his Foreign Office, "I learn that the order for the mobilization of the German Army and Navy has just been issued." A few hours later this was contradicted and explained by the statement that "the news sheets had been printed in advance so as to be ready for all eventualities, and they were put on sale this afternoon, but that they have now been confiscated."

This step has been considered by Sir Edward Grey as a provocative measure, intended to incite Russia and technically to put her in the wrong. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg indignantly denies this, and it is not necessary to insist upon it. It is a fact, however, that "the threatening state of war" (Kriegszustand) was announced on July 31.

French Ambassador's Telegram

An interesting light is thrown upon the subject by the telegram of the French Ambassador, Jules Cambon, sent to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs on July 30, which reads as follows:

Herr von Jagow telephoned to me at 2 o'clock that the news of the German mobilization which had spread an hour before was false, and asked me to inform you of this urgently; the Imperial Government is confiscating the extra editions of the papers which announced it. But neither this communication nor these steps diminish my apprehension with regard to the plans of Germany.

It seems certain that the Extraordinary Council held yesterday evening at Potsdam with the military authorities under the Presidency of the Emperor decided on mobilization, and this explains the preparation of the special edition of the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, but that from various causes (the declaration of Great Britain that she reserved her entire liberty of action, the exchange of telegrams between the Czar and William II.) the serious measures which had been decided upon were suspended.

One of the Ambassadors with whom I have very close relations saw Herr Zimmermann at 2 o'clock. According to the Under Secretary of State the military authorities are very anxious that mobilization should be ordered, because every delay makes Germany lose some of her advantages. Nevertheless, up to the present the haste of the General Staff, which sees war in mobilization, had been successfully prevented. In any case, mobilization may be decided upon at any moment. I do not know who had issued in the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, a paper which is usually semi-official, premature news calculated to cause excitement in France.

Further, I have the strongest reasons to believe that *all the measures for mobilization* which can be taken before the publication of the general order of mobilization *have already been taken here*, and that *they are anxious here to make us publish our mobilization first*, in order to attribute the responsibility to us.

French Yellow Book, No. 105.

It was after all this, and while the Czar was not informed by the Kaiser of his latest stroke of "mediation" with Austria, that the Russian general order had been issued. Does it appear that the Kaiser was looking for peace or for war? Was there not still, on Aug. 1, 1914, a chance for averting the European catastrophe?

IV.—The Fateful Responsibility

There is, however, a fourth development, from some points of view the most interesting of all, in Kaiser William's explanation of the origin of the war. Here is his final statement:

In a telegram from London my Ambassador informed me he understood the British Government would guarantee the neutrality of France and wished to know whether Germany would refrain from attack. I telegraphed to his Majesty the King personally that mobilization being already carried out could not be stopped,

but if H. M. could guarantee with his armed forces the neutrality of France I would refrain from attacking her, leave her alone, and employ my troops elsewhere. H. M. answered that he thought my offer was based on a misunderstanding, and as far as I can make out, Sir E. Grey never took my offer into serious consideration. He never answered it. Instead he declared that England had to defend Belgian neutrality, which had to be violated by Germany on strategical grounds, news having been received that France was already preparing to enter

Belgium and the King of the Belgians having refused my petition for a passage under guarantee of his country's freedom. I am most grateful for the President's message.

The general mobilization of the German Army is officially reported to have been ordered at 5 o'clock in the afternoon of Aug. 1. The telegram referred to by the Kaiser from the German Ambassador at London had also been sent on that day. In his reply to King George regarding its suggestion, sent in the evening of that day, Kaiser William said: "For technical reasons the mobilization which I have already ordered this afternoon on two fronts—east and west—must proceed according to arrangements made. A counterorder cannot now be given" Was it really a military impossibility to arrest this mobilization which, according to Berlin, had only just been set in motion? Why, then, was not the Czar's plea of "technical reasons" equally good, if not better? But Kaiser William had refused to listen to this, even when accompanied with the most solemn pacific assurances.

Gave No Pacific Assurances

But the Kaiser did not give any pacific assurances. He would "refrain from attacking France, leave her alone, and employ his troops elsewhere" on condition that H. M. "would guarantee with his armed forces" the neutrality of France! The telegram to arrest mobilization, the Kaiser said, had come "too late." His troops were on the track of a victim. They insisted on being used somewhere.

Had this condition on the French frontier been created since 5 o'clock of that same afternoon, when, as the Kaiser said in his telegram to the King, (No. 6,) his troops were "being kept back by telegraph and telephone from crossing the French frontier"?

Here is what President Poincaré telegraphed to King George on July 31:

The military preparations which are being undertaken by the Imperial Government, especially in the immediate neighborhood of the French frontier, are being pushed forward every day with fresh vigor and speed. France, resolved to continue to the very end to do all that lies within

her power to maintain peace, has, up to the present confined herself solely to the most indispensable precautionary measures. But it does not appear that her prudence and moderation serve to check Germany's action; indeed, quite the reverse.
—*Collected Diplomatic Documents*, p. 542.

Germany the Sole Aggressor

We have now reached the fateful day, Aug. 1, 1914. What was the international situation on that day? Was it, as the German peace proposals profess, "a fatal enchainment of events" that caused the war? There was no war with Russia and France until the Kaiser declared it. There was no desire for war on the part of Russia, France, and England, which were doing all in their power to avert it. There was mobilization in Russia, but it was incomplete, and the honor of the Czar was pledged to the fact that it did not mean war.

In his explanation of his conduct to the President the Kaiser does not claim that Germany was attacked, or that there was any invasion of German soil. He even recited his telegram to the effect that unless the neutrality of France was guaranteed by England's armed forces, he intended to attack her, and only on that condition would he "leave her alone." Nothing that France herself could say or do would save her. In order to attack her successfully, he informs us, "Belgian neutrality had to be violated by Germany on strategical grounds." The reason for this he first wrote was, "Knowledge having been received that France was already preparing to enter Belgium"; but knowing this to be demonstrably false and that it was idle to maintain it, he struck out "knowledge" and substituted "news," as the photograph of his telegram discloses.

War Willed by the Kaiser

The Kaiser knew on Aug. 1 that Great Britain had previously asked France and Germany separately if the neutrality of Belgium would be respected, that France had promptly replied in the affirmative, and that by his own orders an answer had been withheld by the Imperial Foreign Office. He knew that the decision to strike France through Belgium had been made before there was any "news"

on the subject. In spite of the solemn assurance given by the Government in the Reichstag on May 2, 1913, that "the neutrality of Belgium is guaranteed by international treaty," the passage through Belgium was a part of the Kaiser's military plans.

In view of what we know of German military movements, the Kaiser's reply that the telegram regarding the possible neutrality of France had come "too late" to arrest mobilization was undoubtedly the truth, but it was not too late to prevent the war. Even after the declaration had been formally delivered at 5 P. M. of Aug. 1 at St. Petersburg, its operation could have been suspended by a telegram, the Czar's word of honor that his mobilization did not mean war could have been made the reason for a suspension, and the British proposal, which Austria had accepted the day before, but which the Kaiser had never communicated to the Czar, might have been sent to him with the statement that all the others had agreed to it. In that case there would be no need of a European war, and the Austro-Serbian question, after the occupation of Belgrade as a hostage, could have been pacifically and amicably settled.

The Czar's Illuminating Telegram

That this interpretation of the situation is correct is proved by the telegram of the Czar to King George, sent on Aug. 1, immediately after the Kaiser's declaration of war. Referring to the British proposals, to which Austria had agreed, but of which the Kaiser, the trusted mediator, had given him no information, he says:

I would gladly have accepted your proposals had not German Ambassador this afternoon presented a note to my Government declaring war. Ever since presentation of the ultimatum at Belgrade, Russia has devoted all her efforts to finding some pacific solution of the question raised by Austria's action. Object of that action was to crush Serbia and make her a vassal of Austria. Effect of this would have been to upset balance of power in Balkans, which is of such vital interest to my empire. Every proposal, including that of your Government, was rejected by Germany and Austria, and it was only when favorable moment for bringing

pressure to bear on Austria had passed that Germany showed any disposition to mediate. Even then she did not put forward any precise proposal. Austria's declaration of war on Serbia forced me to order a partial mobilization, though, in view of threatening situation, my military advisers strongly advised a general mobilization owing to quickness with which Germany can mobilize in comparison with Russia. I was eventually compelled to take this course in consequence of complete Austrian mobilization, of the bombardment of Belgrade, of concentration of Austrian troops in Galicia, and of secret military preparations being made in Germany. That I was justified in doing so is proved by Germany's sudden declaration of war, which was quite unexpected by me, as I have given most categorical assurances to the Emperor William that my troops would not move so long as mediation negotiations continued.

In this solemn hour I wish to assure you once more that I have done all in my power to avert war. Now that it has been forced on me, I trust your country will not fail to support France and Russia. God bless and protect you.—*Collected Diplomatic Documents*, p. 537.

It was only England's insistence on an effort for peace that caused the German Government to put the British proposal before Austria, and only the fear of England's action—as the note of instruction of July 31 to the German Ambassador at Vienna plainly says—that induced the Kaiser to urge Austria's acceptance.

Placing the Responsibility

On Aug. 1, when the fatal plunge was finally made at 5 P. M., the situation was again altered. By emphasizing Russia's war preparations, which in extent bore no comparison with those of Germany, and by failing to inform Russia of Austria's real attitude regarding the British proposal, the Kaiser believed he had successfully played England and loaded upon Russia the whole responsibility for the war. With Lichnowsky's telegram suggesting the neutrality of France through England's influence in his hands, he now had even more than what Prince Henry had said he was "thankful for"—the evident indisposition of England to engage in the war and even the possible neutrality of France. Prevent the war under these conditions? By no means.

France might be spared if England would guarantee with her armed forces, military and naval, that France would not regard her treaty obligations with Russia and would offer no resistance. Very eager was he, who spoke with such resentment of leaving his "Austrian ally in the lurch," either to force France to violate her treaty obligations to Russia or, in order to crush her, himself to violate the most sacred of pledges by extorting from Belgium the privilege of attacking France by the possession of her forts and the use of her territory as the price of Belgium's "freedom"!

The Kaiser's Guilt

If one wishes to know the state of the Kaiser's mind on the day he declared war and lighted the conflagration which has set the whole world ablaze, let him read and reread that telegram of Aug. 1 to King George when the Kaiser believed for a short time that all which his embassy at London had told him was true; that England was weak, divided, preoccupied, and would be in a short, swift war after all a negligible quantity. Let the reader grasp the lofty arrogance of it. The Kaiser hopes "France will not be nervous!" He is holding back his troops by telegraph and telephone from

crossing the frontier. The Chancellor telegraphs to London that Germany will give England until 7 P. M. on Monday, Aug. 3, to furnish it armed guarantee that France will remain neutral. If not, then— And England is now accused of having caused the war!

And today, with this record behind her, balked and hemmed in on sea and land by walls of steel that are closing in upon her like the shears of fate, Germany professes to accept all that she has for years strenuously opposed—the idea of obligatory arbitration, disarmament, respect for law; but without confession, without contrition, without a surrender of property to which she has no right except that of the housebreaker, and without formally abandoning her lust for gain through annexations and indemnities. This to a conscientious mind would seem monstrous; but to say that the Kaiser has kept the pledge for peace he is said to have made twenty-six years ago and "to the last moment has directed his efforts toward settling the conflict by peaceful means," is to reveal an absence of a sense of responsibility so complete as to justify a suspicion of untrustworthiness regarding every profession which such a Government may make.

Russia's Mobilization as a Cause of War

Testimony of General Yanushkevitch

THE fateful call to arms in Russia has been charged from the beginning with being responsible for precipitating the war. The German Kaiser and Chancellor have repeatedly asserted that Germany's course was due to Russian mobilization. As late as Sept. 5, 1917, Chancellor Michaelis, referring to the testimony given at the Soukhomlinoff trial by the Russian Chief of Staff, General Yanushkevitch, stated that "it was calculated to destroy the legend of Germany's guilt of starting the war." He further said: "It is now irrefutably established that it was not Germany who chose the time for the war, but a military

party surrounding the Czar, which was under the influence of France and England."

The testimony of General Yanushkevitch on this point was reported in the *Novoe Vremya* of Petrograd as follows:

At first it was decided to declare only a partial mobilization of four districts, in order to frighten Austria-Hungary, but afterward this question was reconsidered, and on July 30, after my report to the ex-Czar, the order of the Senate for the general mobilization was signed by him. In my insistence on the general mobilization I said then that it was necessary definitely to manifest our relationships not only to Austria, but also to Germany, who was backing her up. Coming from Petr-

hof, I appeared at a sitting of the Council of Ministers, and brought the order as to the mobilization signed the sovereign.

But the same day, about 11 o'clock in the evening, I was called up on the telephone by the sovereign. The question was put to me in what stage was the mobilization. I answered that the matter was already in motion. The further question was put to me, was it not possible not to declare a general mobilization; was it not possible to substitute for it a partial mobilization with reference merely to Austria-Hungary. I replied that that would be exceedingly difficult, that it would threaten catastrophic consequences, that 400,000 reserves had already been called up. Then it was definitely stated to me by the ex-Czar that he had received a telegram from Wilhelm, in which the latter guaranteed on his word of honor that if the general mobilization was not declared the relationships between Russia and Germany would remain friendly as in the past.

After this conversation with the ex-Czar I drove to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sazonoff, and convinced him that it was then impossible to alter the general mobilization. It was decided that in the morning he should make a fresh report to the sovereign. He did make that report, and at half-past 4 on the following day a Court Council was held, in which the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sazonoff, the War Minister, Soukhomlinoff, and I took part. In some ten minutes we decided that there was no possibility of revoking the general mobilization, and that a revocation would be fatal for Russia.

General Yanushkevitch remarked that the contents of all his telephonic conversations, including those with the Czar, were well known to the German General Staff. Every time he got into telephonic connection with any one he heard the sound of the joining up of a third wire.

When General Yanushkevitch had finished, the accused General Soukhomlinoff rose and asked that he might be allowed to supplement the former's deposition. He said:

Soukhomlinoff's Testimony

On the night of July 30 the ex-Emperor rang me up and ordered me to revoke the mobilization. I received a direct order, a definite order, which did not admit of argument. I went cold all over. The mobilization had already been declared, and the revocation of it threatened a catastrophe. What was I to do? I knew that it was impossible to annul the mobilization, that to do so was technically impractica-

ble, that we should have God knows what confusion in Russia. I felt that I was lost. The Chief of the General Staff has just spoken of this; ask him if you do not believe me. Half an hour after the conversation with the sovereign, General Yanushkevitch rang me up. He told me that the sovereign had informed him of the stoppage of the mobilization. "And what answer did you give him?" I asked Yanushkevitch. "I replied that for technical reasons that was impossible, but, nevertheless, the Czar ordered that the mobilization should be stopped." General Yanushkevitch asked me what was to be done. I answered him: "Do nothing." I heard through the telephone how a sigh of relief burst from him. On the following morning, I lied to the sovereign, telling him that the mobilization was taking place only in the southwestern districts. That day I was beside myself. I knew that full mobilization was being carried out, and that there was no possibility of stopping it. Happily that same day the monarch was talked over, and I received thanks for the excellent carrying out of the mobilization. In the other event I should long ago have been in penal servitude.

Passages from General Soukhomlinoff's diary were then put in, which confirmed this statement in every particular.

Decision for Mobilization

General Yanushkevitch was again called to settle the point whether the Czar had desired a complete revocation of the mobilization, or merely its restriction to the four southwestern military districts. The ex-Chief of Staff said that he could not recall the details of his conversation with General Soukhomlinoff, but he distinctly remembered that with the ex-Emperor he discussed only the question of substituting a partial for a general mobilization. General Yanushkevitch made the following further interesting statement:

On July 29, when the decision as to mobilization existed but had not yet been declared, the ex-Emperor charged me to tell the German Ambassador, Pourtales, the declaration of mobilization by Russia was not an act of hostility to Germany, and to assure him that Russia intended to maintain friendly relations to Germany. I told S. D. Sazonoff of this commission. The Minister had a very poor opinion of the ex-German Ambassador. He said that Count Pourtales would put his own interpretation on it, and advised me rather to

THE FRENCH DRIVE IN FLANDERS



Some of the Ground Gained by the French. The Officer Is Examining the New German Defensive Positions.
(*Photo Pays de France.*)

LE MORT HOMME AS IT IS TODAY



The Famous Hill After It Had Been Swept by French Artillery Fire and Captured by French Infantry.
(Photo Pictorial Press.)

discuss the matter with the German military agent, who understood these questions better.

The military agent came on my invitation to the General Staff. Previously he had always appeared in military uniform, arrived punctually at the appointed hour, and spoke only Russian. That day he kept me waiting for him a whole hour, appeared in civilian clothes, and spoke only French. I pointed out that Russia cherished no aggressive aims against Germany. The Major replied that, unfortunately, mobilization had begun in Russia. I assured him that it had not yet begun. Then the military agent, with excessive confidence, declared that he had more precise information on that point. I gave him the word of honor of the Chief of the General Staff that at that moment, exactly 3 o'clock on July 29, mobilization had not yet been declared. I fixed that important point in my memory in all its details. The Major did not believe me. I offered to put it into writing. He politely

declined. I considered it right to give him such a note, because, as a matter of fact, at that moment there was no mobilization. The order with regard to it was still in my pocket.

In the report printed in the *Retch*, the opening of General Yanushkevitch's statement reads as follows:

When the inevitability of war became clear I insisted to the Emperor on the necessity of declaring a general mobilization, and not a partial one, because it was obvious that Germany was backing up Austria and that war with Germany was inevitable. The monarch replied that a general mobilization threatened war not only with Austria but also with Germany. However, regarding this war as inevitable, I insisted on the declaration of general mobilization, and on July 29 went to the Council of Ministers, where I secured the signatures of the three Ministers necessary under our law for the declaration of mobilization.

French Historian's Comment

Joseph Reinach, the French historian, commenting on the foregoing testimony, summed up the case as follows:

Germany believed the other day that it had found some sort of argument on its side in the testimony of General Yanushkevitch at the Soukhomlinoff trial. It seems that the Russian Emperor, on July 29, about 5 or 6 o'clock in the evening, on the advice of his Ministers of War and of Foreign Affairs, ordered a general mobilization; and that he tried to suspend the order later in the evening upon receipt of a telegram from the German Emperor. We have reason to believe the facts are accurately stated.

Leaving out of account the Czar's attempt to revoke his order in the evening, the decree for the general mobilization of the Russian Army on the 29th was simply a reply to the official order mobilizing the whole Austrian Army, which had been signed on the 28th. (Dispatch of Schebeko to Sazonoff, Orange Book, No. 47.) The order for the general mobilization of the German Army was signed on the 29th. The signature of an order is one thing, the promulgation of it is another thing. The promulgation of all three decrees for general mobilization took place on the same day—the 31st—Austria's at

1 o'clock in the morning, Russia's in the forenoon, Germany's at noon.

The German Emperor has never yet tried to explain why he did not accept the proposition of the Czar Nicholas "to submit the Austro-Serbian problem to The Hague Conference," (July 29;) nor why, on the same date, having refused the first British proposal of a conference, he repulsed the new British proposition that he himself should decide upon the method of mediation to be undertaken by the four powers—Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy—between Austria and Russia; nor why, on Aug. 1, he declared war on Russia, when on the same day Austria had accepted mediation upon "the litigious points of her ultimatum to Serbia," and even upon the main issue, as shown on Aug. 1 by the declarations of the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg and of the Austrian Ambassador at London.

The Kaiser is so well aware that he prepared, willed, and let loose this war at his own hour that no proposition will ever come from him offering to submit the question of the responsibility for the war to a neutral commission whose competence and impartiality shall be above suspicion.

The Kaiser and King George

Documents That Refute the German Emperor's Statement About British Neutrality

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for September printed a hitherto unpublished telegram sent by the German Emperor to President Wilson on Aug. 10, 1914, and made public by former Ambassador Gerard, in which the Kaiser stated that King George had sent him a verbal assurance that "England would remain neutral if war broke out on the Continent involving Germany and France, Austria and Russia." The official documents of the correspondence between King George and the Kaiser were printed in the North German Gazette in the third week of the war, and it will be observed that the statement he ascribed to King George in his cablegram to President Wilson was not justified by the actual context of the telegrams as they appear in the German official documents.

The documents on the exchange of views between Germany and France as officially promulgated by Germany in the North German Gazette Aug. 21, 1914, were as follows:

Official documents relating to the political exchange of views between Germany and England immediately before the outbreak of the war are published below. These communications elucidate the fact that Germany was prepared to spare France provided England remained neutral and guaranteed the neutrality of France.

Telegrams exchanged between London and Berlin, July 30-Aug. 2, 1914:

No. 1.

His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia to his Majesty King George, dated July 30, 1914.

I arrived here yesterday, and have communicated what you were so good as to say to me at Buckingham Palace last Sunday to William, who was very thankful to receive your message.

William, who is very anxious, is doing his utmost to comply with the request of Nicholas to work for the maintenance of peace. He is in continued telegraphic communication with Nicholas, who has

today confirmed the news that he has ordered military measures which amount to mobilization, and that these measures were taken five days ago.

We have also received information that France is making military preparations, while we have not taken measures of any kind, but may be obliged to do so at any moment if our neighbors continue their preparations. This would then mean a European war.

If you seriously and earnestly desire to prevent this terrible misfortune, may I propose to you to use your influence on France, and also on Russia, that they should remain neutral? In my view this would be of the greatest use. I consider that this is a certain, and perhaps the only possible, way of maintaining the peace of Europe. I might add that Germany and England should now, more than ever, give each other mutual support in order to prevent a terrible disaster, which otherwise appears inevitable.

Believe me that William is inspired by the greatest sincerity in his efforts for the maintenance of peace. But the military preparations of his two neighbors may end in compelling him to follow their example for the safety of his own country, which otherwise would remain defenseless. I have informed William of my telegram to you, and I hope that you will receive my communication in the same friendly spirit which has inspired it.

(Signed) HENRY.

No. 2.

His Majesty King George to his Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia, dated July 30, 1914.

Thanks for your telegram. I am very glad to hear of William's efforts to act with Nicholas for the maintenance of peace. I earnestly desire that such a misfortune as a European war—the evil of which could not be remedied—may be prevented. My Government is doing the utmost possible in order to induce Russia and France to postpone further military preparations, provided that Austria declares herself satisfied with the occupation of Belgrade and the neighboring Serbian territory as a pledge for a satisfactory settlement of her demands, while at the same time the other countries suspend their preparations for war. I rely on William applying his great influence in order to induce Austria to accept this proposal. In this way he will prove that Germany and England are working to-

gether to prevent what would be an international catastrophe. Please assure William that I am doing all I can, and will continue to do all that lies in my power, to maintain the peace of Europe.

(Signed) GEORGE.

No. 3.

His Majesty the Emperor William to his Majesty King George, dated July 30, 1914.

Many thanks for your friendly communication. Your proposals coincide with my ideas, and with the communication which I have this evening received from Vienna, and which I have passed on to London. I have just heard from the Chancellor that intelligence has just reached him that Nicholas this evening has ordered the mobilization of his entire army and fleet. He has not even awaited the result of the mediation in which I am engaged, and he has left me completely without information. I am traveling to Berlin to assure the safety of my eastern frontier, where strong Russian forces have already taken up their position.

(Signed) WILLIAM.

No. 4.

His Majesty King George to his Majesty the Emperor William, dated Aug. 1, 1914.

Many thanks for your telegram of last night. I have sent an urgent telegram to Nicholas, in which I have assured him of my readiness to do everything in my power to further the resumption of the negotiations between the powers concerned.

(Signed) GEORGE.

No. 5.

German Ambassador at London to the German Imperial Chancellor, dated Aug. 1, 1914.

Sir Edward Grey has just called me to the telephone and has asked me whether I thought I could declare that in the event of France remaining neutral in a German-Russian war we would not attack the French. I told him that I believed that I could assume responsibility for this.

(Signed) LICHNOWSKY.

No. 6.

His Majesty the Emperor William to his Majesty King George, dated Aug. 1, 1914.

I have just received the communication of your Government offering French neutrality under the guarantee of Great Britain. To this offer there was added the question whether, under these conditions, Germany would refrain from attacking France. For technical reasons the mobilization which I have already ordered this afternoon on two fronts—east and west—must proceed according to

the arrangements made. A counterorder cannot now be given, as your telegram unfortunately came too late; but if France offers me her neutrality, which must be guaranteed by the English Army and Navy, I will naturally give up the idea of an attack on France and employ my troops elsewhere. I hope that France will not be nervous. The troops on my frontier are at this moment being kept back by telegraph and by telephone from crossing the French frontier.

(Signed) WILLIAM.

No. 7.

German Imperial Chancellor to the German Ambassador at London, dated Aug. 1, 1914.

Germany is ready to agree to the English proposal in the event of England guaranteeing, with all her forces, the unconditional neutrality of France in the conflict between Germany and Russia. Owing to the Russian challenge, German mobilization occurred today, before the English proposals were received. In consequence our advance to the French frontier cannot now be altered. We guarantee, however, that the French frontier will not be crossed by our troops until Monday, Aug. 3, at 7 P. M., in case England's assent is received by that time.

(Signed) BETHMANN HOLLWEG.

No. 8.

His Majesty King George to his Majesty the Emperor William, dated Aug. 1, 1914.

In answer to your telegram, which has just been received, I believe that there must be a misunderstanding with regard to a suggestion which was made in a friendly conversation between Prince Lichnowsky and Sir Edward Grey, when they were discussing how an actual conflict between the German and the French Army might be avoided, so long as there is still a possibility of an agreement being arrived at between Austria and Russia. Sir Edward Grey will see Prince Lichnowsky early tomorrow morning, in order to ascertain whether there is any misunderstanding on his side.

(Signed) GEORGE.

No. 9.

German Ambassador at London to the German Imperial Chancellor, dated Aug. 2, 1914.

The suggestions of Sir Edward Grey, based on the desire of creating the possibility of lasting neutrality on the part of England, were made without any previous inquiry of France, and without knowledge of the mobilization, and have since been given up as quite impracticable.

(Signed) LICHNOWSKY.

The Systematic Exploitation of Belgium

Germany is draining every department of Belgium's economic life, its commerce, agriculture, and industry, as well as the public and private savings of the nation. A careful estimate of the extent of these depredations, up to the Autumn of 1917, by the Nouvelles de France is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

IT was by means of requisitions that the Germans first sapped the commerce and industry of Belgium. From the first days of the invasion the military authorities have levied innumerable requisitions, the greater part of which have had nothing to do with the support of the troops of occupation, and these requisitions have been multiplied incessantly, both by the local authorities and by the Berlin Government. In general, no trace of these military exactions is to be found in the regularly published official documents, except when they are made under official orders from the central military authorities, and such documents are seldom accessible outside of Belgium.

On the other hand, the requisitions ordered by the civil Government of the occupied territory are made by virtue of orders published in the Official Bulletin of Laws and Decrees for the Occupied Territory, (*Gesetz und Verordnungsblatt für die okkupierten Gebiete Belgiens.*) Up to Sept. 12, 1916, there appeared in this bulletin eighty-nine orders dealing with 400 different kinds of raw materials and manufactured products. (See pictures and text in "Les Déportations Belges à la Lumière des Documents Allemands," by Fernand Passelecq: Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. 133-157.) From September, 1916, to July 6, 1917, fifty-one new orders were published in the Official Bulletin, most of them striking at products not yet seized by preceding orders. True, some decrees merely order the declaration of certain products, without calling for their seizure, but the seizure usually follows closely upon the declaration.

To the requisitions of products and raw materials must be added the carrying

away of tools. A great number of factories have been systematically robbed of their machinery, which has been transported to Germany.

These diverse requisitions, prescribed by the civil authorities, have been executed ever since August, 1914, in accordance with a preconceived and carefully studied plan worked out by Walter Rathenau for the German War Ministry.

Belgium in Fetters

These civil requisitions, in conjunction with those of the military authorities, have ruined Belgian commerce and industry, attacking, as they do, every branch of activity, some striking the factories, farms, and domestic trade, others placing fetters upon exports and imports, as well as upon the transport of merchandise. They have been completed by interdicting certain public works in Belgium, and by forbidding the continuance of certain manufactures and the employment of men upon them, with a view to keeping the raw materials for German industries.

Finally, the working population itself has been struck directly. It was, indeed, by a Machiavellian calculation that the Germans caused an enforced state of unemployment in Belgium, in order that this might be used as a pretext for deporting Belgian workingmen to Germany to serve in the war industries of the empire. (See "Les Déportations Belges," pp. 3, 107, 180, 225.)

The deportations for forced service took away from Belgium, in the period from October, 1916, to the end of January, 1917, at least 120,000 men. Since then, under pressure of the universal public conscience and the official protests of neutrals, the Germans have had

to promise to renounce the violent removal of workers for compulsory labor in Germany; but *they continue to practice such deportations for forced service on the German front in France*, as well as recruiting for Germany by means of false promises and moral constraint.

"German Industrial Bureau"

This latter manoeuvre has been revealed unintentionally by the German press itself. Two circular letters appeared in the newspapers in June, 1917, inviting German manufacturers who are in need of men to get them from the German Industrial Bureau, (*Deutsches Industrie Büro*), that is to say, from the same organization which at the time of the violent deportations in the Winter of 1916-17 was already doing business in Belgium, trying to force the designated victims to sign at the moment of departure a contract making them appear to be voluntary workers in Germany.

The two circulars, proving that this German Industrial Bureau is still active in Belgium, appeared in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, (*Morgen Ausgabe*, June 19, 1917;) the *Münchener Zeitung*, and the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, No. 302—both of June 18, 1917.

Nor are these circulars the only German documents in which can be found an official confession that the pillage of Belgium is still going on for the benefit of German industry and German warfare. A new proof of it may be found in a circular by Mr. Schroder, Director of the Federation of German Metallurgists, dated Jan. 2, 1917, stating that by order of the Bureau of Munitions and Arms (Department of Manufactures) he is commissioned to serve as intermediary to procure for German factories the mechanical equipments obtained in the occupied countries.

The Germans have pushed their monopoly of Belgian industries to such lengths that they have not hesitated to commit infractions of the common law, such as the violation of trade secrets. A typical case is that of Dr. Emile Bronnert, who, armed with a permit from the War Ministry at Berlin, gained control of the industrial secrets of the artificial silk

factory of Obourg, in the Province of Hainaut, at the end of 1916.

Exactions of Money

Not content with exhausting Belgium's commercial and industrial vitality, the Germans have drained its financial resources with equal tyranny, as follows:

1. After establishing the compulsory circulation of the mark at the rate of 1.25 francs, they applied—for purposes both of terrorization and of lucre—the iniquitous principle of *collective responsibility* for individual infractions of their complex regulations. Under this principle the German authorities have made a practice of inflicting large fines upon communities and heads of families. Besides these there were the special war contributions levied in 1914 at the time of the invasion. The war contributions and fines known with certainty through official documents already exceed 200,000,000 francs, or \$40,000,000. (See "*Les Déportations des Belges*," p. 158, note, and p. 176, Section B.) Many of them date from the period before December, 1914.

2. By an order issued Dec. 10, 1914, Belgium was struck with a war levy out of all proportion with the needs of the occupying army. First fixed at 40,000,000 francs a month, it was increased successively to 50,000,000, then to 60,000,000 francs (\$12,000,000) a month, under the orders of Nov. 20, 1916, and May 21, 1917. The total paid up to Aug. 10, 1917, was 1,440,000,000 francs, or \$288,000,000.

3. The Germans inflicted upon Belgium a whole series of taxes, either by creating new ones or by modifying the existing scale of imposts, all in violation of The Hague Convention.

4. On Sept. 12, 1916, the Germans seized 430,000,000 marks, constituting the cash balances—in German bank notes—of the *Banque Nationale* and the *Société Générale de Belgique*, which are not Government banks, but private corporations enjoying rights of issue under State regulation. The Germans compelled the deposit of these funds in the *Reichsbank* upon conditions wholly to their advantage and very burdensome for the Belgian banks. (See "*Les Déportations Belges*," pp. 158-159.)

Germany's Total Plunder

Though it is impossible at present to establish the full total of Belgium's losses, some outstanding facts and figures—necessarily incomplete—can be cited:

A war levy of \$288,000,000 up to Aug. 10, 1917.

Individual war contributions and fines of about \$40,000,000 up to the end of the year 1914.

The carrying away of tools and machinery and the requisitions of raw materials, \$400,000,000 up to the end of January, 1915, according to the estimate of a German, Dr. Ludwig Ganghofer, a special correspondent of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*. (See that journal, issue of Feb. 26, 1916.)

Losses due to forced idleness of workmen and the cessation of industry: These are enormous, but the data are still insufficient to furnish even an estimate.

General destruction of resources and economic wealth—not counting the destruction of property, which is going on continually: The official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, in a dispatch from Brussels dated Dec. 29, 1914, and reproduced by the whole German press, estimated the total up to the end of 1914 at "five billions" (marks or francs?).

Thus, if we estimate the total only of the definite items above mentioned at 8,000,000,000 francs, (\$1,600,000,000,) we

shall have a moderate valuation of the loss, and one certainly far below the reality. To figure out the total damage to be repaired in Belgium it would be necessary to add several more billions of francs. As for the advantages gained by Germany from the occupation and exploitation of Belgium, it will suffice to recall the testimony of General von Bissing, former Military Governor, who wrote in his "Political Testament," (edition annotated by F. Passelecq, Paris, Van Oest, 1917, p. 9):

"Before quitting the military and "strategic viewpoint I must call attention to the fact that the industrial "territory of Belgium is of great value, "not only in time of peace, but also in "case of war. The supplementary advantages which we have derived in the "present war from Belgian industries, "by the carrying away of machines, &c., "must be accounted fully as great as the "injury caused to the enemy by the deprivation of these resources. The immediate importance of the industrial "region of Belgium does not exhaust the "interest of the subject for us. *Without Belgian coal, what would have become of our policy of exchange with "Holland and the northern countries? "The 23,000,000 tons taken annually "from the Belgian coal mines have given "us a monopoly on the Continent which "has contributed to assure our existence."*

A Protest From the Mayor of Lille

The following poignant letter of protest from the Mayor of Lille, in Northern France, is dated July 17, 1917, and offers fresh proof of the continuous nature of the extortions practiced by the German invaders upon the unfortunate inhabitants of the occupied regions. The original text appeared in the *Paris Figaro* of Oct. 13, and is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

The Mayor of Lille to His Excellency General von Gravenitz:

EXCELLENCY:

I have received your letter of July 4, No. 13917, and its contents have caused me profound stupefaction.

Scarcely have we paid over the money

for a forced levy of 24,000,000 francs, when you demand the payment of a new sum of 33,000,000.

During the first year of the occupation, when the City of Lille still possessed a large proportion of its resources, you demanded from it, in various forms, the sum of 28,000,000 francs. During the second year, a total of 30,000,000. And during the third year, when the city is in the deepest distress, when its trade is annihilated, its stores closed, its industries destroyed, you double the tribute and raise it to the sum of 60,000,000 francs.

Such exactions, *ceaselessly increasing*, are as exorbitant as they are unjustifiable. They are contrary to the spirit and the letter of The Hague Convention. They are in absolute contradiction to the com-

ment made upon that convention by the German General Staff itself, as I clearly showed in my correspondence of last year. These fixed contributions, devoid of all justification, rest upon the most arbitrary basis. In place of diminishing, they increase in proportion as the requisitions, ruins, and devastations accumulate upon the unhappy city.

In closing you threaten us with the most rigorous punishments in case of resistance to your will, notably with a fine of more than 1,000,000 francs for every day in arrears.

In these circumstances, if nothing were involved except my personal security and that of a few notables, I would not hesitate to reply with a formal refusal to ex-

actions which seem to me to be an abuse of power and a violation of right. But the destiny of a whole population, weakened by three years of sufferings, is at stake, and I do not feel that I have the courage to expose the people to new rigors.

Consequently I come to declare to you, in the name of the City Council, whose spokesman I am, that the City of Lille, bowed under oppression, isolated from the outer world, powerless to appeal to any tribunal from the arbitrary tyranny to which it is subjected, will pay the new tribute on the dates indicated, but that it will pay with the knife at its throat.

The Mayor of Lille,

CHARLES DELESALLE.

A Chapter of German Atrocities

Inhumanity on Land and Sea

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE in previous issues has printed various official and well-authenticated stories of atrocities, and it will present further details from time to time, as they are revealed, so that this lamentable phase of the world war may be definitely recorded.

H. PERRY ROBINSON, a correspondent in France for The Associated Press, on Oct. 15, 1917, sent the following account of the act of Germans in firing on the Red Cross:

"In the mud wilderness where the armies now confront each other there are many German dead and wounded out in front of our lines. German stretcher parties are continually at work retrieving the latter. In this service they come close up to our posts and are never by any chance molested. When they have come close to our line our men have more than once seen them hit by German shells.

"Our stretcher parties are also moving about, and so far from their being respected it is a fact that in some units the proportion of casualties among the stretcher bearers has been higher than among the infantry in the fighting line. Some of these casualties, of course, are caused accidentally by shellfire, but a much greater number are the result of deliberate sniping by the Germans, who know quite well whom they are shooting.

"Two days ago a stretcher party was at work when German snipers deliberate-

ly shot three out of four members, killing each one, for the range was short. A British officer in a shell hole close by saw what was happening. He jumped from the hole, seized a Red Cross flag, and, waving it conspicuously before him, marched straight toward the place where the snipers were hiding. He floundered through the mud till he was close by the German position, and the Germans, presumably out of curiosity, held their fire.

"Our officer spoke German well, and when he came within earshot his tongue lashed those Germans as they had rarely been talked to before, pointing to German stretcher parties moving about unmolested, and pouring out his soul in the strongest language he could command.

"The Germans listened in silence. When the officer finished he turned and floundered back again, tossed away the flag, and resumed his place in the shell hole. There's no doubt whatever of the substantial exactness of this incident.

"The German theory of the Red Cross differs entirely from that of all civilized nations. All international Red Cross workers in neutral countries are perfectly aware of the fact that the German

Red Cross is not an organization of mercy, but is as much part of the German military machine as the German artillery, or anything else.

"The Germans have been purposefully bombing hospitals, just as they have torpedoed hospital ships. In conjunction with other things such as stated above it unquestionably shows a deliberate policy which is quite intelligible, the fact being that the Germans know what the Red Cross means to them, and argue that in attacking our Red Cross they are striking at a legitimate military object. In the early days of the war I myself heard German prisoners captured in Belgium declare in all sincerity their belief that Belgian and British nurses and doctors went out on the battlefield for the purpose of murdering German wounded. It was useless to argue with them."

Firing on Lifeboats

Bryan Wood, an American, whose ship was torpedoed off the Irish coast on Oct. 12, 1917, made the following statement of deliberate firing on lifeboats by the submarine:

"We were attacked early this morning off the Irish coast by two German submarines, which shelled us unmercifully, the shells piercing our steamer fast and furious. One of our party of horsemen named James Fringer, an American, of Roanoke, Va., was killed outright in one of the lifeboats after he had left the ship. Forty-seven of us had got into two lifeboats in order to escape the shells, when the Germans fired on us in the open boats. This was deliberately done to murder us, as we were quite defenseless. A fireman was struck by a shell in the boat, where he lay wounded and unable to rise, in dreadful agony, until rescued by a trawler, when everything possible was done to alleviate his suffering; but the poor fellow died on the rescuing steamer after lingering twenty minutes.

"There were two submarines firing shells and shrapnel at the steamer, when we succeeded in launching only two lifeboats from the starboard side, the lifeboats on the port side being shot away. We managed to get clear of our ship, when the nearest submarine, which was

within measurable distance of us, directed its guns on us. Both the open boats were badly damaged by the shells, which pierced their sides and injured several of their inmates in a fearful manner. One poor fellow lost his eye, the shot carrying away his nose. Another lost his leg, which was shot away. Several of us were wounded dreadfully."

Deportation of Young Girls

The following letter was recently published in the French newspapers. It was written by a young girl, who relates her experiences when she was forcibly deported from her home and held at hard labor for months without being permitted to communicate with her parents:

BRETEUIL, Aug. 24, 1917.

Sir: I send the following letter so that you may know the truth of what happened in the occupied districts of France, where I have just returned after five months' detention in Belgium.

I lived with my mother and two sisters at — (Aisne.) On Oct. 11, 1916, the German authorities announced that all the young girls and women without children must appear for roll call the next morning at 5 o'clock at the City Hall. I went. The German policemen classified us and divided us into batches. They chose haphazard twenty young girls and women without telling us for what purpose.

When, despite tears and weeping, the final selection was made they told the people that were chosen to come to the station next morning with their luggage, without permitting their parents to object or even know where they were going. Three young girls from —, who had been selected, refused; they were forced to obey the policemen, who went to their homes and took them away by force. They were sent off next morning and were treated, during the entire period of their exile, as recalcitrant prisoners.

The mother of one of them, when she found that her nineteen-year-old daughter was being taken from her, resisted the policeman; after having been ill-treated she was put in jail for fifteen days and her daughter was taken just the same. From the 15th of October the parents of the deported girls ceaselessly demanded their return. Dec. 6 the German headquarters, then under the command of X., decided that they might return if others would take their places. Fresh anxiety, fresh anguish.

On Dec. 7 orders were given to the different Mayors that they must furnish complete lists of girls and women without children, without any regard to class, honorability, or conduct.

I and one of my sisters were chosen. My mother, who was very ill, begged permission to keep one of us. I remained on the list and was ordered to the station to leave that same night. More than 150 of us assembled at headquarters. The roll was called in the courtyard of a hotel, and the next day at noon we were put on the train without our parents knowing why or where we were being taken. We traveled as far as X., where we arrived at 7 o'clock on a bitter cold evening. Here soldiers were awaiting us. We were divided according to our districts and sent to the small neighboring villages. In the middle of the night and without knowing where we were going, I was hoisted into a cattle car with my luggage, with four young girls from M. and three from A. At 1 o'clock in the morning we arrived at S., a village of eighty-five inhabitants.

There we were conducted to a deserted house where soldiers had been quartered—it was nothing but a ruin—without being given food or fire. We passed a horrible night, and the next morning the nine of us tried to settle down in this wretched shelter. Two days later we were ordered to report for work, and from the 8th of December until March we were compelled to work under German authority, commanded by soldiers to do the hardest kind of man's work; hauling manure, sorting potatoes. We had to gather up all the mattresses belonging to civilians and empty and refill the straw beds of the German soldiers.

We suffered from cold, and especially from hunger. We were forbidden to touch the piles of potatoes. Sometimes a soldier, more humane than his fellows, let us take a few potatoes.

The greatest cruelty was the strict refusal to let us write to our parents. My mother, like the others, begged the German headquarters for news of us; petitions were signed. Never, from December, 1916, to March, 1917, did she have one word of news. Neither did I. The grief of all our parents was increased by the knowledge that we were mixed in with women of ill repute. I assure you this was the most criminal thing the Germans did—to force us to live in this vile promiscuousness.

In the beginning of March we heard rumors that our native regions had been evacuated. We thought we should never be able to find our families again. We were evacuated March 15 to Belgium; I, without knowing where my mother was.

At the end of much searching I finally found my family. My mother had nearly died of grief, and my own health was so shattered that I have not yet recovered. At Evian, on Aug. 15, I met a young girl who had been deported like me and who had only succeeded in finding her family

a few weeks before. Ten other girls, who were sent to work in the Ardennes, have had no direct news from their families, who are now in Belgium.

Much Cannot Be Told

Dr. Leon Dabo, an artist and a member of the commission that went from the United States to investigate alleged atrocities in France, made the following statement on Nov. 1, 1917, at a dinner of the Merchants' Association of New York City in the Hotel Astor:

"All that the correspondents send over about the atrocities that have been committed, all the inhumanities, all the bestialities, that no paper can possibly publish—they are not only true, but the worst of them cannot be told. To return from France and to come in contact with America's men and women, to see the civilians on the streets with clean linen on, to see women fashionably dressed, to see the shops wide open, selling the gewgaws of other days; coming from France, coming from the land of the widow, of the orphan, of the maimed, then only did I realize that we as Americans know nothing, nothing, of the slime of the beast.

"One of my distinguished predecessors has just told you that our women and our girls have been protected from the fate that befell the women of France and of Belgium by the British Navy. Men, believe it, it is absolutely true. It is more than true. I have been in a hospital in the Department of Meuse of France where there are nearly a thousand girls; not one is 18 years of age, and all will be mothers. Eleven per cent., in addition, are stark mad."

The Horrors of War

Harry Lauder, the Scotch comedian, made the following statement from a rostrum in New York City on Oct. 22:

"Read all you can find and look at all the pictures obtainable of the havoc that has been done by earthquake, cyclone, and volcanic eruption in the past and you will not find anything that can compare with the destruction wrought by the Hun. It is so hellish that it outdoes the elements of God in the might of their wrath.

"In one of our hospitals I saw a poor fellow who had one eye and half of his

face blown away, and he talked with his mouth twisted up toward his ear. I asked how he received his frightful injuries, and he replied that it was through picking up a fountain pen in a German dugout just after it was captured. 'I was one of the first over the top,' said this remnant of a human, 'and as I fell forward in the dugout from which the Germans had just fled rather hurriedly, I noticed a fountain pen on the floor and put it into my pocket. Two days later I wanted to write a letter home to my wife and children and took the pen out to use it instead of a pencil. As I unscrewed the cap there was a violent explosion, and half of my face was blown clean off, as you see now.'

"I will try to give you a faint idea of what the destruction in France means. You are riding in a military automobile along a road made all but impassable by deep shell holes, pieces of charred wood, and loose stones. The officer who is

escorting you explains that you are passing over the site on which three months ago there was a thriving village of 3,000 inhabitants. All that remains are a few curbstones that mark the former location of sidewalks. The town with its people have been wiped out by the Hun as if they had never been.

"I have here a piece of barbed wire which I obtained from a trench before Arras. It is six inches long and has twenty-four barbs, which hold a piece of tartan so firmly that it cannot be torn away except in threads. That little shred of cloth is all that remains of a Highland soldier who was hit by a shell as he struck the entanglements.

"I could tell you of deeds that I have seen and heard of committed by the Hun that would haunt your sleep, and not one word of exaggeration. By the memory of my boy who laid down his life for the cause, you may rely upon it that I would not tell a lie."

A Message of Thanks From the Queen of Rumania

Queen Marie of Rumania said to an Associated Press correspondent at Jassy on Oct. 23, 1917:

The mothers, children, and soldiers of Rumania bless America's great name. Each sufferer well knows that Rumania's ally overseas has come to the rescue in the time of trouble, and as their Queen I voice their gratitude to America, which is the whole-hearted expression of the eight millions of my people. The noble ideals of President Wilson, with which I am in sympathy, touch closely our country, for Rumania entered the struggle in the hope of realizing national unity with the other four million Rumanians beyond the Carpathians. King Ferdinand himself has been the exponent of the principles of democracy. In a message to Parliament before the war he proposed, on his own initiative, that there be a fairer division of lands among the people, and he intended to set the first example by surrendering large estates to be divided among the peasants. In the same message he asked the widest political rights for all his subjects, who previously had voted according to the amount of taxes paid. Later, in answering a petition from the Jews, the King pledged the same rights to them, also.



Atrocities in Serbia

Report of Neutral Investigators Regarding Barbarities Committed by Austrians, Hungarians, and Bulgars

The Holland section of the League of Neutral Countries, in the Autumn of 1917, published the subjoined report, signed by the three officers constituting the permanent committee of the league. After stating that they are in possession of numerous documents, Serbian Government reports, and individual depositions, and that these have been subjected to careful sifting for historical facts, they declare that they have no hesitation in formulating the grave accusations here set forth:

DEPORTATIONS from Serbia began with the driving forth of 5,000 men, women, and children by the Austrians at the time of the occupation of Belgrade. Because of bad housing and insufficient food one-half of these unfortunates succumbed to typhoid fever in less than a year.

The Bulgarians made their first use of deportations in the countries that had been given to Serbia by the peace of Bucharest in 1913, notably in Southern Serbia and a part of Macedonia. Thus they deported into Bulgaria almost all the Serbian families of Prizren and Prishtina; from Prilep, 170; from Kru-shevo, 70. At the end of 1915 an order was given to assemble and conduct away all the male population between the ages of 15 and 70 years from the districts of Veles, Porech, and Prilep, where already torrents of blood had been shed.

The Bulgarian Bishop of Kitehevo, who had just been appointed, protested. He wrote to King Ferdinand that such a measure would demonstrate to the whole world that Macedonia sympathized with Serbia and not with the Bulgarians. This argument may have had some effect; at any rate, the King ordered that the deportations should cease, although the men might already be on the road. However, 500 notables and their families were selected and interned in the environs of Sofia. Their property was immediately confiscated by the Bulgarian Government and most of their houses were rented to Mohammedans.

Austro-Hungarian Methods

When the Rumanians declared war the deportations were continued in still

greater numbers, both by the Austrians and by the Bulgars, reaching their maximum after the capture of Monastir. The victims always included men, women, and children, but especially men of 17 to 70 years. A special method was applied to boys. In May, 1916, the reopening of the schools was announced, and the enrollment lists were accessible. The Austro-Hungarian authorities had the lists copied, and the deportations were based on these.

Many Thousands Deported

Not less than nine internment camps for Serbs were established in Austria-Hungary, three of the principal ones being situated in the Danube marshes, where the health conditions are extremely bad; the most distant are the camps of Heinrichsgrün in Bohemia and Braunau in Upper Austria, near the German frontier. In that at Braunau there are not less than 35,000 Serbians; it is quite correct, therefore, to speak of deportations en masse. Among these interned prisoners one finds high officials of the Serbian Government, members of the Council of State, Deputies, besides physicians, lawyers, merchants, &c. The sanitary conditions are very bad in these places, where the Serbs are obliged to live in great wooden barracks that are penetrated by wind and rain; they are ill-fed, and are compelled to sleep upon straw on the ground, where the children, especially, are dying in great numbers. At Braunau there was an epidemic of typhus.

Like the Austrians and Hungarians, the Bulgars have been making deportations since July, 1916, from all the Ser-

bian territory they occupy. The northern part of the country is subject to Bulgarian rule. The families deported by the Bulgarians alone in the last six months of 1916 are estimated at 10,000.

The Bulgarians are inhumane in their treatment of prisoners. They do not permit these unfortunates to prepare themselves, or to take away from their homes even the most indispensable articles, as the Germans do in Belgium. At Nish prominent persons were made prisoner in the streets without permitting them to say good-bye to their families.

The largest Serbian internment camp in Bulgaria is situated in a swampy plain near Sofia, where the families are housed in miserable sheds, and where they are dying of cold, hunger, and wretched sanitary conditions. Thus without any military necessity a part of the Serbian population has been systematically killed. What is the object of such actions? The answer will be found in what follows.

The Austrians, like the Bulgars, began these persecutions at the time of the invasion. They professed a desire to respect the Greek Catholic religion, but they have deported a large number of priests, and have taken possession of churches, seeking to introduce into them the Roman Catholic faith. The Julian calendar, which is intimately connected with the Greek faith, is forbidden, though it is permitted in Bosnia.

Stamping Out the Language

The attempts against the language of the nation are these:

1. The interdiction of the Cyrillic script, which is also in use among the Russians. In all the names of the streets the Russian characters are replaced by Latin letters; the books and newspapers printed in those characters are forbidden to circulate, though permitted in Bosnia, where even the official journal is printed in both kinds of characters.

2. The confiscation of collections of national poems, though these patriotic songs tell of battles against the Turks and contain absolutely nothing against Austria.

3. The seizure of certain books, among others the poems of Raditchevitch and Zinaï, both Hungarian subjects, whose

poems for fifty years have been popular among the Serbs in Hungary; also a book by Dr. Bakitch, former rector of the University of Belgrade, on national education.

4. The closing of the Serbian primary schools, whose teachers have all been dismissed; the opening of a certain number of primary schools organized like those of Hungary, where instruction in German and Hungarian is compulsory, though in Bosnia these languages are not taught. The pupils wear the Austrian uniform and are told that the Emperor of Austria is their sovereign. The placing of hundreds of boys between the ages of 9 and 19 years, (the Austrian Reichspost of Dec. 6, 1916, speaks of more than 800, but according to Serbian advices they number nearly 2,000,) especially collegians, in the camp at Braunau, where they work on the land of the celebrated abbey, and where the monks are trying to make them instruments of Austrian propaganda.

Destroying the Serbian Church

It has long been known that the Museum of Belgrade was pillaged immediately after the Austrian occupation. The same thing has happened to the Ethnographical Museum, which contained objects of high value. Not a single souvenir of the history or the life of the nation has been left there. The Bulgars have gone still further; they have deported into Bulgaria all the priests of the Serbian Church. The Bulgarian Synod has sent priests from Bulgaria and subjected all the occupied country to the Bulgarian Exarchate, which was obtained by force from the Sultan in 1871, but which the other Orthodox Greek Churches regard as schismatic. All the Serbian churches and convents have been pillaged. All the inscriptions recording the foundation of these institutions by Serbian Princes have been broken with axes. The famous convents of Ravanitz and Manassia have suffered most, though they date from the thirteenth century and had been respected even by the Turks.

Furthermore, whatever the Bulgars have found written in the Serbian language they have destroyed absolutely.

With this object they have made house-to-house search, and have confiscated all the books and manuscripts, even those of the churches, courts, and archives. All these were burned — until the Minister of Commerce at Sofia ordered all papers to be sent to the national printing office, stating that they would make good material for manufacturing paper.

Immediately after occupation the Bulgarian authorities compelled the Serbs, whose family names usually end in "itch," to change that termination to "off," like those of Bulgarian families.

Naturally, it was also at Belgrade that the Serbian teachers were interned; they were replaced by Bulgarians and the Bulgarian language was made compulsory. The children were compelled to learn the popular Bulgarian songs and heard the war explained from the Bulgarian viewpoint; they were given to understand that henceforth they were Bulgarians. A great number of reading rooms were opened, whose names recall Bulgarian patriots, and through these centres the authorities are spreading every sort of writing in favor of Bulgarian chauvinism. Thus they are trying to kill the spirit of the Serbian people.

Recruiting for the Army

As long ago as October, 1916, Prime Minister Pashitch formulated a protest in the name of the Serbian Government against the recruiting of Serbs by the Bulgars. Since then the Serbian Government has received many Bulgarian newspapers that speak openly of such recruiting. These publications refer to Macedonia, but from other sources it is learned that compulsory recruiting has also been introduced into Old Serbia, so that thousands of Serbs are said to have been forced to fight in the Bulgarian army against their own country. We do not know whether Bulgaria has denied this accusation, which is extremely grave.

Atrocities in Serbia

In Macedonia the Bulgars began immediately after their arrival to put to death the authorities of cities and towns. These murders reached extreme propor-

tions in the three districts of Macedonia which we have mentioned in connection with deportations. The deported victims were generally the objects of the greatest cruelty. Some were obliged to make the journey on foot, poorly clad, without shoes, in the terrible cold; they were given only half a loaf of bread a week. The Bulgarian soldiers drove them onward with blows from rifle stocks, like cattle; many died on the way.

The Austrian soldiers acted with the same brutality, driving children with the bayonet, so that many had to be taken to the hospital at Szegedin; women about to become mothers were forced to march with the rest. Many priests were killed by the Bulgarian troops. By a refinement of cruelty the Serbs who fled are prevented from corresponding with their families who remained behind.

We have believed in these circumstances that it was our duty to cite the facts more in detail than ordinarily. Before the Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian Governments can clear themselves of the odium imposed by this simple enumeration of facts, they will have to try to draw up a denial of its truth. We believe that such a denial will be very difficult to formulate.

Trying to Destroy a Nation

The mass of documents placed at our disposal has left a profound impression of an attempt to achieve the complete ruin of a free nation by means the most brutal and cruel. Among all the horrors of war practiced en masse against an entire nation, the worst certainly is the wholesale murder of the Armenians by the Turks under the indifferent or approving eye of the Germans. The systematic destruction of the Serbian Nation is a pendant to the enslavement of Belgium. The latter, perhaps, has suffered more in certain regards, because it is nearer to one of the fronts, but in other respects there is something still more grave in the treatment inflicted upon the Serbians; and the civilized world has known less about it.

Le Temps of Paris has expressed a desire to see the neutral Governments realize that they also have signed the international conventions which have been vio-

lated, adding that now is the moment to protest, since they have neglected thus far to do so. We also have formerly expressed the same hope, but our disillusionment has been too great; we will not return to that prayer again. Happily the neutrals that have the power to do so are going to oppose themselves to these crimes, abandoning their neu-

trality. The only thing we can do is to take care that, later, no one can say that from Holland no voice was raised against such barbarities.

Permanent Committee of the League of Neutral Countries:

NIERMEIJER, President.

DE LA FAILLE, Home Secretary.

DIENPBROCK, Foreign Secretary.

Austria Favors a Croatian State

EMPEROR CHARLES of Austria-Hungary received a deputation on Oct. 3, 1917, from the Croatian Diet. The President, Dr. Medakovich, in an address of homage, expressed the wish of the Croat nation for unity. He emphasized its agreement with the kingdom of Hungary quite in the sense of the Hungarian public law, which the Austrian Premier accepted when he declared that the Hungarian Government wished to demand the reincorporation of Dalmatia with Croatia and thus also with the Hungarian State. This was a unionist declaration by the Croatian Diet and implied the alienation of the Serbs in that body, which till the outbreak of the war constituted the sharpest opposition to Serbo-Croatian policy in the interests of Croatism. The Croats now desire the union of Dalmatia, also Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the conquered territories, (Montenegro and part of Serbia,) with Croatia. A great Croatia—under Hungary—is their object.

The Emperor Charles replied to the address of homage by praising the Croats' heroism during the war, and declaring that it filled him with joy. They described as the basis of their political activity the bonds established by centuries of history and by laws which comprehend one and the same State community of the Crown of St. Stephen. By defending this State community they could count, within the limits legally settled for their activity—having as its aim the consolidation as well as the intellectual and economic development of the Croat Nation—on the same benevolent feelings on his side as his predecessors on the throne always cherished for the Croat Nation.

The comment by a leading Vienna statesman on the declaration of the Emperor is:

First, this Imperial manifesto will be valued as a success of the new Hungarian Government, which will be able to appeal to it as proof that it can reckon in its efforts for the reincorporation of Dalmatia on the Emperor's demand. The Emperor's declaration should also press into the background the Serbian tendency in Croatia and strengthen the unionist policy of which the representatives adopt the standpoint of the compromise concluded with Hungary in 1863. The Emperor's statement should not be without far-reaching effect in Austria also. While he referred to legally fixed limits for the efforts of a union of the Croats, he indirectly adopted a position against the Slovene plans for the foundation of a South Slav State which should embrace also South Styria, Trieste, Carinthia, and Carniola. For there are no legal limits for this plan of a union of Southern Slavs in a State independent of Hungary. The Slovenes in the Reichsrath must, therefore, be strengthened in their attitude of opposition by the Emperor's utterances and hold fast to a tactical community with Czech union. Against this, the breaking loose of the Croat Deputies from this community is not impossible. If Dalmatia were united with Hungary-Croatia, the Slavs would be weakened in the Reichsrath by the votes of the Croatian Deputies. This possibility will lend a new impulse to the Czechs' opposition. They will, however, undoubtedly utilize the Emperor's statement as an occasion for stronger representation of their demand for a Czech-Slovene State, to the creation of which the new Hungarian Government is strongly opposed. From the circumstance that the Hungarian Government has succeeded in obtaining the Emperor's assent for a solution of the South Slav question corresponding to Hungarian influence it may be deduced that the creation of a Czech-Slovene State cannot count on support in authoritative circles in Vienna at the present time.

The Reorganization of Rumania

Story of a Year's Progress Toward Recovery From the Disastrous Reverses of 1916

The French authorities, who were largely instrumental in rehabilitating the shattered military and economic forces of Rumania, have furnished many important facts to the writer of the subjoined article, which is translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from Nouvelles de France.

SINCE December, 1916, when the Rumanian Army fell back behind the Sereth River, Rumania has found two-thirds of its territory invaded by the enemy and its remaining area reduced to the one province of Moldavia. Here the Government, after a hasty exodus from Bucharest, established itself at Jassy with all the institutions of the country, and with the greater part of the population of the capital and the larger cities—Braila, Buzen, Craiova—and even a fairly large contingent of the rural population from Muntenia, Bukowina, and Transylvania. It is Moldavian Rumania, cut off from all communications with Europe, save through Russia, that has had to furnish a refuge for the exiles, hastily improvise hospitals, barracks, offices for the various Government departments from Bucharest, lodge and feed the refugees, care for the wounded and dying soldiers, and provide, besides, for the needs of the Russians co-operating with the Rumanian Army.

Moldavian Rumania found itself denuded of almost everything; even the yield of cereals, important in ordinary times, was scarcely sufficient, because the country's chief agricultural production comes from the plains of the Danube. Even with its cereals, the cattle that have disappeared, and the oil wells that have been destroyed, Rumania had to import some of these commodities before the war. Also meat, butter, milk, vegetables, oil, fats, firewood, had reached very high prices by the beginning of 1917. Colonial commodities and coal were almost totally lacking, clothes and shoes very scarce.

Finally the scarcity of food created a terrible epidemic of spotted typhus, to which were added epidemics of intermit-

tent fever, cholera, and dysentery. Many physicians and nurses of both sexes succumbed to the scourge in tending the patients. It was while struggling against all these difficulties that Rumania, with the help of her allies, achieved her military and economic reorganization and prepared her social transformation. She has done more; she is even giving thought to the period after the war.

Reorganizing the Army

So far as Rumania's military reorganization is concerned, it has been largely the work of the French mission commanded by General Berthelot and seconded by the devotion of all the Rumanians, from the King to the most humble soldier.

The army had undergone very heavy losses during the retreat, but it had not been reduced to the point of not being able to reorganize. The men from 16 to 50 years had been called to the colors, and in the course of the Winter the army was re-established. About 50,000 wounded were restored to health, and the effectives were increased: (1) by the new recruits of 17 to 18 years, (60,000 in a separate contingent;) (2) by the men of 42 to 50 years; (3) a very large contingent of recuperated men—exempted, excused, invalided men of the period before the war; (4) by a great number of men from the rear who were poured into the fighting regiments.

The officers had suffered less heavy losses, proportionally, and in the course of reorganization the staffs were entirely reconstructed. Schools for officers were established in several centres of Moldavia. Many superior officers were removed and replaced by younger men whose ability had been demonstrated in the course of the campaign. General

Averscu, who had shown his courage, energy, and military capacity, was named for the commanding position to which his conduct had entitled him. The long delay of the Winter was utilized by all the officers in becoming familiar with French methods; these have now replaced the old methods, which were rather German than Rumanian.

The morale of the men has completely changed in this new atmosphere. The warlike qualities of the Rumanian soldier, which are of the first order, have been perfectly understood and brought out by the officers of the French mission.

Military Equipment

All the efforts made by Rumania before the war to furnish a suitable equipment for its army had been insufficient, as Rumania has no large manufacturing industries. At the beginning of the campaign whole divisions could be seen with nothing but the old equipment, and many of the men were without shoes. During the four months of fighting the stocks could not be replenished, and if the Germans found nothing of this sort in the territory which they occupied, it was because the nation's military supplies had long been exhausted.

At the present moment, (October, 1917,) the improvement is noteworthy. The men are wearing the French helmet. The boot has disappeared and is replaced by the legging. In general the men now look like French troopers.

The German guns and other war material predominant at the moment of Rumania's entry into the conflict have been replaced largely by French arms—field artillery, machine guns, repeating rifles—which the Rumanian soldier handles skillfully. France has provided most of these arms. The artillery is well mounted, the accessories for the heavy guns are ample, the anti-aircraft guns are very good. The knife bayonet has been replaced by the French bayonet.

The army also has an abundance of telephones, of wire, and of trench tools, which were lacking in the Autumn of 1916. The equipment, besides, continues to be increased and completed by constant arrivals, which come by way of Russia.

New Sanitary Measures

The engineering service has developed in a way unknown before the war, and the system back of the lines has been completely recast; the food supply methods are modeled on those of the French Quartermaster's Department, and are working admirably. Aviation, too, is developing.

The epidemics have been checked by sanitary measures, in which Dr. J. Cantacuzene has especially distinguished himself, and by the creation of numerous hospitals, isolation camps, hygienic precautions, police surveillance; everything has been foreseen and realized, thanks to the activity and courage of Rumanian, French, and English physicians, such as Dr. Clunet, Dr. Bottesco, and many other victims of duty and of science, who have not hesitated to sacrifice their lives. The nurses, with the Queen at their head, have given them devoted aid.

The chief cause of the spread of epidemics was scarcity of food, and this has been effectively combated, first by measures of restriction and the prevention of monopoly, then by stimulating farm labor in Moldavia, and, finally, by improving transportation. The Autumn sowing was done in time, and the harvest promises to be abundant. It includes all the Rumanian cereals, which are of excellent quality. As for petroleum, a few wells are still running very near the front, in the district of Bacau, and are sufficient to provide for the needs of the railways.

Transport facilities, unfortunately, are very meagre in Moldavia, and the food supplies had to be brought in all last Winter over the single railway that connects Rumania and Russia by way of Ungheni. The famine was due primarily to lack of transport. The chaos of the Russian railways during the last months of the old régime was accountable for the fact that Russia could then send only four carloads of food a day for the Russian Army, the Rumanian Army, and the civil population of the country, which exceeds three millions. The new Russian régime immediately improved this situation by sending twenty-five carloads a

THE BATTLE IN THE MUD IN FLANDERS



An Example of the Difficulties with Which the British Had to Contend During the Fighting in Flanders.
(*British Official Photograph.*)

AMBULANCE MEN'S DIFFICULT WORK



Stretcher Bearers Painfully Making Their Way Through the Mud During the Battle of Flanders. Some of Them Are Nearly Knee-Deep in the Mud.

(British Official Photograph.)

day. It is thus doing all it can to supply Rumania with wheat, oil, coal, farm products, fish, clothes, and shoes.

The gold reserves of the Rumanian National Bank, which amounted to \$120,000,000 at the time of the declaration of war, were put in a safe place when the Government was removed to Jassy. Contributions have been paid in Moldavia under fairly good conditions. Important loans have been made to Rumania by her allies—notably by England, which has lent her \$200,000,000—and the Rumanian Government is using these funds entirely for armament.

Social Reform Measures

While fighting famine and fever, and while toiling to restore her army, Rumania has at the same time been busy transforming her social organism in behalf of fuller democracy. For some years before the war the Rumanian Parliament had been at work on an important project of agrarian reform, which was to lead to the partition of private domains and the distribution of State lands among the peasants.

A large number of Rumanian peasants were formerly land owners, for an old national tradition held that the defender of the soil should possess a share of it, and that after a war the soldier, whatever his rank, should be rewarded with a fair allotment of land. But many events during the Turco-Phanariot period helped to dispossess the Rumanian soldier-laborer of his property. After 1848 the peasants again became proprietors to some degree, but in the subsequent years the rapid increase of population, which, by inheritance, involved the dividing of small farms into still smaller parcels, had reduced the peasant class to a rural proletariat. The people lived by work in the fields, but not their fields.

This abnormal situation has long been a matter of concern to political thinkers in Rumania, without distinction of party. For fifteen years they had been preparing the way for agrarian reform, first by

isolated attempts, then notably by the creation of farmers' unions and rural banks, which produced excellent results. The Government, which was already studying the question when the war came, and which had put it into the legislative program, could not leave it in suspense, and, after providing for the most urgent needs of the moment, hastened to take it up again.

Germany Takes a Hand

Aside from these general reasons, a new danger threatened to plunge the country into an era of internal troubles. The Germans, through their agents and spies, who had been swarming for forty years in Rumania, knew the social situation there to its minutest detail; they were not slow in using the agrarian troubles as a weapon.

In order to attract the sympathies of the rural population in the invaded regions, and to procure supplies without expense, they gave private estates unconditionally to the peasants. This manoeuvre, which obliged the peasant to work without wages for Germany—under the fallacious pretext that he was being taught agriculture and was enriching himself—did not prevent the Germans from driving this same peasant, with cudgel blows, to dig trenches under the bullets of the Rumanian soldiers. At the same time that Germany was assuring herself provisions during the war she was preparing a bloody revolution in Rumania after the coming of peace.

Thé Rumanians had to parry this scheme. King Ferdinand was the first to offer his domains, and in several proclamations to the soldiers he solemnly promised them agrarian reform and universal suffrage. The Government of Mr. Bratiano, which Take Jonescu and three Conservative Ministers have joined, thus making the "Cabinet of Sacred Unity," has just caused Parliament to pass these two reform measures, which are so fully in harmony with the democratic principles of the Entente Allies.

Rumania's Efforts and Aspirations

Dr. Constantine Angelescu, the new Rumanian Minister to the United States, issued a statement late in October, the essential parts of which are given herewith:

THE first phase of our entry into the great struggle was fraught with immense sacrifices and sufferings. Our front, more than 1,200 kilometers (750 miles) in extent, had to be defended by us single-handed, for the help we had been led to expect did not arrive. But the courage of our soldiers did not fail.

Unhappily, we sustained losses amounting to over 50,000 killed and 150,000 wounded. And that was not the full extent of our calamities. There was our retreat in Moldavia, the heartrending exodus of the inhabitants of the occupied territories, rich and poor, old men, women, and children, abandoning their homes before the advance of the hated enemy; and our enforced destruction of the oil wells in Rumania, representing hundreds and hundreds of millions of francs in value, as well as of our stores of cereals and our factories, to prevent their falling into the hands of the invaders. To these indescribable misfortunes were added other sufferings which culminated in an epidemic of exanthematic typhus, which claimed an immense number of victims. In spite of all this, however, my country did not lose faith, but remained profoundly attached to the common cause. Our sorely tried army awaited with passionate ardor the moment when it could turn the tables on the enemy, and when that moment came it did so in most magnificent fashion. In the battles of Marashesti men were seen to throw away their steel helmets and their coats, and, thus freed, fall on the enemy with tremendous fury. Many are the heroic deeds that have been related of them.

When, in consequence of the condition of internal affairs in Russia, the order came from Petrograd to stop the Rumanian offensive, our officers and men wept from disappointment. Later Mackensen assumed the offensive. His object was to conquer Moldavia also on the occasion of the first anniversary of the entry of Rumania into the war, and, once in the possession of the whole of Ru-

manian territory, the Germans had the intention of proclaiming a new régime. They reckoned without the valor of the Rumanian soldier. As a matter of fact, Rumania saved the eastern front. The offensive of Mackensen was definitely broken, and the Rumanian Army, with our chivalrous King at its head, is absolutely confident that it is no longer possible to break through the Rumanian front.

Forty years ago Rumania began her career as a political State, allying herself with Russia, and was true to her principle of being in the Near East a loyal and firm co-operator in the work of civilization and stability. In following her destiny she never was a source of embarrassment to Europe. Among the Near Eastern States, Hungary included, Rumania alone has been able to preserve her national individuality throughout the centuries. While Bulgaria became a Turkish province, while Hungary was under the dominion for a space of two centuries of Ottoman Pashas, while Russia herself had not yet succeeded in breaking through the iron ring of the Mongols, Rumania preserved her national existence, and, moreover, was a tower of strength to the Christian peoples of the Balkans. It was on Rumanian territory that the renaissance of Bulgaria was engineered and that as a rule all the patriots of Christian countries on the right bank of the Danube found a safe asylum.

What we ask for is the amalgamation of our race in the region of the Carpathians and safe frontiers in the Balkans. Our historic and political right to the territories of Hungary inhabited by the people of Rumanian race is established beyond question. More than 4,000,000 Rumanians who have determined to be and have remained Rumanians for something like 2,000 years, in spite of all the persecutions of the Magyars, reside there in compact masses. These popula-

tions have consistently maintained throughout the centuries spiritual relations with their brethren beyond the mountains. The Rumanian peasant of Hungary calls Rumania "the country," meaning his country. And the union is not only spiritual but territorial, for the chain of the Rumanian Carpathians is, as it were, the backbone of Rumania. Our Hungarian congeners have never ceased to claim to belong to us. In 1867, when the Austro-Hungarian compromise was effected and Transylvania, Rumanian at heart, was sacrificed on the altar of dualism, the duped Rumanians were consoled with the law of nationalities. Under that law our brethren have been subjected to the most cruel persecutions. Even women and children have been

made to expiate their fidelity to their race.

Dominated by the obsession of endeavoring to establish an exclusively Magyar State in a polyglot country, wherein the Hungarians are in a minority in the territories inhabited by Rumanians, all Hungarian Governments without exception have endeavored to denationalize the Rumanian population by violence, but have made no impression on the dogged determination of that population to remain Rumanian. That is why we Rumanians of Rumania have always had our eyes turned toward the Carpathians, and have never in our history renounced our aspirations after national reunion in spite of diplomatic arrangements imposed on us by hard necessity.

The Jews in Rumania

M. Take Jonescu, in an address to the Rumanian Chamber on Oct. 21, 1917, referred to the Jewish question in these words:

From the standpoint of every reasonable man it was impossible that we should attach to our country provinces in which there were Jews whom we should have had to make into Rumanian citizens, Jews who would have fought under the enemy's flag, and at the same time that we should allow our own Jews, some of whom have fought under our flag, to remain strangers to us. No one can admit such an idea. It is for this reason that the fourth point that we should consider closely is the Jewish question, and that we should deal with it by a broad-minded, comprehensive resolution, which should have no reserves, and that we should deal with it honestly, as a country ought to do that has pledged its word and keeps its promises.

I have brought this question before the House because I wish the Jews throughout the country to know that if it was natural and legitimate that this question should be fought when we were still undecided, to fight it from now onward is both useless and unjust. Unjust, because the mere granting of rights cannot solve a question of this sort. When the Jews are fellow-citizens like ourselves, we are determined that they should not be foreigners to us, and that we should not appear to be their brothers while being really their enemies. We shall have to undertake a second task, a social task, a task of brotherhood, and this will be carried out all the better if foreigners refrain from interfering in a question as to which we have said our last word.

As for myself, I shall not lay down my arms until the Jewish question has been solved as I have stated that it should be solved.



Australasia's Record in the War

By Robert Sumner Winn

An Australian Journalist

AUSTRALASIA is geographically further away from the main theatre of the greatest of wars than any other part of the world. Yet it has played a notable part in this war. The Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand—democratic, advanced, and essentially British—have freely given men, money, ships, munitions, and other supplies; fought valiantly on land and sea, legislated radically, and worked zealously for the allied cause and the overthrow of present-day Germany. Various South Sea islands—British and French colonies or dependencies—have made proportionate efforts and sacrifices.

Australia alone of the continents has never had a hostile shot fired at it or upon it; and until August, 1914, it was a country almost without military traditions. True, Australians in numbers had fought in the South African war, but the Australian people had never been menaced by invasion; much less have they experienced a battle upon their soil. A comprehensive system of military training, based upon the recommendations of Lord Kitchener and in some respects characteristically progressive, had been put into operation, but too soon before the war broke out to make it of value. A federal military academy (Duntroon) and a federal naval academy (Jervis Bay) had been established, but only the former long enough to help meet the crisis. Because of connection with Great Britain, and because of Britain's sea power, because of fear of Asia, and because of the visit of the American battleship fleet in 1908, there was an Australian Navy in the fateful Summer of 1914. But this navy was young, somewhat incomplete, and untried—a quasi-experiment in British imperial relations.

Neighboring New Zealand had likewise never been threatened by an enemy. But there had at least been a war there, that

of the sixties, between the white settlers and the Maoris, the martial aborigines whom it required trained British troops to master. New Zealanders, too, had engaged in the South African war. New Zealand had a competent system of military training in 1914; but owing to a policy which had centred upon representation in the British Navy rather than upon a semi-independent navy, like that of Australia, the dominion in the naval sense was only nominally defended.

Of the South Sea islands participating in the war not one save perhaps French New Caledonia knew anything military except from tribal feuds or European punitive expeditions in an era ending upward of half a century before. But British Australasia dealt Germany and German prestige several severe and totally unexpected blows at the very outset of the war. While Belgium and Northern France were being overrun by the Kaiser's armies most of Germany's empire in the Pacific was easily falling captive to the arms of Australia and New Zealand. Administrative Germany had greatly misconceived or underrated Australasian loyalty; Australasia had greatly overrated Germany's strength in the Pacific.

Taking Samoa and New Guinea

A New Zealand military force under Colonel Robert Logan, an Otago farmer-militia man, convoyed by the battle cruiser Australia, flagship of the fledgling Australian Navy; the cruiser Melbourne, also of that navy, and other warships descended upon German Samoa at the end of August, 1914, took it without resistance, and hoisted the Union Jack over Apia.

An Australian naval and military force, under Colonel William Holmes, a Sydney city official, but a military enthusiast and a veteran of the South African war, obliged Dr. Haber, the Acting Governor of German New Guinea,

to surrender that extensive territory at Herbertshohe in New Britain (Neu Pommern) the latter part of September. Colonel Holmes's expedition was convoyed and materially assisted by virtually the entire Australian Navy, under command of its then active head, the British Admiral Sir George Patey—the Australia, the cruiser Sydney, the destroyers *Parramatta*, *Warrego*, and *Yarra*; the submarines *AE-1* and *AE-2*, and other units. In the sole engagement of this campaign—a series of sharp skirmishes in the jungle for the possession of the German wireless station some miles from Herbertshohe—the attacking Australian naval reservists were successful. Their losses were small. Those of the Germans were somewhat heavier, and they had to blow up the plant. Never before had Australians been on the offensive or Australian blood been shed in action so near Australia.

Within two months from the beginning of the war, Australia, with her navy acting under the British Admiralty, and New Zealand had contributed largely to the destruction of the German Pacific wireless chain and the seizure and occupation of Germany's Pacific colonies. What the two Governments did not do Japan did. The operations against German New Guinea, a big and scattered colony, and German Samoa had been suggested by the British Government; the work was expeditiously carried out by Australasia. Germany, aside from other deprivations, was cut off from sources of tropical products invaluable for her conduct of the war, copra and, to a less degree, rubber and cacao.

Work of Australian Navy

Admiral Count von Spee's squadron, including the more or less formidable *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, was at this stage an important factor in the war, particularly as it affected the Pacific. The *Australia*, a battle cruiser of 19,000 tons, patrolled an extensive sector of that ocean northeast of the Fiji group in order, if possible, to prevent German concentration; and subsequently by virtue of her superior speed and armament she was instrumental in driving the German warships into South Ameri-

can waters and to their annihilation off the Falkland Islands by Admiral Sturdee.

Since then the Pacific has been considered safe for the Allies; German Samoa and German New Guinea have been successfully administered respectively by the New Zealand and Australian Governments pending the terms of peace; and the Australian Navy has entered more closely into Great Britain's scheme of naval defense. During the war the Commonwealth has augmented its navy by a cruiser and three destroyers. Australasia was fired at once by the war, but for a short time it did not altogether realize the Central Powers' onset or Germany's organization and might. Men flocked to the colors, and mobilization, equipment, and training were begun upon lines believed to have the most method and merit. By the last of October, 1914, after offers of military units to the British Government for use in any quarter, Australia had ready an expeditionary force of about 20,000 men and New Zealand one of about 8,000.

The dispatch of these two forces, which were combined in one, to Egypt, the destination which had been fixed upon, was a military feat which has yet to be equaled. Approximately 30,000 men—infantry, artillery, and cavalry—went from the antipodes to the Suez Canal without hitch, accident, or loss. It is 6,750 sea miles from Albany, Western Australia, where the transports mobilized, to Suez; and when the New Zealanders reached Egypt they had traversed more than 9,500 sea miles. In point of distance and relative number this carriage of troops constitutes a record.

Destroying the Cruiser Emden

The Australian cruiser *Sydney* encountered and defeated the famous German raiding cruiser *Emden* during this historic voyage. The time was early November. The *Emden*, under command of Captain Müller, had accounted for twenty-one British merchantmen, a Russian transport, and a French destroyer; raided Penang and bombarded Madras, and caused the Allies loss amounting to \$12,500,000. The *Sydney*, commanded by

the British Captain Glossop, but manned largely by Australians, was one of the warships convoying the troopships. The Emden swooped down upon the Eastern Extension Cable Company's station at Cocos Island in the Indian Ocean, intending to destroy it and cut the cable. The island's distress signals, which the Emden's wireless could not drown, were heard by the escorting warships, and the Sydney was detached to save the station. She came upon the Emden the next day. After a short but hot fight, in which her heavier and better served guns wrought havoc, she put the Emden to flight. The sinking raider was run ashore on North Keeling Island and her surviving officers and crew surrendered. The Sydney's casualties were less than twenty; those of the Emden were much greater, the killed alone numbering more than a hundred. This was the four-year-old Australian Navy's victorious "baptism of fire."

The "Anzacs" at Gallipoli

The word "Anzac" was coined and immortalized by Australasian troops in the Levant. Initially their presence in Egypt, their first training ground, late in 1914 and early in 1915 was timely, because of the recently proclaimed British protectorate of Egypt and the necessity of defending the Suez Canal. Virtually only the high command of these troops included any but professional soldiers, and only a sprinkling of the rank and file had ever before been on active service. The great majority of them were men suddenly transplanted from prosaic pursuits to modern warfare. Although raw and rather undisciplined soldiers, they represented the best blood in the two dominions—the flower of their manhood.

It was in the allied attempts to take the Dardanelles during the Spring and Summer of 1915 that Australasians revealed to the world their prowess and morale. The last of April the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps—whence "Anzac" is derived—landed upon the Gallipoli Peninsula. The corps was part of the army under General Sir Ian Hamilton, before which had been set the task of forcing a way to Constantinople.

It gained a foothold at "Anzac" cove near Gaba Tepeh in the early hours of a day which Australasia will always hold was a heroic one. The fortified steeps commanding the beach were stormed and taken with the bayonet by scrambling, shouting, impetuous Queenslanders, South Australians, and West Australians—bushmen and miners—in defiance of all the accepted rules of war. Theoretically, the heights were impregnable, and actually the Turkish fire was deadly to a degree, but the defenders were driven back. Moreover, the positions taken were not relinquished until the end of the campaign.

So far as the Australasians were involved, the remaining seven months of the ill-starred Gallipoli campaign were characterized by like courage and dash in action, and by a mixture of resourcefulness, tenacity, and sang froid in trenches, practically under constant fire, which challenged the admiration of their friends and the respect of their enemies. Throughout the vicissitudes of the campaign the "Anzacs" were under an officer singularly adapted to their temperament and spirit, General Sir William Birdwood of the British Army. In the bloody engagements hinging upon Suvla Bay New Zealanders penetrated the Turkish lines deeper than any other of the allied forces at any stage of the campaign. They are said to have glimpsed the Dardanelles.

Work of Premier Hughes

Meanwhile, William M. Hughes, Australia's Labor Attorney General, had focused worldwide attention upon the German "metal ring." A trust of giant proportions and ramifications, he averred, with headquarters at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, was dominating and manipulating for German ends the Australian output of zinc, lead, and copper ores essential for British munitions; and among the disguised instruments of the trust were the German Metallgesellschaft and the British firm known as Mertons. He followed up his attacks by compelling Australian mining companies to sever their German connections and to become all-British; establishing a Governmental metal ex-

change for Britain's benefit, and bringing about an investigation in England of the nation's metal business. Eventually drastic action such as his in Australia was taken there.

Early in 1916 Mr. Hughes, who had become the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, landed in England. After becoming head of the Australian Government he had organized a Governmental pool for supplying Great Britain and her confederates with Australian wheat on a large scale. This scheme was one of the first foodstuff conservation measures born of the war, and it was unique of its kind. Later, while in England, he bought the Strath Line of cargo steamers for the Commonwealth for the transportation of its wheat. This, too, was a novel stroke.

By reason of his picturesque story, pronounced anti-German sentiments, fiery "win-the-war" speeches, and decided leanings toward British tariff reform, the Australian Prime Minister stirred not only Great Britain but the other world powers as well. In some quarters he was—and is—hailed as one of the outstanding figures of the war. His British visit culminated in his attending in an advisory capacity the Entente conference in Paris in the middle of 1916, which formulated an allied economic union and German trade penalization after the war.

Conscription in New Zealand

New Zealand was not only the first British oversea dominion to meet the overwhelming fact of the war by the formation of a Coalition Government, but next after Great Britain it was the first British community to adopt the conscription principle. [See CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, November, 1916, Pages 318-320.] The Coalition Government, headed by William F. Massey as Prime Minister and Sir Joseph Ward as Finance Minister, came into being in 1915. These two Ministers took part in the British Imperial War Conference in London in 1917. Compulsory military service in order to keep the dominion's oversea forces at full strength came into effect the latter part of 1916. The Coalition Government's rule of action was not to displace the voluntary system but to sup-

plement it by the conscriptive system. New Zealand lays claim to having furnished more troops for the war in proportion to her population than any other British State save Britain herself. From among about 1,000,000 persons the dominion has raised an army of some 80,000 men.

Mr. Hughes's proposal that Australia adopt conscription having been defeated in a referendum upon that issue in October, 1916, [see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, December, 1916, Pages 446-449,] the Commonwealth's forces, totaling about 362,000 men since the beginning of the war, are volunteers. New Zealand's 80,000 men are divided between volunteers and conscripts. The Commonwealth and the Dominion, in the former of which the Defense Minister is Senator George F. Pearce and in the latter Colonel Sir James Allen, equip and maintain their warrior sons throughout—from training camp to firing line. The enormous expense entailed has been met by taxation and by successful internal loans aggregating many millions of pounds sterling.

On European Battlefields

Since the Spring of 1916 the bulk of Australasia's fighting men has been merged with the allied armies on the western front; and they have taken part in the successive "pushes" on that front, as attested by their deeds at Pozieres, Mouquet Farm, Bullecourt, Messines, and other places. Australasian cavalry and camelry have been conspicuous in the British operations on the Sinai Peninsula and in Southern Palestine, and there are Australasian units in Mesopotamia. General Birdwood—"the soul of Anzac"—has been the Australians' commander in France.

Contributions to war funds, Red Cross, Australasian, Belgian, French, and others, for relief purposes or for the prosecution of the war, have probably been greater per head in the South Pacific than in any other quarter of the globe. They mount up into the millions. What Australasian women have done toward raising these funds is incalculable.

Maoris are in the New Zealand ranks and their war cry, "We will fight on forever and ever," has been heard on Euro-

pean battlefields. The Cook Islands and Niue Island—a speck in the vast Pacific—have also furnished New Zealand with native recruits. Fijians are among the polyglot war workers in France. The Fiji, Gilbert, and Ellice groups; the little Kingdom of Tonga; Ocean and Niue Islands have aided Britain with gifts of money. Norfolk Island, peopled by de-

scendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, Lord Howe Island and the Chatham Islands have given men from their slender numbers. The French possessions in the Pacific, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, and the Society Islands have provided the republic with devoted conscripts, whites and kanakas, some of whom were in the hell of Verdun.

The English in India

A Summary of What They Have Done

ON Oct. 15, 1917, Edwin S. Montague, M. P., Secretary of State for India, announced that he was proceeding to India, his journey being "the direct outcome of the British Government's declaration in Parliament that its policy in India is to develop self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of representative government. Electoral bodies have sprung up," added Mr. Montague, "and there are in most provinces today councils which have power to pass resolutions and to act in an advisory capacity, although they have little responsibility or real power. The members of these legislative units have been gun to tire of a situation in which they are little more than debaters, and we shall be glad to provide food for this developing civic appetite. Today the British people have begun to realize that India has proved herself worthy of a larger part in the imperial plan. India is now assured of a place in all future imperial war conferences."

A further step is thus taken in the long task of giving India peace, security, law, and liberty.

On the last day of the year 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to a group of English merchants to trade in the Orient, with the title the East India Company. Seven years later, in 1607, another group of Englishmen formed a trading post at Jamestown in Virginia, a region named for the same Queen Elizabeth. From these two beginnings

grew, on the one hand, the British Indian Empire, with an area of 1,800,000 square miles and a population of over 300,000,000; and, on the other, the United States of America, with an area of 3,600,000 square miles and a population of 100,000,000. Needless to say that neither group of English traders had the remotest idea or wish that any such result should follow.

For nearly 150 years no very large results did follow. Then, in 1740, Frederick the Great turned the Pragmatic Sanction into a scrap of paper, and seized territories belonging to the Austrian Princess Maria Theresa. This act enkindled a war in Europe, in which England and France took opposite sides. As a result, England and France were presently at war, not only in Europe, but also in America, Africa, and Asia; and George Washington in Pennsylvania and Clive in India were colleagues and fellow-officers fighting together in the British armies. This war made England pre-eminent over France in North America and India; there are still remnants of French territory in both: the little Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with West Indian islands; and, in India, French settlements like Pondicherry in Madras and Chandranagore in Bengal.

The English traders in India, after the 150 years, had still no territory. In 1756 the youthful Mohammedan Viceroy of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Daula, in a quarrel with some of his relations, captured Calcutta,

and shut 146 English men and women in a dungeon sixteen feet square, the Black Hole of Calcutta. Only 23 came out alive. To punish this atrocity Clive, with a small force of 1,000 English troops, defeated the Viceroy at Plassey on June 25, 1757, drove him from his capital, Murshidabad, and put a new Viceroy, Mir Jafar, in his place. This was the beginning of territorial power in India, after a century and a half of trading in silk and indigo.

When Plassey was fought and won on the bank of an arm of the Ganges, there were three classes of political powers in India. To the first class belonged the Mogul (or Mongol) Empire, built up by military adventurers descended from Genghis Khan; of these, the greatest were Baber, who invaded India, and Akbar, the gifted and enlightened contemporary of Queen Elizabeth. But by 1757 the Mogul despotism had fallen into the last stages of decay; it was divided into provinces, under Nawabs (Nabobs) or Viceroys, who were as bad administrators as the Mohammedans in Turkey or in Egypt. Their single idea was to farm the taxes for as much as possible, the tax-farmers then extracting the last possible penny from the downtrodden cultivators. This fiscal system has been a fertile source of evil and oppression in Mohammedan rule wherever it has been established.

Beginning with the regions about Calcutta, the English merchants at first undertook to gather the revenues, (while not owning the territories,) and began by making a valuation of the land, on which a fixed rate of taxation was then levied. Fixity of taxation, as against the rapacious exactions of greedy tax-farmers, was the first boon conferred by England on India; and it should be added that perhaps no country in the world which possesses a strong and stable Government is so lightly taxed, the total of revenue from all sources amounting to a charge of less than \$1.50 per head each year. As, therefore, the decaying Mogul Empire (which we have called the first class of political powers in India at the time of Clive's victory) fell to pieces, the Eng-

lish merchants gathered up the pieces and gave them a sound administration at an extremely low cost. There is one exception: the Viceroyalty of Hyderabad, in area equal to Great Britain, is still governed by a Mohammedan Viceroy, or Nizam, though under British supervision. In this whole region taken over from the Mogul invaders, the English on no occasion fought against any really indigenous native power, but only against foreign conquerors of alien religion who had carried the sword of Mohammed into India. They were exactly in the position of the Turks in Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania, and governed about as badly.

The second class of political powers in India were the old Hindu States, which, though badly shaken by the Moslem raids, invasions, and conquests, had managed to survive, with a remnant of their former glory. Wherever it has been possible, the English have conserved these ancient States under their hereditary Princes, and have, in every possible way, secured their development along indigenous lines, carefully guarding native customs, religions, and languages. Most notable of these ancient Hindu States are the princedoms of Rajputana, in Western India, whose princely houses trace their ancestry back for hundreds, even for thousands of years; and the large Hindu State of Mysore, in Southern India, which has several very ancient seats of Sanskrit learning. The total area of these native States, both Hindu and Mohammedan, (the latter representing foreign conquest and invasion,) is over 700,000 square miles, or over one-third of the whole area of India.

While these States are under native rule, they in no sense represent popular or democratic government; they are, on the contrary, Oriental despotisms, tempered by English political control.

In the third class of political powers in India at the time of Plassey were two new States: the Mahratta States, based on recent raids and conquests by predatory hill tribes, and the Sikh Confederacy, an aggressive military theocracy;

both bent on subjugating the rest of India. It was against these two new powers that most of the English wars in India were waged. The Mahratta wars were fought by the Marquis of Wellesley, whose younger brother, as Duke of Wellington, was making history in Europe. In both Sikh wars the Sikhs, not the English, were the aggressors; they were closed by the battles of Sobraon and Gujarat, which brought the Punjab under English rule, shortly before the Mutiny of 1857. In this Mutiny the Sikhs fought enthusiastically on the side of the English, as the Boers have fought on the English side in the world war.

Since 1857, save for a few frontier wars provoked by raids from beyond the border, all India has enjoyed unbroken peace for the first time in many centuries. This Pax Britannica has now lasted for sixty years. India has, further, enjoyed a system of just and impartial laws, administered everywhere in the

local languages and dialects. These laws fall into two groups. In the first are criminal laws, like the Indian Penal Code, which apply to all persons in India, native and European alike, with modern commercial laws, like the Contract act. In the second class are the laws regulating family affairs, including the devolution of property. The British principle is in all cases to conserve the existing family laws; thus Hindu inheritance cases are decided under the laws of Manu; Mohammedan cases under the Koran and the law books that have grown out of it. The same principle holds good for less-developed communities.

England has thus given India (1) unbroken peace; (2) one of the most efficient and least costly administrations in the world; (3) the development of all indigenous religions, institutions, languages, along indigenous lines; (4) Western inventions, like railroads, telegraph, Post Offices, sanitation.

"Soldiers Back of the Lines"

The bravest battle that ever was fought!
 Shall I tell you where and when?
 On the maps of the world you will find it not—
 'Tis fought by the mothers of men.
 Nay, not with cannon or battle shot,
 With sword or nobler pen!
 Nay, not with eloquent words of thought
 From mouths of wonderful men;
 But deep in the walled-up woman's heart—
 Of woman that would not yield,
 But bravely, silently, bore her part—
 Lo, there is that battlefield!
 No marching troop, no bivouac song,
 No banner to gleam and wave;
 But, oh! their battles, they last, they last,
 From babyhood to the grave.
 Yet faithful still, as a bridge of stars,
 She fights in her walled-up town—
 Fights on and on in endless wars,
 Then silent, unseen, goes down.
 Oh, ye with banners and battle shot,
 And soldiers to shout and praise,
 I tell you the kingliest victories fought
 Were fought in those silent ways.
 Oh, spotless woman in a world of shame,
 With splendid and silent scorn,
 Go back to God as white as you came—
 This kingliest warrior born.



AUSTRIAN OFFICERS AS WAR PRISONERS IN A RUSTIC SUMMERHOUSE IN SIBERIA

In the War Prisons of Eastern Siberia

By George P. Conger

The author of this article has recently returned to the United States after a year and a half as Y. M. C. A. Secretary in Siberian prison camps.

SIBERIA may be seen as it really is by going to the region which extends 500 miles north of Vladivostok. There the world contacts by way of the Pacific have given a new impetus to the civilization which, mainly in the last fifty years, has made its way from European Russia to the Far East. Compared with many other parts of Russia, this region is highly developed. Of its principal cities, Vladivostok, the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, has 75,000 inhabitants, and is one of the most important ports in the world.

From Vladivostok the Chinese Eastern Railroad runs 450 miles northward to Habarovsk, a city of 45,000 inhabitants, commandingly situated on a bluff facing the great sweep of waters which mark the confluence of the Ussuri and Amur rivers. From Habarovsk the newly opened Amur Railroad, crossing the river by one of the longest bridges in the world, leads westward through a rich mining and timber district to Blagoviestchensk, a curious provincial capital with 50,000 people, across the Amur from Manchuria.

Just over the Manchurian frontier,

which is not far from any of the prosperous towns along the rivers and railroads, there is a wild region, inhabited chiefly by robber bands, who sometimes have whole villages to themselves, where they live subject to no law save their own primitive codes. Their presence just over the borders has made it necessary for Russia to keep large garrisons in some of the Siberian towns and villages.

The modern trend of things in these towns was reflected before the war in the barracks provided for the garrisons. Some of the buildings were of the old pioneer type—one-story houses built of squared logs. A Siberian loghouse is by no means to be despised; some of the fine residences in every city are built in this way. The houses are heated by immense sheet-iron stoves, which are built with them.

Brick Barracks for Prisoners

In the garrison towns of Eastern Siberia this older type of barracks had, however, been largely replaced by modern brick buildings—usually of two stories, with concrete floors and whitewashed

walls. Within the barracks the long rooms were equipped with double-decked wooden platforms, which served the soldiers as a combination of bedstead, wardrobe, dining table, and writing desk. The soldiers, recruited largely from the peasantry, had practically the same food in the barracks as at home; it consisted principally of soup, "kasha," black bread, and tea.

The Russian soup resembles a stew; it usually contains meat and vegetables, especially cabbage. "Kasha" is a cereal food, which is like boiled buckwheat; the Russian way is to put it into one's soup as we might croutons. Russian black bread is more nearly brown—heavy and coarse, but very nutritious.

When the war broke out, some of these regiments were sent to the front, leaving their barracks empty; and as soon as Russia began taking prisoners, thousands of Germans, Austrians, and Turks were sent out to Serbia to fill up the empty buildings. There have been as many as 50,000 prisoners in the district, but constant transfers have now considerably affected the numbers. The proportion of Austrians to Germans is roughly four to one; there are fewer Turks than Germans.

Misguided Attempts to Escape

At first these prisoners, more than six thousand miles from the front, were allowed some liberty. At one camp, charmingly located on an arm of the Pacific, the prisoner officers had the privilege of sea-bathing; at other places they were allowed to come quite freely into the towns to make purchases. But the neighboring Chinese frontier was too alluring, and some of the men, who knew how easy it is to walk in a day or two from one European country to another, decided to try walking from one Asiatic country to another; so several parties attempted to escape. They reckoned without the vast distances and the cold, and some starved or froze to death out in the wilderness. They reckoned also without the Russian Cossacks, who knew every foot of the country except the international boundary line; many of the escaping prisoners were recaptured. Some who escaped these things were captured by robbers. I have heard that

some escaping prisoners were even eaten by the huge Amur tigers, which are larger, and, if anything, fiercer, than those of Bengal. Altogether only a small proportion of prisoners ever reached China and the shelter of those German organizations which have since figured among the causes of China's entry into the war.

The effect of the attempts to escape was what might have been expected. The Russians built huge wooden stockades around the barracks and confined the remaining prisoners inside. These stockades are of thick boards, twelve or fifteen feet high, topped with three rows of barbed wire and guarded night and day by sentries. The stockades are in most cases of generous size. In Eastern Siberia there are between twenty and thirty such inclosures, varying in size from those accommodating twenty-five men to one immense affair large enough to hold 10,000; they are located at Habarovsk, Blagoviestchensk, Nikolsk-Ussurisk, and other smaller towns.

Prisoners Well Treated

The private soldiers among the prisoners were placed on practically the same food and given the same accommodations as the Russian soldiers had before they went to the front. Several times, where there was a possible choice of barracks, the prisoners were placed in new brick buildings, while the regiments guarding them occupied the older log structures.

Prisoner officers were separated from soldiers, kept in stockades by themselves, and usually treated much better. It strikes many persons as curious that each group of nations engaged in the war should be paying a monthly salary to the enemy prisoner officers whom it has captured. Germany pays her Russian prisoner officers about 100 marks a month, and Russia pays her captive Germans about the same sum, or 50 rubles. Out of this latter sum the prisoner officers in Siberia pay for their food and side purchases; their lodging is gladly furnished them without charge.

The officers were not obliged to sleep on the wooden platforms, but, like the Russian officers in neighboring barracks, were provided with iron cots. In some

camps the feeding of the officers was let out to private contractors; in others, the officers managed their own kitchens. One officers' camp in Eastern Siberia has a cook who was formerly chef of one of the large hotels of Budapest. As a general thing, the problem of foodstuffs has not been acute in this region, because the railroad service was so nearly paralyzed that little could be shipped away, and the large quantities produced had to be locally consumed.

American Shoes in Favor

As the clothing of officers and men has worn out, new supplies have been secured through various relief agencies. No articles of clothing are in greater favor among the prisoners than American shoes. Europe and Asia, as represented there, unite in admitting their superiority. It is worth noting that last Winter, at a time when private shippers were vainly offering fortunes to secure freight cars leaving Vladivostok, trainloads of supplies for the prison camps were being shipped out.

Apparently Russia did not at first plan to have prisoners of war work; but, especially after the reports showing that Germany was employing her Russian prisoners to good advantage, the Russians began to follow suit. Large numbers of men were retransferred from Eastern Siberia to European Russia; and of all the hundreds of thousands of Austrians captured during General Brusiloff's great drive in 1916, only a few were sent out to Eastern Siberia. These few were mainly officers, and for the most part very young officers. One day one of them asked me to telegraph to Austria that he had received no news from his grandmother.

Three classes of prisoners are exempt from work, and even if they wish to work are, in the vast majority of cases, not allowed to do so. These are officers, invalids, and "intelligentsia." The latter comprise the one-year volunteers of the German Army and the better-educated or professionally trained men; they are usually confined in the private soldiers' camps, but in barracks or rooms by themselves.

In every camp the musicians are or-

ganized into orchestras, which play almost every night in many tea rooms and restaurants in the towns. Siberia has never heard such music as since the war began. These orchestras are capable of everything from ragtime to symphony concerts.

A well-known sculptor from Central Europe has since his imprisonment executed some remarkably lifelike heads of the now gradually disappearing Siberian aborigines; these will in future years form some of the treasures of one of the local museums. Some of the prison camps have studios for the painters who have been taken in the war; one camp had in its studio eleven Academicians from Vienna and Budapest.

The private soldiers who have remained in the East work on the roads, farms, parks, or in private establishments in the cities. They are often obliged to work long hours, but at a leisurely pace. All the carpenters, cobblers, and tailors are kept busy, and are on the whole the most contented of the prisoners. Interior decorators have been in great demand; if the war lasts much longer they will have left their memorials in every church and theatre in the region.

The tradition of the old convict camps leads many persons to ask particularly about prisoners working in Siberia. The general answer is that the prisoners who have been obliged to work in Siberia are for the most part those who would naturally expect to be working if they were at home or in their own armies. I have heard tales of hardship and cruelty, coming from remote and inaccessible work-camps; but there are two sides to all those stories, and from what I know of the Russians I am just as ready to believe that in the small, scattered camps there is even more kindness and freedom than is afforded the prisoners in the larger centres. I remember particularly the case of a young lawyer from Berlin who the last time I saw him, in one of the larger camps, told me he hoped that the Russians would allow him to be transferred to one of the work-camps somewhere out on the big farms; he was looking forward to relief from the endless monotony of life inside the stockade.

Take it altogether, it is not the prisoners who work who are to be pitied—it is those who are not allowed to work. One day in an officers' camp I met a prisoner who had recently been transferred from another inclosure. He pointed to a fringe of scrub timber on a hill in the distance and said: "That looks good, over there—I have looked at a board fence for a year and a half." My work was to help relieve the monotony of the board fence and all that it stood for—and wherever possible to turn it to positive account by enabling the men to utilize the time on their hands. The whole thing was undertaken on a reciprocal basis; work like mine for the Germans and Austrians in Siberia made it possible for other men to work in Central Europe for the allied prisoners there.

Studious Germans and Austrians

The Germans and Austrians occupied much of their time in study. At first it was impossible to secure books in any language but Russian; the prisoner schools were equipped for awhile with these textbooks, which the prisoner who had a general knowledge of Russian translated for the men who served as teachers of the various subjects treated. Many of the prisoners spoke English or French, the more proficient among them organized study groups, and all the camps soon came to contain good sized language schools. Some of the prisoners have learned four or five languages during their imprisonment; it is noticeable that some of the Germans devote considerable attention to commercial Spanish. The prisoner schools taught everything from the alphabet up to literary and scientific subjects of university grade. Some boys have been able to learn trades in the camps, and even to secure three years' apprenticeship there. In the course of time thousands of German books arrived for the prisoners, and many advanced students in particular received material enabling them to continue studies interrupted by the war.

The prisoners were all greatly interested in the belated foreign newspapers which reached them. For a long time only two were allowed in the camps—

The London Times and the Paris Temps. The restriction was made in order to save the time of the Russian censors rather than because of any distrust of other English or French papers. Not only all German and American but all neutral newspapers were banned; it was only after America entered the war that I was able to secure permission for the prisoners to receive THE NEW YORK TIMES. I had accumulated a file of THE TIMES, and accordingly turned it over to the prisoners. One of the officers told me that, whenever such papers were brought into the camps, some one who knew English well was selected to translate them aloud, while a group around him listened for hours together.

Religious services for the prisoners were conducted by their own priests, pastors, rabbis, and mullahs. Services in progress in more than one camp were upset by reprisals enforced because of reports concerning the treatment of some Russian priests who were prisoners in Austria.

In general, the camps were well equipped with facilities for recreation. Most of the officers' camps were provided with theatres, tennis courts, football grounds, promenades, and rustic gardens. One camp where common soldiers were confined included a veritable park of thickly planted trees. Some camps had bowling alleys; in one or two there was room enough for a Hungarian game which bears some resemblance to baseball.

Since the Russian revolution the Russian Soldiers' Committees, in exercise of their new powers, have modified these arrangements somewhat by concentrating the prisoners in certain camps, in order to lessen the work of guarding so many points. But these changes have not been such as to impose upon the prisoners either cold, or desolation, or cruelty.

Mental Attitude of Prisoners

What do the prisoners think about the war? It was not my work to discuss it with them, but of course I heard a good deal of it here and there. My impression is that in their attitudes they fall into groups which are pretty clearly marked along national lines.

The Germans—upstanding, neat, polite, precise—outwardly, at least, maintain their hostilities and their pride more rigidly than the other prisoners. At the time of General Brusiloff's greatest success they said merely that it would prolong the war; asked if they still thought Germany would win, they answered, wonderingly, "How can it be otherwise?" When the telegram came saying that Rumania had entered the war against them, one officer, whom I happened to overhear when the Russian commandant asked him what he thought of it, said, "The more enemies the more glory." I visited some of the highest German officers in Siberia after America had entered the war; they were personally as friendly as ever, and they said nothing to me about the international situation; but I think if a neutral had been there he would have said that they looked grave.

The Austrians are quite different. The Russian commandant of one of the most important camps in the country told me that as between Germans and Austrians the problem of maintaining camp discipline admitted of no comparison. When this commandant finishes his book dealing with his experiences there he will have some curious tales to tell of messages which, as camp censor, he has intercepted in the camp mail, and which reveal bitterness between the Austrians and Germans.

All Longing for Peace

The Austrians are much more ready to talk about war and about peace than are the Germans. An officer in one Austrian camp told me that from morning to night they discussed among themselves the question when peace would come. Another went so far as to say, "If I could get the two Emperors at a table together, I'd soon end the war." Still another, after assuring me that the French and the Italians were not civilized, ("keine Kulturvölker,") said, dramatically, pointing to a map of Central Europe on the wall: "That is a heap of ruins! That is a sea of blood! The future lies with America, and if I were young I would go there." This does not mean that they are

all ready to give up; a representative Hungarian officer in one camp during a period of Russian success at the front, solemnly said: "If one considers it logically, (Wenn man ganz logisch denkt,) there is no other possibility than victory for us." One or two indications which I observed lead me to think that the prisoners rather expect to lose this war, but count on another one which is to follow this. One day in an officers' camp I caught just a glimpse of a notebook kept by a prisoner; unless I am mistaken it was inscribed "Taktik," and contained notes of secret conferences on military science. One Hungarian prisoner even said that in twenty years there would be another war.

The Czechs in one camp agreed to enlist in the Russian Army if the Russians would set them free; but before the arrangement was completed the Austrians in the camp heard of it and attacked the Czechs, who had to be rescued and removed by the Russian garrison.

The Turks were a puzzle to every one. In one camp the Russian commandant spoke Armenian; in another one Turk spoke French; in a third one man spoke English with a true New York flavor. For the rest, communication with the Turks was difficult. One evening at sunset I saw a group of Turks out in the prison yard, kneeling on their prayer rugs and praying toward Mecca. I asked one of the Russians if any one had told the Turks that Arabia was in revolt and Mecca on the brink of being captured by the rebels. "No," said he; "they would not believe it if one told them; they believe that there isn't even any war—that the whole thing is illusion."

I think all the prisoners have expected peace long before this. In one camp there is a door on which the camp prophets and soothsayers have recorded their predictions and dreams and hopes concerning the date of peace. As one date after another has been passed by both the European and the lagging Russian calendar, fresh dates have been added, so that there are always some just ahead. But some of the dates once predicted are now almost three years old!

A Historic Peace Conference

The Congress of Vienna and Its Workings Viewed as a Precedent of Timely Interest

By Allan Westcott

THE congress which assembled at Vienna in September, 1814, after the Napoleonic wars, was the most important since that which had negotiated the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The diplomats gathered at the Austrian capital held in their hands the fate of some 32,000,000 "souls," to adopt the word then current—the population of States and provinces cast adrift at Napoleon's fall. It was their formidable task, assigned to them by the Peace of Paris, (May 30, 1814,) to establish "a real and durable equilibrium" after a quarter of a century of war. The importance of the congress may be measured also by its results, the undoing of which, it has been said, constitutes a major part of nineteenth century history.

Among royalty in attendance were two Emperors, Alexander I. of Russia and Francis of Austria, and the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Denmark, and Württemberg; while the vast halls of the Hofburg were thronged with sovereigns or some-time sovereigns of petty States, and with half the nobility of Europe. The rulers and Princes met each day before dinner to discuss the disposition of their property, and engaged in lively disputes, bargains, and exchanges, much like some immense family assembled to settle an estate. Their views, however, were not always consulted or regarded by the diplomats in actual control.

Each of the great powers was represented by four or more plenipotentiaries. Talleyrand, who had broken with Napoleon in time to gain favor with his Bourbon successor, headed the delegation of France. Castlereagh represented England until February, 1815, when he was succeeded by Wellington. Prussia's chief delegate, Prince von Hardenburg, was, by reason of his deafness, always accompanied by the gifted von Hum-

boldt, brother of the scientist. For Russia, the Czar was often his own spokesman, with the Polish Prince Czartoryski, Prince Nesselrode, and the Corsican Pozzo di Borgo as his chief advisers. Metternich, Austrian Minister of State and Foreign Affairs, was President of the Congress and its most conspicuous figure. Each of these leaders was supported by a corps of political and military experts. In addition there were representatives of nearly every minor European State, of the Pope, the Jews, the Free Cities, the German Catholics, the banking and other business interests.

While the chief diplomats dealt with the more important problems, their subordinate colleagues took up the yeoman labor of the Congress, attending committees, drawing up agreements, and carrying out details. According to the "Memoirs" of Gagern, much of the work was accomplished by a small group of men, including Gentz, who was Secretary of the congress; Wessenberg of Austria, Dalberg and La Besnardière of France, Clancarty of England, and von Humboldt.

Methods of Metternich

To amuse and also to distract the assemblage, Metternich provided a continual round of military spectacles, hunts, theatricals, concerts, fêtes, and balls. Conspicuous among the celebrations was a gorgeous ceremony commemorating the martyrdom of Louis XVI. The Czar in particular took keen delight in these festivities. They cost the bankrupt treasury of Austria over 30,000,000 florins, but they gave the Austrian minister free play for his favorite policy of diplomacy by intrigue.

"Le Congrès danse," remarked Prince de Ligne, "mais il ne marche pas." But the diplomats of the Four Allies—Aus-

tria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia—were not idle; they were empowered, and they fully intended, to take matters into their own hands. The congress had assembled in accordance with the Thirty-second Article of the Peace of Paris, consisting of four identic treaties between Louis XVIII. and the Four Allies, to which Spain, Portugal, and Sweden were accessories, and which restored to France her boundaries virtually as they were in 1792. This agreement not only outlined the main tasks of the congress, but in secret articles provided that all general European questions should be settled "on a basis agreed upon by the allied powers." In other words, the Allies were to decide all important matters; the function of the congress was to give its passive sanction to their decrees. On this principle—if on nothing else—the four powers were a unit.

Talleyrand's Diplomacy

It was the main object of Talleyrand to break up this combination and secure for France her former influence in European affairs. In this he was assisted by the fact, already mentioned, that the coalition—less through generosity than through their unwillingness to see any other power strengthened by the crippling of France—had restored to that nation her old frontiers. Expecting little or no material gain from the congress, Talleyrand could afford to assume a lofty attitude and pose as the champion of high principles and the friend of small States.

When, on September 30, the French and the Spanish Plenipotentiaries were kindly invited to attend a conference of the Four Powers, Talleyrand at once launched his attack. Throwing aside a protocol, each clause of which began with the phrase, "The Allies agree," he professed his complete mystification as to the meaning of the term allies. The war was over, Napoleon at Elba—against whom, then, were they allied? He pointed to the public clause of the Paris Treaties which gave a voice in the congress to "all powers on either side engaged in the war." He pressed for an immediate opening of the general congress as the only authority from which

a special "steering" committee could derive its powers; and he threatened to leave the congress should his request be denied. After prolonged and stormy sittings of this inner circle, on Oct. 5 and 8, his policy gained at least a partial triumph by the concession that the Preliminary Committee should be composed of all the eight signatories of the Peace of Paris—France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, in addition to the Four Allies. Having thus demonstrated that France was not a negligible factor, and having secured a voice and vote in the main council, Talleyrand no longer concerned himself about a convocation of all delegates. The formal opening, put off till Nov. 1, was again postponed, and, in fact, never occurred; so that, in the paradoxical language of Secretary Gentz, the congress came into existence only by the signing of its final act.

The control thus exercised by the Committee of Eight, in which Spain, Portugal, and Sweden played but slight part, was a definite recognition of the principle which has since prevailed, that affairs of Europe should be under supervision of the major powers.

In the congress, however, the minor States were not without a voice. The work, so far as it was not accomplished by informal conferences and discussion, was divided among committees. The main committee itself met but seldom, and then usually to pass upon the conclusions of subordinate bodies. Of these there were many, notably the Committee for a German Federal Constitution, Committees for the Italian States, the Swiss Confederation, the Netherlands, the Navigation of Rivers, the Prohibition of the Slave Trade. The membership of these committees consisted of representatives of both major and minor States whose interests were particularly concerned.

The Allies Divided

To complete the recovery of France and give her a virtual ascendancy in the congress it was essential that the Allies should be divided among themselves and forced to seek her support. This came about less through the machinations of Talleyrand than through the inherent



THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Metternich is the prominent standing figure to the left of the centre. Lord Castlereagh is seated in the centre. Talleyrand is the second seated delegate from the extreme right.

weakness of a coalition held together, like the Allies in the present war, chiefly by a sense of common danger. In this case the rock upon which the coalition split was the fate of Saxony and Poland. In 1813, independently from the other allies, Russia and Prussia had entered into a compact by which Prussia agreed to turn over her share of Poland to Russia, in return for compensations elsewhere. In accordance with this bargain, Prussia now asserted her claim to Saxony, which was already occupied by her forces. Both these transactions Talleyrand saw fit resolutely to oppose, utilizing Austria's fear of a greater Prussia planted on her immediate frontiers, and the objections of both Austria and England to immense Russian acquisitions toward the west. Briefly, the diplomatic tangle resulted in a secret offensive and defensive alliance, Jan. 3, 1815, of France, Austria, and Great Britain against the northern powers.

Russia and Prussia receded, and in the end got less than they bargained for. But it was only upon Napoleon's return from Elba that the powers were able to patch up their differences, hasten negotiations, and reach the terms set down

in the final act. This was signed June 9, a week before Waterloo.

The Balance of Power

The principles applied in the territorial and other adjustments then agreed upon are more significant than the changes themselves. The chief aim throughout was to establish a safe equilibrium or balance which should protect Europe against the ascendancy of any one power or even any probable combination of powers. The means employed to this end was a system of buffer States, especially on the French frontier—Belgium and Luxemburg joined to Holland as a protection for England and the German States, the Kingdom of Sardinia re-established in Western Italy with the addition of Genoa, the Swiss Confederation again set up as a neutralized State, the German Confederation created as an element of safety in Central Europe.

So far as compatible with this policy, the principle of legitimacy, or hereditary right, was respected, though there were inevitable violations and sacrifices. Regard for this principle was in a sense respect for the spirit of nationality, which at that time manifested itself chiefly in the form of loyalty to a ruling

house. But the national principle was violated in the short-lived union of Catholic Belgium and Protestant Holland, in the complete failure to redress the wrongs of Poland, in the turning over of the Genoese Republic to the House of Savoy, in the acquisitions of Austria in Italy and of Prussia in Saxony, and in a general tendency to shift populations, like cattle, from one ruler to another, without regard for popular consent.

In certain other respects the congress was more progressive. It guaranteed the Germanic Constitution, which in turn provided that Constitutions should be granted to the States in the Confederation. In response to the insistent demands of British sentiment, it took a definite stand for the prohibition of the slave trade. As an important step toward freer commercial intercourse among nations, the Committee on the Navigation of Rivers set up the principle of free peace-time navigation on streams forming boundaries or flowing through more than one State, and established codes for the navigation of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Meuse. This precedent was followed later in the system of international control for the lower Danube, and is applicable to present-day problems of water routes and trade channels.

"World Safe for Kings"

The predominant spirit of the diplomats at the congress, however, was reactionary, and out of sympathy with the more liberal thought of the age. Their desire for a permanent peace was no less genuine than that of statesmen today, but it was a peace the watchword of which might have been, "a world made safe for Kings."

Hence, in spite of the Czar's liberal enthusiasms and England's admiration of her own form of government, the tendency of this congress—a tendency even more strongly manifested in the congresses of the next decade—was opposition to popular government as the chief danger which threatened the status quo. In the words of the Hungarian historian Reich, "The congress introduced that system of reaction, of obscurantism, of police persecution, that made the period from 1815 to 1848 one filled with the most shameful outrages against the lib-

erty of the people." The Five Powers—which Metternich euphemistically called the "moral pentarchy"—attempted, under Austrian leadership, to stifle liberalism wherever it appeared and in whatever form. Their task, foredoomed to failure, was to pour living national organizations into a rigid unchangeable mold.

Aims of Entente Allies

The aims and ideals of the Allies today are in this respect fundamentally different from those of the victors in the Napoleonic conflict. Whereas Napoleon, at least in his earlier campaigns, had behind him the forces of democracy, these forces are now combined against the last exponents of autocratic rule. Even if the diplomacy of the coming peace settlement should lag behind the spirit of the times, its every act will be subject to the pressure of public opinion to an extent undreamed of a century ago. The press at the time of the Vienna Congress was merely an instrument which statesmen could employ to play upon public opinion, if the effort were thought worth while. At the Algeiras Conference of 1906, on the other hand, it is said that there were more newspaper men present than there were diplomats. The next peace congress will presumably be thrown open to the scrutiny of the world.

It is safe to assume, therefore, that a world "made safe for democracy" will be something very different from the political system devised at the Congress of Vienna. There is reason to suppose that the next peace conference will exercise as much restraint toward the defeated powers as was shown toward France after the elimination of Napoleon; that, while adopting the principle of nationality, it will make an effort to break down commercial and other barriers between nations; that it will seek to establish, not a fixed order, which is impossible, but machinery that will reduce international friction in the accomplishment of those changes inevitable in national growth and decay. In the attainment of these ends the Congress of Vienna offers abundant counsels in avoidance and has put the sign "No thoroughfare" over some old and wornout roads.

Armed and Armored Automobiles in the War

[By Arrangement with the Revue Scientifique, Paris]

A French officer, who signs himself "Captain A. M.," has contributed to the Revue Scientifique this illuminating historical study of "Les Auto-Mitrailleuses," as the French call the whole class of armed automobiles to which the "tanks" belong.

MODERN scientific skill in the present war has made realities of many romancers' dreams.

Jules Verne is surpassed, Wells is almost equaled, by the industries of war. Apropos of this English novelist's book, "The Land Dreadnought," did there not appear in the gigantic battle of the Somme—to the astonishment of the troopers and the astounding of the journalists—strange engines, armored and armed, that laughed at trenches and shell holes, walking over them with ease? In the French offensive on the Aisne, in the Spring of 1917, the "artillery of assault" also had its share of glory. These heavy English and French war chariots were not the only fighting vehicles that appeared during the campaign: fast auto machine guns also played their part.

But all these engines have not been created wholly since August, 1914. A good many years before the war the Governments were busy trying to utilize the progress of automobiles to create some kind of mobile fort; and during preceding wars certain of these vehicles, armored or not, appeared on the battlefields. Their achievements were not equal to those of their descendants today, but it is none the less interesting to follow the history of these applications of mechanical invention to the science of war.

In 1861 a Frenchman named Balbi presented to Napoleon III. a tower protected with armor and moved by steam. It carried two guns, and its armor was pierced with loopholes for rifles. A system of scythes revolving around a vertical axis and operated by steam prevented approach to the vehicle. Experiments produced good results, but the idea was not followed up.

In 1873 a man named Bouyn invented a car whose propulsion was based on a

principle analogous to that of the caterpillar "tank," which will be discussed later; strongly armored; this vehicle was intended to be powerfully armed. But only about 1900 [after the gasoline engine had solved the motor problem] was the idea really put into practice; the automobile was applied to the art of war, not only as a vehicle of transport but as an instrument of combat, armed and protected with armor.

The inventors who undertook to apply modern technics to war quickly realized the important rôle which explosion-motor vehicles could play if they were armed with that effective weapon, the machine gun. But two theories divided them: some sought after an armored car that should furnish the greatest amount of protection for the men on it and for the vital machinery; others, condemning the weight and slowness of the armored car, contended for the unprotected auto machine gun, light and swift, capable of accompanying the cavalry and taking the enemy by surprise.

[Here the author gives a brief history of the unprotected "auto-mitrailleuse," which was used to some extent by the French in the early battles of this war, but which was soon abandoned as impractical, except for use against aircraft; in that rôle, armed with "75s," it is still employed successfully. After stating that the first armored car was the work of an English engineer, Simms, he continues:]

In 1902 there appeared at the automobile show in Paris an armored auto machine gun constructed by Charron, Girardot & Voigt. In that same year experiments were made in the United States with automobiles carrying Colt machine guns and bearing shields to protect the gunners. In 1903 Captain Edwin Day-

ton of New York built "Dayton's automobile fort," an armored vehicle that could be transformed into a little fort. A test was made, in the course of which this engine was run upon a bridge of boats; in nine minutes it was transformed into a metal trench with battlements, the whole having thirty feet front, prolonged with sacks of earth brought by the automobile itself.*

Progress in European Countries

In France General Metzinger, member of the Superior War Council, declared that in tests made at the manoeuvres of the Ninth and Eighteenth Corps near Montélimar the auto cannon, especially the auto machine gun, showed considerable progress.

England, where the automobile industry took on a great development, though less quickly than in France, was busy applying this new mode of locomotion to the army. Even before France she used motor cycles on a large scale for military purposes. Her attention was also attracted to the question of the armored automobile. Tests were made in 1901 with protected motor cars bearing machine guns or rapid-fire cannon. Armored autos were even used in London to carry policemen during strikes. In 1904 a test was made of an automobile farm wagon with two cylinders of eighteen horse power, transformable into an armored tractor, bullet proof, serving for the transport of the wounded on the firing line.

The question particularly interested Austria, whose Technical Military Committee ordered of the firm of Daimler at Wiener Neustadt an armored automobile which made very satisfactory trials before the Austrian Minister of War, leaving the solid roads, traversing meadows and plowed fields, crossing ditches, and climbing slopes of 35 degrees. This machine, with the same framework as the

others of that firm, had both axles turned by motors, which enabled it to move over any kind of ground, thanks to the total traction. The rear of the body consisted of a steel tower provided with bearings upon which a cupola could turn. By this means the machine gun could aim in all directions through an embrasure in the wall of the cupola. Two gunners operated the weapon, which was provided with 14,000 cartridges. The armor was of nickel-steel plates about one-sixth of an inch thick covering the whole vehicle down to one-half of the wheels. The machine without the guns weighed about two tons. A motor of forty horse power gave it a speed of about thirty miles an hour.

Germany Slow to Accept It

A car of the same sort was presented to the German War Minister in 1905. After trial it was rejected on the ground that it could not carry sufficiently heavy armor. Besides, unlike Austria, Germany showed little interest in armored automobiles. * * * She was still far away, in 1905, from the hundreds of such machines that were sent through Belgium to the north of France in August, 1914. The value of this modern fighting machine came to light very slowly in Germany. * * *

In 1906 the house of Charron, Girardot & Voigt built for Russia an armored automobile that was tested in the manoeuvres at Mans and at those of Krasnoe Selo in the presence of the Czar. This was a 25-30 horse power machine, completely protected by plates that were proof against rifle bullets at fifty yards. The driver could see his way through loopholes at the height of his eyes. In the rear an eclipse turret served for the firing of a Hotchkiss gun that could be pointed in all directions; it was provided with 5,000 cartridges. It carried 120 litres of gasoline and 60 of oil, sufficient to go 400 miles. The speed was about 25 miles, and the weight, with five men, about three tons. These machines cost \$16,000 each.

Germany and Great Britain both ordered machines of this model from the house of Charron, but that firm refused to deliver them to any other power than

*"Captain" Dayton is now Major Edwin W. Dayton, in charge of the Third Battalion of the Fifteenth New York Infantry. He is well known in France, and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Major Dayton is the author of important articles on "The Military Operations of the War," which have been appearing in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.
—EDITOR.

Russia, the ally of France. It offered one to the French Government for use in Morocco, but the authorities preferred the unprotected Genty auto machine gun. * * *

When war broke out in 1914, and the formidable masses of the German Army began marching through Belgium toward France, a myriad of armored enemy automobiles appeared, often far in advance of the vanguard, or far outside the zone of march, and began requisitioning supplies and terrorizing the population. Our [French] cavalry had to bear their swift and unexpected raids. Like the cruiser that awaits with anguish the instant of the submarine's attack, the regiment that knows a swift armored auto machine gun is prowling in the neighborhood must necessarily suffer from depressing anxiety.

Germany, wonderfully prepared, found us in this regard, as in others, a little lacking. But we and our allies went to work. On Sept. 10, 1914, a Belgian auto machine gun achieved a magnificent raid through the German lines at Antwerp, where it surprised a squadron of Uhlans, threw it into confusion, shot it to pieces, and disappeared.

French Armored Cars

It was also in September, 1914, that auto machine guns first appeared in the French Army in considerable numbers. But these were still mostly imperfect attempts, machines hard to operate and poorly protected with wood or thin sheet iron. Two ingenious examples were built in the Normand works at Havre, each armed with a Hotchkiss gun mounted on a bulwark base with a ratchet arrangement that enabled it to be raised and lowered. This machine could be installed behind a hillock, shooting over it; a large shield was attached to the gun support; two gunners were thus easily protected from direct or even from slanting fire. A low circular armor protected the space back of the gun, and the motor was likewise protected. Two machines of the same type were armed with 37-millimeter guns.

During the war of movement—before the trench warfare began—we unfor-

tunately had very few machines; and soon the trenches came to immobilize the lines and bar the roads to automobiles. Armored cars found only few and fugitive opportunities to get into action at the front; one could no longer count upon swift raids and overwhelming surprises. There were only actions of limited scope, in which, however, these war machines could play a useful part.

For example, on Oct. 11, 1914, in the north of France, an auto mitrailleuse found itself on watch among the outposts of a village that was attacked by the Germans in the morning mists; its presence was certainly unknown to the enemy, upon whom it opened through the fog a surprise fire at close range, barring the entrance to the principal street, where the assaulting columns were assembling. Then, when the enemy finally entered the village, forcing our troops, inferior in numbers, to retire, the auto machine gun was able to follow without ceasing to shoot, a thing that infantry gunners could not do.

But soon the armored automobiles were kept in the cantonments at the rear unloading light artillery and carrying it to the trenches. Where were the fine dreams of epic raids?

Exploits in Galicia

On other fronts, however, where the fighting was not held in forced immobility, raids with these machines continued to be possible. The Russian official reports of the campaign in Galicia in 1916 particularly mention the services rendered by the Belgian armored automobiles, whose ardent and audacious crews were able to accomplish wonders. In October, 1916, such an auto remained for two weeks within the enemy's lines, penetrating to a depth of ninety miles and returning unscathed. One can imagine what a bold crew in such a machine could accomplish so far from the firing line by surprising troops who supposed themselves to be entirely safe. The Belgian auto machine gun corps in Russia was several times cited for bravery in the commander's orders, and received the congratulations of the Czar. The Caucasus witnessed similar exploits by British automobiles.

The French armored automobiles, which were very imperfect at first, were gradually perfected; their armor was strengthened both by extending and by thickening it; besides, the machines became more manageable; the earlier ones were too long and difficult to turn, even on an ordinary road; at the end of 1914 I saw an auto mitrailleuse which, in making a half turn, went off into a field, stuck in the mud, and, caught there by the enemy's artillery fire, had to be abandoned for a time by the crew, who took refuge in a neighboring cellar while waiting for the bombardment to cease. Auto machine guns were afterward built with two steering wheels, one in front and one behind, with several speeds for each.

Coming of the Tank

As the French front was fortified more and more, with defenses accumulating—wire entanglements, concrete trenches, shelters for armored machine guns—to such a point that the German press grew lyric over the inexpugnable strength of its war front; and as the armored and armed automobile stood chilled by inaction, there appeared upon the British front, to the amazement of the combatants, a war monster that seemed to have emerged from the dreams of some scientific romancer. The effect was startling, so much so that something like a legend sprang up around these land battleships, and the press printed descriptions that were as fantastic as imaginative. Their exploits were spread abroad, veiled in a mystery that heightened their strangeness, and the taking of the sugar mill at Courcellette, where the animal overturned a solid wall upon the backs of the German defenders, popularized the glory of “Crème de Menthe.”

Where the light armored automobile was powerless, there was need of a machine heavily armored and heavily armed, which could move along—slowly, indeed, but heedless of obstacles—over any terrain, even that which was honeycombed with shell holes and cut up with trenches.

These new English movable forts, officially designated by the initials H. M. L. S., (His Majesty's Land Ships,) and familiarly known as “tanks,” (because

the workmen who had built them pretended, in order to guard the secret, that they were making oil tanks,) were constructed in the greatest secrecy, and appeared for the first time in the battle of the Somme, in September, 1916. The Germans, in their passion for monopoly, pretended that the invention was purely German, the work of a Königsberg engineer, who created it in 1913, as the *Lokal-Anzeiger* stated “in the interests of historical truth.”

[The machine is an adaptation of the American caterpillar tractor, manufactured at Peoria, Ill. Hundreds of these unarmored tractors were sold to the British Government, which added the armor and armament.—Translator.]

Mechanism of the Monster

The veil covering the tanks has been lifted somewhat, and even the moving-picture camera has shown them in action. If the details of their machinery are still secret, the principle is now known. The mode of locomotion is the old system of caterpillar wheels already in use for some years in farm machinery and heavy artillery tractors. The sustaining base is formed of two rolling tracks placed on the sides under the vehicle, and formed of a great number of wooden plates united by joints in an endless chain, so that the lower portions constantly rest on the ground in a long flat surface. The plates are sufficiently large to hinder the sinking of the heavy vehicle in soft soil. They are ribbed so as to grip the ground. These chains pass over sprocket wheels, with which they articulate; the turning of a pair of the wheels communicates the power from the motor to the endless chains, which thus move along the ground. The body of the vehicle rests on simple carrying wheels, which travel on the carpet constantly displaced beneath them. The direction is altered by varying the speed of one of the chains, which is done by means of differentials; the driver can even stop one of the chains, or make the two run in opposite directions, so as to turn the machine around.

The tanks also have two guide wheels at the rear. Besides, the caterpillar chains slope upward in front at an angle



BRITISH "TANK" AND AMERICAN ARMORED CAR IN A LIBERTY LOAN PARADE

of thirty or forty degrees, enabling the machine to lift itself up steep grades while the rear continues to push. These land battleships are armed with machine guns at front and rear; a turret resting on corbels at each side contains two cannon. France, too, has her "tanks," which made their appearance in the battle of April 16, 1917. They are officially desig-

nated under the general name of "artillery of assault." Already they have had the honor to be cited in army orders, and the cinematograph is popularizing their strange aspect, which is different from that of their English brethren.

The United States, which is never behind hand with scientific appliances, also possesses gigantic forts on wheels.

"Spurlos Versenkt"

By GEORGE W. GALE

Steal out, sea wolves, from your lair,

Out to the slaughter you seek;

Wage not the fight that is fair;

War on the helpless, the weak.

Grant them no moment of grace,

Heed not their pleadings and wails,

"Sink without leaving a trace,"

DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES.

A stab in the dark, then—away!

A sneer at the fear-stricken crew,

At the women and children—your prey;

'Tis victory, glory, for you.

Prowl on, sea wolves, to the chase,

Moloch, your god, never fails;

"Sink without leaving a trace,"

LEAD MEN TELL NO TALES.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

Japanese-American Agreement

Reciprocal Notes Recognize Japan's Interests in China and Pledge Japan's Active Aid in the War

THE far-reaching agreement of Nov. 2, 1917, between Japan and the United States regarding China was first announced in a cable dispatch from Peking on Nov. 5, and the news was confirmed with full details and text by Secretary Lansing on Nov. 6. The arrangement was the culmination of the work of the special Japanese mission headed by Viscount Ishii, and was the result of extended conversations between him and Secretary Lansing regarding Japan's part in the war and her relations with China.

The primary point settled was the recognition by the United States of Japan's special interests in China, but no less important was the collateral pledge given by Japan that she would immediately begin taking a more active part in the European war. It was announced unofficially at Washington that Japan had consented to furnish a great amount of tonnage for transport purposes and to risk her warships in European waters, these being her immediate contribution to the allied and American cause. It was also said that she had expressed a willingness to send troops. The promise of American steel and iron adequate to Japan's needs was an item on the other side of the agreement.

A score of torpedo-boat destroyers and other Japanese warships have long been aiding the Allies in the Mediterranean; but at the time of the Washington negotiations Japan's fleet was concluding extensive naval manoeuvres on the Korean coast and in neighboring Japanese waters. Nearly 100 warships, aggregating more than 500,000 tons, participated. It was understood that this fleet was preparing to take an active part in the war.

The Lansing-Ishii Agreement

The Lansing-Ishii agreement of Nov. 2, 1917, is an extension of the Root-

Takahira "gentlemen's agreement" of Nov. 30, 1908, which engages the United States and Japan mutually to respect the possessions of the other in the region of the Pacific Ocean and to support the prin-



VISCOUNT ISHII,
Head of Japanese Mission

ciple of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China. The new pact commits the United States Government to a recognition of Japan's special interests in China—similar to ours in Mexico—growing out of the close proximity of the two countries. Great Britain and Russia had already recognized the special interests in question. The agreement also reaffirms the principle of the "open door."

No alliance has been entered into between the Governments at Tokio and Washington, and there is no understanding concerning any resort to force to prevent China from falling a prey to the cupidity of other nations. At the same time the agreement is believed to insure China against aggression. It marks the

fruition of the efforts of John Hay, begun at the outbreak of the Boxer uprising seventeen years ago, and makes known to all the world that China must stand as a political and territorial entity.

The arrangement between Japan and the United States took the form of an exchange of identical notes dated Nov. 2 between Mr. Lansing, as Secretary of State of the United States, and Viscount Ishii, the Special Japanese Ambassador, who came to this country at the head of a mission of distinguished Japanese military and naval officers and civilian officials for the ostensible purpose of making known to this Government the satisfaction of the Japanese Government over the entrance of the United States into the war against Germany. But the notes exchanged in regard to China show that the purpose of the Japanese Government in sending a special mission here had a wider significance.

Text of the Agreement

Following is the State Department's announcement:

On Friday, Nov. 2, 1917, the Secretary of State and Viscount Ishii, the special Japanese Ambassador, exchanged at the Department of State the following notes dealing with the policy of the United States and Japan in regard to China:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Nov. 2, 1917.

Excellency: I have the honor to communicate herein my understanding of the agreement reached by us in our recent conversations touching the questions of mutual interest to our Governments relating to the Republic of China.

In order to silence mischievous reports that have from time to time been circulated, it is believed by us that a public announcement once more of the desires and intentions shared by our two Governments with regard to China is advisable.

The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial proximity creates special relations between countries, and, consequently, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.

The territorial sovereignty of China, nevertheless, remains unimpaired, and the Government of the United States has every confidence in the repeated assurances of the Imperial Japanese Government that, while geographical position gives Japan such special interests, they

have no desire to discriminate against the trade of other nations or to disregard the commercial rights heretofore granted by China in treaties with other powers.

The Governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China, and they declare, furthermore, that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called "open door," or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

Moreover, they mutually declare that they are opposed to the acquisition by any Government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China, or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China.

I shall be glad to have your Excellency confirm this understanding of the agreement reached by us.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

His Excellency, Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan, on special mission.

THE SPECIAL MISSION OF JAPAN.
WASHINGTON, Nov. 2, 1917.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of today, communicating to me your understanding of the agreement reached by us in our recent conversations touching the questions of mutual interest to our Governments relating to the Republic of China.

I am happy to be able to confirm to you, under authorization of my Government, the understanding in question set forth in the following terms:

[Here the Special Ambassador repeats the language of the agreement as given in Secretary Lansing's note.]

(Signed) K. ISHII.

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan, on special mission.
Honorable Robert Lansing, Secretary of State.

Secretary Lansing's Statement

In his statement accompanying the announcement Secretary Lansing said:

Viscount Ishii and the other Japanese Commissioners who are now on their way back to their country have performed a service to the United States as well as to Japan which is of the highest value.

There had unquestionably been growing up between the peoples of the two countries a feeling of suspicion as to the motives inducing the activities of the other in the Far East, a feeling which, if unchecked, promised to develop a serious

situation. Rumors and reports of improper intentions were increasing and were more and more believed. Legitimate commercial and industrial enterprises without ulterior motive were presumed to have political significance, with the result that opposition to those enterprises was aroused in the other country.

The attitude of constraint and doubt thus created was fostered and encouraged by the campaign of falsehood which for a long time had been adroitly and secretly carried on by Germans, whose Government as a part of its foreign policy desired especially to so alienate this country and Japan that it would be at the chosen time no difficult task to cause a rupture of their good relations. Unfortunately there were people in both countries, many of whom were entirely honest in their beliefs, who accepted every false rumor as true, and aided the German propaganda by declaring that their own Government should prepare for the conflict which they asserted was inevitable, that the interests of the two nations in the Far East were hostile, and that every activity of the other country in the Pacific had a sinister purpose.

German Machinations Frustrated

Fortunately this distrust was not so general in either the United States or Japan as to affect the friendly relations of the two Governments, but there is no doubt that the feeling of suspicion was increasing and the untrue reports were receiving more and more credence in spite of the earnest efforts which were made on both sides of the Pacific to counteract a movement which would jeopardize the ancient friendship of the two nations.

The visit of Viscount Ishii and his colleagues has accomplished a great change of opinion in this country. By frankly denouncing the evil influences which have been at work, by openly proclaiming that the policy of Japan is not one of aggression, and by declaring that there is no intention to take advantage commercially or industrially of the special relations to China created by geographical position, the representatives of Japan have cleared the diplomatic atmosphere of the suspicions which had been so carefully spread by our enemies and by misguided or overzealous people in both countries. In a few days the propaganda of years has been undone, and both nations are now able to see how near they came to being led into the trap which had been skillfully set for them.

Throughout the conferences which have taken place Viscount Ishii has shown a sincerity and candor which dispelled every doubt as to his purpose and brought the two Governments into an attitude of confidence toward each other which made it

possible to discuss every question with frankness and cordiality. Approaching the subjects in such a spirit and with the mutual desire to remove every possible cause of controversy, the negotiations were marked by a sincerity and goodwill which from the first insured their success.

Principle of Non-Interference

The principal result of the negotiations was the mutual understanding which was reached as to the principles governing the policies of the two Governments in relation to China. This understanding is formally set forth in the notes exchanged and now made public. The statements in the notes require no explanation. They not only contain a reaffirmation of the "open door" policy, but introduce a principle of non-interference with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, which, generally applied, is essential to perpetual international peace, as clearly declared by President Wilson, and which is the very foundation also of Pan Americanism, as interpreted by this Government.

The removal of doubts and suspicions and the mutual declaration of the new doctrine as to the Far East would be enough to make the visit of the Japanese Commission to the United States historic and memorable, but it accomplished a further purpose, which is of special interest to the world at this time, in expressing Japan's earnest desire to co-operate with this country in waging war against the German Government. The discussions, which covered the military, naval, and economic activities to be employed, with due regard to relative resources and ability, showed the same spirit of sincerity and candor which characterized the negotiations resulting in the exchange of notes.

Japan Pledges Help in War

At the present time it is inexpedient to make public the details of these conversations, but it may be said that this Government has been gratified by the assertions of Viscount Ishii and his colleagues that their Government desired to do its part in the suppression of Prussian militarism and was eager to co-operate in every practical way to that end. It might be added, however, that complete and satisfactory understandings upon the matter of the naval co-operation in the Pacific for the purpose of attaining the common object against Germany and her allies have been reached between the representative of the Imperial Japanese Navy, who is attached to the special mission of Japan, and the representative of the United States Navy.

It is only just to say that the success which has attended the intercourse of the

Japanese Commission with American officials and with private persons as well is due in large measure to the personality of Viscount Ishii, the head of the mission. The natural reserve and hesitation which are not unusual in negotiations of a delicate nature disappeared under the influence of his open friendliness, while his frankness won the confidence and good-will of all. It is doubtful if a representative of a different temper could in so short a time have done as much as Viscount Ishii to place on a better and firmer basis the relations between the United States and Japan. Through him the American people have gained a new and higher conception of the reality of Japan's friendship for the United States, which will be mutually beneficial in the future.

Viscount Ishii will be remembered in this country as a statesman of high attainments, as a diplomat with a true vision of international affairs, and as a genuine and outspoken friend of America.

Statement by Viscount Ishii

The following statement by Viscount Ishii was given out by the Japanese Embassy:

My final departure from Washington affords a fit occasion for me to express once more to the American people my deep sense of gratitude for the cordial reception and hospitality accorded to the special mission of Japan. The spontaneous and enthusiastic manifestations of friendship and good-will toward us on all hands have profoundly impressed not only the members of the mission, but the whole Japanese people. The kindly feeling and fraternal spirit always existing between the two nations have never been more emphatically testified to.

Believing as I do in frank talking, I have tried as best I could in my public utterances in this country to tell the truth and the facts about my country, the aspirations and motives which spur my nation. For, to my mind, it is misrepresentation and the lack of information that allow discordance and distrust to creep in in the relationship between nations. I am happy to think that at a time when the true unity and co-operation between the allied nations are dire necessities, it has been given me to contribute in my small way to a better understanding and appreciation among the Americans with regard to Japan.

The new understanding in regard to the line of policy to be followed by Japan and America respecting the Republic of China augurs well for the undisturbed maintenance of the harmonious accord and good

neighborhood between our two countries. It certainly will do away with all doubts that have now and then shadowed the Japanese-American relationship. It cannot fail to defeat for all time the pernicious efforts of German agents, to whom every new situation developing in China always furnished so fruitful a field for black machinations. For the rest, this new understanding of ours substantiates the solidity of comradeship which is daily gaining strength among the honorable and worthy nations of the civilized world.

It is a great pleasure for me to add that this declaration has been reached as an outcome of free exchange of frank views between the two Governments. I cannot pay too high a tribute to the sincerity and farsightedness of Secretary Lansing, with whom it was my privilege to associate in so pleasurable a way. It is my firm belief that so long as the two Governments maintain a perfectly appreciative attitude toward each other, so long as there is no lack of statesmanship to guide public opinion, the reign of peace and tranquillity in our part of the world will remain unchallenged.

Government officials at Washington objected to the tendency to refer to the new agreement as a recognition of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine. It would be more accurate, they said, to regard it as applying the principle which in this hemisphere is known as Pan-Americanism. The Monroe Doctrine, it was contended, was based on the principle of national safety—the national safety of the United States—while Pan Americanism was altruistic in that it was based on preserving the integrity of all the nations involved, and was therefore international. The Lansing-Ishii agreement contained a recognition of the principle that all the nations concerned were to see that the territorial integrity of China was respected.

Comment of the British press, irrespective of party, was commendatory of the Japanese-American pact. The Japanese press, with minor exceptions, also accepted the arrangement with highly favorable comments. Chinese sentiment was divided on the subject, and on Nov. 9 the Chinese Ambassador at Tokio presented a formal protest to the Japanese Government against its course in acting on a Chinese problem without consulting the Government of China.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[French Cartoon]

Von Tirpitz, the U-Boat Shepherd



—By a French Artist

Little von Tips has lost her ewe ships,
And cannot tell where to find 'em;
Let them alone, they won't come home—
They're leaving no tales behind 'em.

[German Cartoon]

The Entente and China



—From the *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

The Entente have been watching China so long that they have themselves acquired Oriental eyes.

[English Cartoon]

Samson and Delilah



—From *The Passing Show*, London

Russian anarchy has shorn the giant of his strength.

[Russian Cartoon]

Perverted Offspring



—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd.

KROPOTKIN (Grandfather of the Russian Revolution): "Do you know, that grandson of ours is quite the wrong style?"

BRESHKO-BRESHKOVSKAYA (Grandmother of the Revolution): "Yes, he is too German in his ways."

[American Cartoon]

Columbia's Greater Task



—Charles Dana Gibson in the Red Cross Magazine

[American Cartoon]

The Height of Culture



—From The Chicago Herald.

[French Cartoon]

The Crown Prince's Load



—From a Drawing by G. Bonfils.

It is growing heavier every day, and he must carry it all his life.

[English Cartoon]

The Witches' Sabbath



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

The three German Queens (of Russia, Sweden, and Greece) singing:

"Round about the cauldron go;
In the poisoned entrails throw. * * *
Double, double toil and trouble;
Fire burn and cauldron bubble."

[*"Macbeth," Act IV., Scene 1.*]

[French Cartoon]

The German Eagle Defeated



—From a drawing by E. O. Hempel.

With little to wear and nothing to eat but rations of shame and infamy.

[American Cartoon]

Camouflage



—*Brooklyn Eagle.*

[American Cartoon]

German Plotting



—*Philadelphia Evening Ledger.*

"Better stick to murder, Willie;
you're too blamed clumsy to cheat!"

[English Cartoon]

The Three Musketeers



—*The Bystander, London.*

"Tommy," "Poilu," and "Sammy"
marching together to victory.

[French Cartoon]

American Troops in Battle



—*La Baionnette, Paris.*

THE KAISER'S COMMENT: "Dirty
business!"

[English Cartoon]

Before the Examining Board



—From *The Sketch*, London.

The conscript's own view of how he looks while the doctors are examining him.

[American Cartoon]

Italy's Peril



—From *The New York Herald*

“Lo! The fell monster with the deadly sting,
Who passes mountains, breaks through fenced walls
And firm embattled spears, and with his filth
Taints all the world.”—Dante’s *Inferno*.

[Dutch Cartoon]

How Peace May Come



The Kaiser's Farewell:

Mine is the duty, mine the choice,
To stem or swell the flood,
And I have but to raise my voice
To stop this tide of blood.

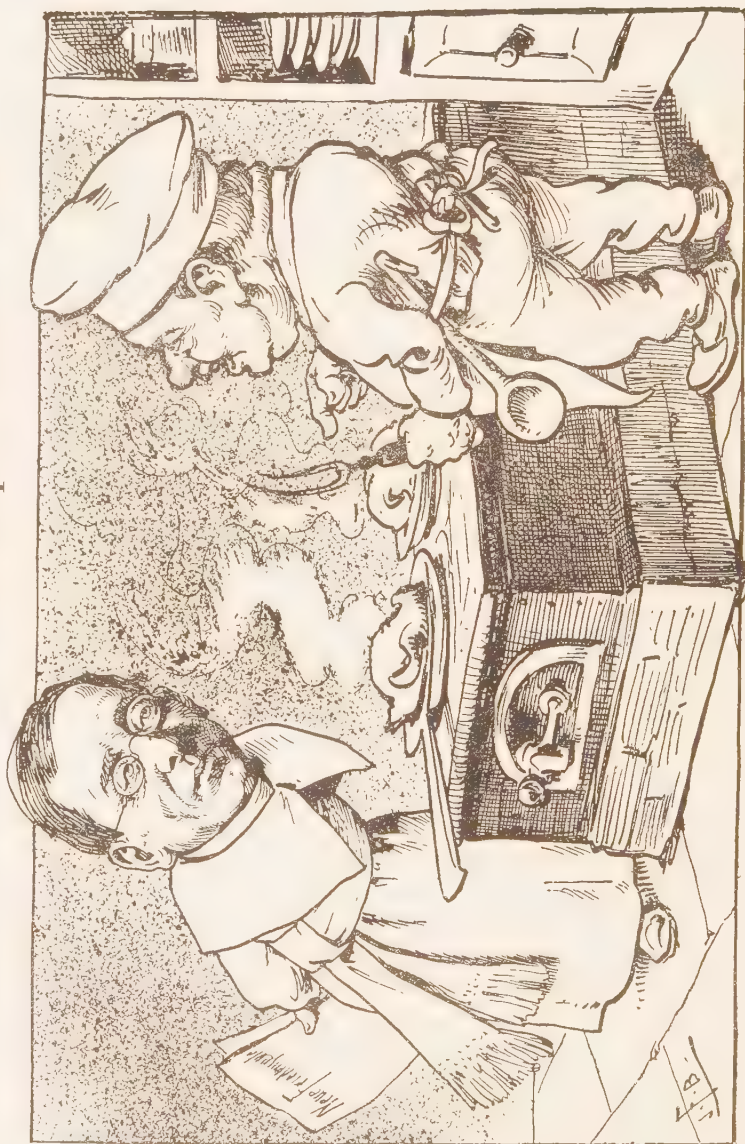
[Free translation from Tollens's "Jan van Schaffelaar."]

—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

The whole earth rocks, the towers shake,
I will the victim be!
Farewell, my friends, one last handshake,
Farewell, remember me!

[Swiss Cartoon]

First Fruits of the Papal Peace Note



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

“What have we for dinner today?”

“Roast peace dove, Father, in three styles—Flanders, Verdun, and Isonzo.”

[Dutch Cartoon]

Germany Demands a Million Loan in Return for Coal



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

TREUB (Dutch Statesman): "Don't let her catch you! Look at the other one she has in her prison!" [Switzerland.]

[French Cartoon]
The Songbirds of the Battle Front

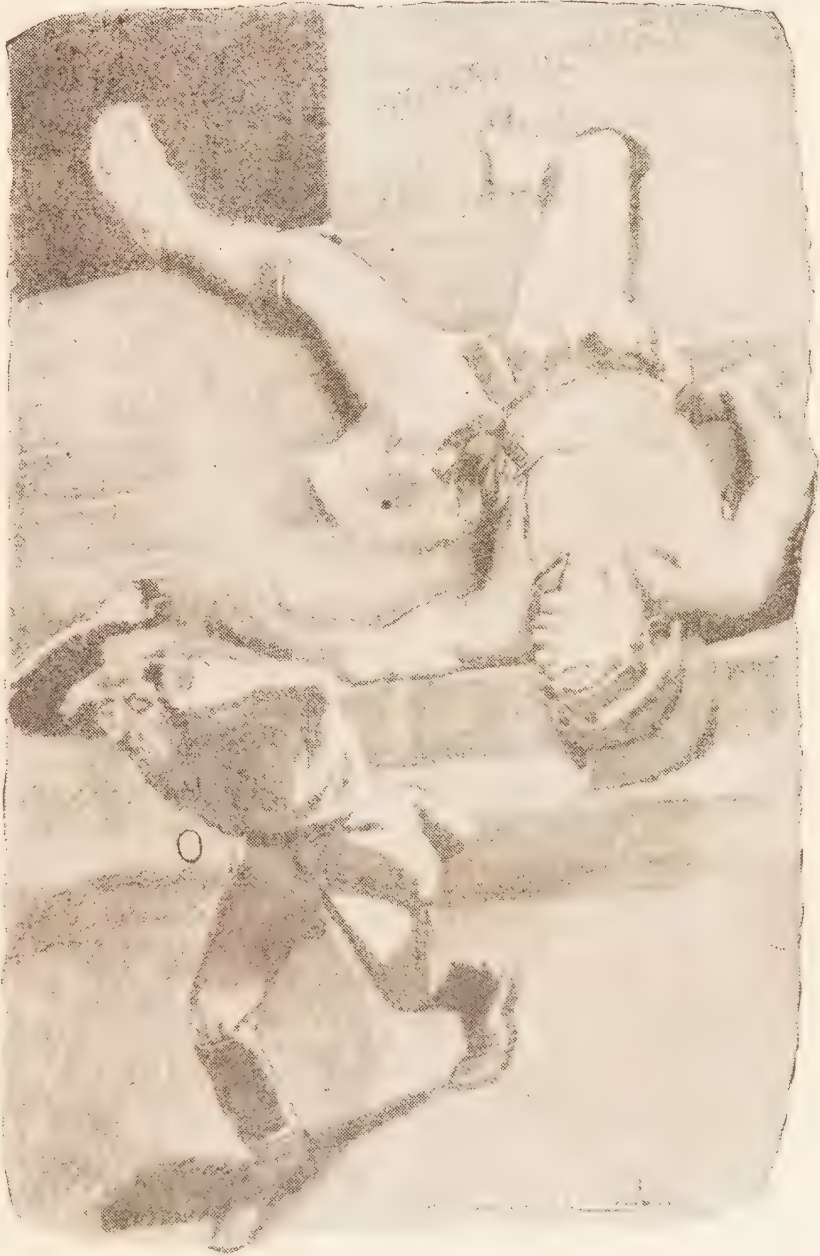


“How black the nightingales are this year!”

—From a Drawing by Abel Truchel.

[Australian Cartoon]

The Man Who Slew His God



—Norman Lindsay in *Sydney Bulletin*.

The war, started by the German war lord, is destroying autocracy.

The Useless Scarecrow



—From The New York Times.

UNCLE SAM: "I reckon it's time to begin shooting."

A Real Halloween Scare



—Duluth Herald.

The Same Could Happen to Bread and Meat



—Dallas News.

Hold Fast, Italy!



At His Throat



Knitting to Beat the Dutch



The Lion and the Mouse



—All from *The Baltimore American*.

It's Thoroughly Aroused Now



—Portland Oregonian.

The Beast of All the Ages



—Charleston News.

Two Birds With One Stone



—New York Tribune.

Sinking Without Leaving a Trace



—Brooklyn Eagle.

HAVOC AMONG THE GERMAN "PILL BOXES"



An Observatory and Machine-Gun Shelter Destroyed by French Shell Fire.

(French Official Photo from Pictorial Press.)



Armored Observation Box Captured by the British.

(British Official Photo from Bain News Service.)

GERMAN "PILL BOXES" IN FLANDERS



A Feature of the Battle of Flanders Was the Destruction of Concrete Defense Posts on Which the Germans Have Relied So Much.

(British Official Photo from Press Illustrating Service.)

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU



Once More French Premier at the Head of a Cabinet Pledged to
"La Victoire Integrale."

MAJOR GEN. JOHN BIDDLE



Acting Chief of Staff of the United States Army During the Absence
of General Bliss.
(Photo Clinedinst.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VII. } No. 1
Part II. }

January, 1918

25 Cents a Copy
\$3.00 a Year

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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED Dec. 20, 1917]

SUMMARY FOR THE MONTH

THE month ended Dec. 20, 1917, the forty-first of the war, brought some unfavorable developments for the Allies and some encouragement to the Central Powers. The event fraught with most serious consequences was Russia's desertion of the Allies through the act of the de facto Bolshevist Government and the opening of pourparlers with the Germans for a separate peace. An armistice from the Baltic to the Black Sea, to continue four weeks, was agreed to on Dec. 17. The agreement contains a clause that "Neither is to make operative any transfer of units from the Baltic-Black Sea front until Jan. 14, 1918, excepting those begun before the agreement was signed," but the Germans and Austrians had previously begun the transfer of the most effective units in small detachments to the French and Italian fronts, hence they are at liberty to continue these transfers, which may mean prodigious accessions to their armies in the west. It was this feature that caused the chief concern among the Allies, aggravating their peril and augmenting greatly the forces they would confront; the result, in fact, did so hearten the Teutons that the offensive for the first time in over a year passed to them.

The chief military event was the initial success of the British at Cambrai, where they penetrated the Hindenburg line on a wide front to a depth of nearly six miles, but the Germans in their counter-attacks robbed this triumph of part of its fruits, and at the end of the month in that sector they seemed to be stronger, more alert and defiant than before. In the Champagne the French made some substantial gains, but with no effect on the general situation.

In Italy the Teutons did not succeed in breaking the Piave line, and Venice remains as yet unharmed, but they made some gains on the Italian left, and the general situation on that front, not-

withstanding the arrival of British and French aid, was not entirely reassuring.

The event which gave most sentimental satisfaction to the Allies during the month was the taking of Jerusalem, and it is believed that this will also have an important military bearing on the eventual situation in Asia Minor, and may hasten the Turks' desertion of their allies. In German East Africa the Allies crushed and scattered the last armed resistance, thus completing the conquest of all Germany's oversea possessions. The United States declared war against Austria-Hungary on Dec. 7, as narrated in detail elsewhere; this step gave much encouragement to the Allies, especially to Italy.

Politically the month was more encouraging to the Entente Allies. President Wilson's message and its reception all over the world gave great satisfaction to America and deepened the determination of this country to bring peace through victory. The Allies formed a compact, effective, and harmonious working alliance in military, naval, financial, and economic matters. The British, French, and Italian Governments were greatly strengthened in popular support by their achievements and utterances. The triumph of the Unionists in Canada in the general elections gave the final and gratifying seal to that Dominion's approval of the conduct and support of the war.

In Germany some preliminary steps were taken toward Parliamentary reform in Prussia, but its progress will be contested by the Junkers. The new Chancellor met with a favorable reception and the political atmosphere seemed clearer and quieter. In Austria political unrest continued, with insistent peace demands from the opposition.

War preparations continued in the United States with unabated vigor. The preliminaries for a new call for 500,000 men began on Dec. 15. It was understood that several hundred thousand

Americans were in France by Dec. 20, and that thousands more were going over every week. Everything in munition making, shipbuilding, naval construction, supplies, &c., was speeded up to the highest tension, and it was believed that by April or June America would have an army in France which would more than compensate the loss of the Russian armies in the east and enable the Allies to deliver a vital and perhaps crushing blow.

* * *

LORD LANSDOWNE AND THE WAR AIMS OF THE ENTENTE

A FRESH tumult of agitation over the war aims of the belligerents was precipitated in December, 1917, by a declaration issued in London on Nov. 30 by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had been Foreign Minister in the Salisbury and Balfour Cabinets, served without portfolio in the Asquith Coalition Ministry, and had been Viceroy of India and Governor General of Canada. The Marquis urged upon the Allies a restatement of their war aims in an attempt to bring about peace before "the prolongation of the war leads to the ruin of the civilized world." He intimated that the Allies should forego previously expressed territorial claims, continuing:

Some of our original desiderata have probably become unattainable; others would probably now be given a less prominent place than when they were first put forward; others again, notably the reparation due to Belgium, remain and must always remain in the front rank; but when it comes to a wholesale rearrangement of the map of Southeastern Europe we may well ask for a suspension of judgment and for the elucidation which a frank exchange of views between the allied powers can alone afford; for all these questions concern our allies as well as ourselves; and if we are to have an allied council for the purpose of adapting our strategy in the field to the ever-shifting developments of the war it is fair to assume that in the matter of peace terms also the Allies will make it their business to examine and, if necessary, to revise territorial requirements.

He tabulated his suggestions as follows:

An immense stimulus would probably be given to the peace party in Germany if it were understood:

(1) That we do not desire the annihilation of Germany as a great power.

(2) That we do not seek to impose upon her people any form of government other than that of their own choice.

(3) That, except as a legitimate war measure, we have no desire to deny to Germany her place among the great commercial communities of the world.

(4) That we are prepared, when the war is over, to examine, in concert with other powers, a group of international problems, some of them of recent origin, which are connected with the question of the freedom of the seas.

(5) That we are prepared to enter into an international pact, under which ample opportunities would be afforded for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

Lord Lansdowne's letter produced a violent discussion in England, but with few exceptions the influential newspapers and publicists condemned his suggestions and criticised the action as untimely and as likely to create the impression of divided counsels in influential quarters.

Lord Robert Cecil of the Lloyd George Ministry stated that the Marquis "spoke only for himself" and that he "does not represent our [the Government's] views." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, A. Bonar Law, definitely dissented from the letter, disagreed "absolutely with its tone," and regarded its publication "as a national misfortune." The leading Unionists, with which party Lord Lansdowne had been affiliated, repudiated his action by almost unanimous vote.

* * *

PRESIDENT WILSON'S RESTATEMENT OF WAR AIMS

ALTHOUGH Lord Lansdowne's proposal received no expressed indorsement in controlling circles of allied thought, the message of President Wilson to Congress on Dec. 4 was construed as a definite restatement of the position of the Allies that there could be no peace without victory. Former Premier Asquith, who was believed to be sympathetic with the Lansdowne plan, in an address at Birmingham on Dec. 11 strongly indorsed President Wilson's position; he asserted that he recognized his own responsibility for Great Britain's entrance into the war, and declared: "If I had to live that time over again I

should make the same decision." He added these words:

The first and most dominating misconception of our aims is that the Allies' ulterior object is not merely to vanquish but to humiliate and annihilate the German people. Neither here nor in America has such a purpose been even suggested. I repeat my summary of our aims made in November, 1914—not to sheathe the sword until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed. What the world is concerned in is not a people, but a system.

Germany must learn that the enthronement of force is bad business. We do not desire to quarrel perpetually with the German Nation, but an enduring pact can only rest upon authentic proof that the German people are as ready as ourselves to enthrone common and equal right as the controlling authority in the world.

Premier Lloyd George discussed the matter in an address delivered Dec. 14, which appears elsewhere in this issue.

Colonel Winston Spencer Churchill, Minister of Munitions, speaking as a member of the Cabinet on Dec. 11, said:

People who say, "Restate your war aims," really mean to make peace with the victorious Huns. President Wilson's statement of war aims is good enough for me. We mean to win the war, however long it may take. If Russia has fallen out of the ranks the United States has fallen in and is coming to our aid. The longer Great Britain and America are fighting side by side the closer they will be drawn together. That is a tremendous fact, and it will make amends for what we are now suffering.

The views of President Wilson were strongly indorsed by the leading spokesmen in official life of all the allied countries. In Italy there were enthusiastic demonstrations before the American Embassy in Rome and before the American Consulates in other Italian cities over the President's recommendation that war be declared against Austria; the Italian Premier sent the President a cable couched in terms of warmest congratulation.

* * *

CATASTROPHE AT HALIFAX

AN appalling catastrophe occurred at Halifax, N. S., on Dec. 6, when the French Line steamship *Mont Blanc*, laden with high-explosive munitions, collided with the Belgian relief ship *Imo*. The munition ship, bound in from New York,

met the *Imo*, westward bound, in the narrows leading into the harbor, and collided through a misunderstanding of signals. The *Mont Blanc*, which carried benzine tanks forward, burst into flames, and was abandoned by the crew when it was seen that the fire was beyond control. A few minutes later two thousand tons of the most powerful explosives were detonated, producing a monstrous concussion, which practically destroyed the older part of Halifax, known as Richmond, did great damage to Dartmouth, across the bay, produced serious damage throughout Halifax, and caused great loss of property within a radius of fifty miles, besides causing the instant death of fully 1,500 men, women, and children, injuring nearly 4,500, and producing destitution among 25,000. The material damage was estimated at \$20,000,000. The disaster was followed by several severe snowstorms and unusually bitter cold; relief parties were organized throughout the United States and Canada, and supplies were quickly dispatched to the sufferers. The Admiralty instituted an inquiry.

* * *

A GERMAN PEACE MOVE

THE fact that Germany made a new peace move in September, 1917, was first revealed through the publication of a secret diplomatic document by the Bolsheviki at Petrograd, in the form of a telegram from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London, dated Oct. 6, 1917. The telegram said the Chargé had received information from Madrid that a highly placed personage in Berlin had expressed to the Spanish Ambassador to Germany a desire to enter into peace negotiations. This information was communicated to the allied Governments, and Great Britain replied that it would receive any communication from Germany respecting peace, and would consider the measure in conjunction with its allies. Foreign Secretary Balfour in the House of Commons Dec. 11 confirmed this by stating that a communication had been received by Great Britain from Germany last September, through a neutral diplomatic channel, to the effect that Germany would be glad to get in commu-

nication with Great Britain in regard to peace. The British Government answered in the terms stated above. Germany had returned no reply, Mr. Balfour said. He added that Great Britain had informed France, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the United States of the German suggestion.

The German Government on Dec. 15 issued a reply denying Mr. Balfour's statement that the initiative in this peace move had come from Germany. It told of having itself received such a communication from Great Britain through a neutral in September, "couched in such form that, according to international usages, it might be supposed with certainty that the neutral inquiry was made with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government." Germany further declared: "The course of subsequent events forced the conviction that nothing was being done by our opponents to facilitate a direct reply to the inquiry. * * * The first news that Great Britain was ready to receive any communication from the German Government was Mr. Balfour's statement to the House of Commons." Mr. Balfour stated that the German claim as quoted was a "pure invention."

* * *

THE HALIFAX AND OTHER DISASTERS

THE explosion of the munition ship *Mont Blanc*, which wrought such widespread devastation at Halifax, with a death toll of 1,500 and the destruction of a large section of the Nova Scotia seaport, recalls other disasters within recent years on this side of the Atlantic. Most tragic of these was the eruption of *Mont Pelée* at Martinique, May 8, 1902, causing a loss of over 30,000 lives. Another was the flood at Johnstown, Penn., on May 31, 1889, caused by the bursting of a dam, through which a deluge, "treetop high," plunged down a narrow valley, causing a loss of life estimated at 5,000, with damage amounting to \$8,000,000. There were disastrous floods in the Mississippi Valley in the years 1874, 1882, and 1890, the last inundating much of Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, though comparatively few lives were lost. Another

great disaster in the same month, March, 1890, was the Louisville tornado, which cut a clean swath through the city, working devastation similar to that at Halifax, though not more than 100 persons were killed.

Far more appalling was the loss of life in other lands. The eruption of Mount Etna in 1769 gathered a toll of 77,000 dead. The eruption of Skaptar Jokul in Iceland in 1783 destroyed a fourth of the population of Iceland. The Lisbon earthquake on Nov. 1, 1755, literally engulfed many thousands, when a great marble-paved wharf, densely crowded, disappeared in a yawning chasm, which was immediately covered by the sea. The Krakatoa eruption of Aug. 25, 1883, is supposed to have caused the loss of over 60,000 lives. The Messina earthquake in Calabria, Italy, in 1908 is credited with a death roll of 80,000.

The explosion of the *Mont Blanc* at Halifax was caused by the ignition of a cargo of between 2,000 and 3,000 tons of "TNT"—trinitro-toluene. The force of such modern high explosives as nitroglycerine, (dynamite,) guncotton, picric acid, and TNT, as compared with the old-fashioned gunpowder, may be realized when it is understood that, while the explosion of a large charge of gunpowder produces a pressure of forty-two tons to the square inch, the explosion of these modern high explosives produces a pressure of not less than 200 tons to the square inch. These high explosives are true chemical compounds, while gunpowder is simply a mechanical mixture of sulphur, nitre, and powdered charcoal, not a chemical compound.

* * *

THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM

NOW that the armies of Great Britain have triumphantly entered Jerusalem, and that Great Britain is pledged to the restoration of Palestine as a nation, it is suggested that this decisive moment in history be celebrated by rebuilding the great temple, which was for centuries the crowning glory of the Holy City, and the heart of Palestine's national life. It is fairly certain that the temple built by Herod the Great was, so far as possible, an exact replica of the Temple of Zerub-

babel, built about the year 500 before our era, in accordance with the decree of Cyrus, as related in the Book of Ezra; while this temple was built in accordance with the plan of Solomon's Temple, as it was remembered by the old men, who had seen it in its glory before the Babylonian captivity and its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar.

It is true that at that time Solomon's Temple had lost something of its glory, much of the interior gold work, which gave it such a signal splendor, having been carried off as spoils of war by the Egyptian Pharaoh, Shishak; the gold being replaced by bronze under Solomon's son, Rehoboam. But there is good reason to believe that the Temple of Herod substantially reproduced Solomon's Temple; and of that third reconstruction of the temple we have a minute and accurate description by Flavius Josephus, who gives all the measurements in cubits, which it would be a simple matter to reduce to feet, a cubit being a foot and a half.

There remains the question of the site. It seems fairly certain that the site of Solomon's Temple is now occupied by the beautiful building called, somewhat incorrectly, the Mosque of Omar, since Omar did not build it, a better name being the Dome of the Rock. This building is of high antiquity and is the finest example of the best period of early Moslem art; it would seem that, thus consecrated by time, it should remain, to preach its sermon of reverence and beauty. But the "temple inclosure" is of enormous extent, its empty spaces to the south of the Dome of the Rock being very much larger than that required to construct the great temple. Nor would there be any disharmony between the two buildings, both monuments of historic faiths.

* * *

THE declaration of war against Austria by the United States was followed on Dec. 12 by the unanimous passage of a resolution by the Cuban House of Representatives declaring a state of war to exist between Austria-Hungary and the Republic of Cuba. Ecuador, which has had strained relations with

Germany since October last, when Peru dismissed Dr. Perl, the German Minister at Lima, formally severed diplomatic relations with Germany on Dec. 8.

* * *

AUSTRIAN AND GERMAN PRISONERS IN RUSSIA

APPREHENSIONS have been expressed that a separate peace, made between the Petrograd Bolsheviks and the Kaiser's army, would still further strengthen the Teuton arms by releasing the immense number of prisoners of war captured by the Russian imperial armies, and now in the interior of Russia and Siberia. But certain considerations would appear to lessen the danger of this. First, there are great difficulties of transportation, especially where Siberia is concerned, and General Kaledine's forces seem likely soon to get astride the Siberian railroad. But there is another and stronger reason. The enormous majority of these war prisoners of Russia, who probably number about two millions—no exact figures are available, especially for the period of the Korniloff drive last July—are not Germans, but Austrians, and not Teutonic Austrians, but precisely of those Slavonic nationalities within the Austro-Hungarian Empire who most heartily hate the Hapsburg despotism. Large numbers of these, predominantly Czechs (Bohemians) and Slovaks, deliberately expressed that age-long hatred by deserting and going over in whole battalions and regiments to Russia, and very many enlisted in the Russian Army. It is not likely that these men will willingly go back to be shot for treason by Austria—nor is it likely that there is any power in Russia which would or could compel them to. But, of the remainder, predominantly Slavs, who hate both Austria and Hungary, great numbers, dispersed throughout rural Russia and Siberia, and engaged in farm work—taking the places of Russian men at the front—have not only found Russia so attractive as to induce them to settle down, but have married daughters of their captors, and now speak passable Russian, which is closely allied to their mother tongues, at least as closely as Italian is to Spanish.

But even those who have not thus given hostages to fortune would be loath to go, for the very practical reason that rural Russia has abundance of food, wheat, oats and rye, much of it of their own raising.

* * *

THE VATICAN AND THE RUSSIAN

QUESTION

EVER since the division between the Eastern Church, with its ecclesiastical metropolis at Constantinople, or New Rome, and the Western Church, with its centre in the Old Rome, about the year 1050, there has been the keenest rivalry, often flaring up into open animosity, along the boundary line between the two ecclesiastical empires. It can hardly be questioned that Roman propaganda, under the auspices of the House of Hapsburg, in the newly annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, which had belonged to the Eastern Church, aroused bitter antagonism among the Bosnian Serbs, having a share in precipitating the plot against the Archduke Ferdinand, who was believed to be an ardent proselyter, and whose assassination by Bosnians at Bosnia-Serai, or Serajevo, was made the pretext of the ultimatum to Serbia which led to the world war.

Another field of keen rivalry between the Eastern and Western Churches has long been the region of the Ukraine and Bukowina, once attached to the kingdom of Poland. After Luther's day, his views made some headway in Poland and Lithuania. King Sigismund invited the Jesuits to preach against Lutheranism. The Jesuits soon extended their campaign to include the Eastern Orthodox Church, and a compromise was entered into between the See of Rome and certain Russian Bishops, with the Metropolitan Archbishop of Kiev at their head, which was known as "the Union of the Two Churches," on these terms: the Russian Orthodox Church was to recognize the supremacy of Rome—the bone of contention since 1050—but was to retain the ancient Slavonic liturgy and its own traditions. Thus was founded the "Union "

in 1595, whose adherents, especially numerous in Galicia and Bukowina, are today known as "Uniates."

But this campaign of proselytism aroused a fierce reaction in the Russian Orthodox Church, which became far more consciously national than before, and which, since the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, was the natural political head of the whole Eastern Catholic Church, Moscow being even called "the Third Rome," as being the strongest See in succession to Constantinople. This underlying ecclesiastical conflict plays a large part in the whole region, which includes Poland, Galicia, Bukowina, the Ukraine, and the Balkan States, both Ferdinand of Rumania and Ferdinand of Bulgaria being Roman Catholic rulers of Eastern Orthodox States.

* * *

GERMAN REFUGEES IN MOZAMBIQUE

THERE is an element of romance and possible tragedy in the fate which may lie before the remnants of the German East African force who, finally defeated by the mixed British and Belgian army, made their escape across the boundary line of Portuguese East Africa, or Mozambique, running from Cape Delgado to Lake Nyasa. The territory which they have entered is an enormous one, even larger than German East Africa—larger, in fact, than France and Germany taken together; very much of it is dense forest, with a broad malarial plain running down the seacoast. In this vast forest it may be as difficult to find them as it is to find the proverbial needle in a haystack; far more difficult than it would be to locate a small party in a more open northern forest of 200,000 or 300,000 miles in extent, because the African jungle is, much of it, an impenetrable tangle. So long as they are well supplied with rifle cartridges, there is not the slightest reason why they should not subsist on the country indefinitely, as, for example, African explorers like H. M. Stanley or Sir Samuel Baker did for many months at a time.

Russia's Desertion of the Allies

Arrangement of an Armistice and Preliminaries of a Separate Peace Forced by the Lenine-Trotsky Régime

RUSSIA in the month ended Dec. 18, 1917, passed through the most confused period since the revolution. Civil and military affairs were in a state of chaos; civil war broke out; Finland, Bessarabia, Siberia, Ukraina, Lithuania, the Caucasus, and other districts through local organizations declared their complete independence of the Central Government. The Bolsheviks, who were in control at Petrograd and at Moscow, and who apparently had the support of an overwhelming proportion of the army, the navy, and the laboring classes under the radical leadership of Nicholas Lenine as Premier and Leon Trotsky as Minister of Foreign Affairs, prevented the Moderate Delegates to the Constituent Assembly from holding any sessions at Petrograd. At the same time they opened negotiations with the Central Powers for an armistice along the entire front from the Baltic to Asia Minor, and actually signed an armistice, which went into effect on Dec. 17 to continue four weeks. Meanwhile they began negotiations for a treaty of peace between Germany and Russia.

The history of these momentous occurrences, crowded into the narrow space of four weeks, is so conflicting, involved, and fragmentary, that no full narrative can yet be given; in fact, there are no official data, the course of events having been controlled by the utterances and orders of Lenine and Trotsky, and these at times, as they were transmitted from Petrograd by the ordinary news channels, were contradictory. The official communications from the American Embassy, if any, were not made public, though occasionally meagre reports of the course of events in Russia were given out at Washington.

Move for Separate Peace

The first formal notice of the proposed peace movement by the Bolsheviks

was issued on Nov. 20, when the Lenine-Trotsky Government made this announcement:

By order of the All-Russian Workmen's and Soldiers' Congress, the Council of "The People's Commissaries" had assumed power, with obligation to offer all the peoples and their respective Governments an immediate armistice on all fronts, with the purpose of opening pourparlers immediately for the conclusion of a "democratic peace."

When the power of the council is firmly established throughout the country, the council will, without delay, make a formal offer of an armistice to all the belligerents, enemy and ally. A draft message to this effect has been sent to all the Peoples' Commissaries for foreign affairs and to all the plenipotentiaries and representatives of allied nations in Petrograd.

The council also has sent orders to "the citizen Commander in Chief" that, after receiving the present message, he shall approach the commanding authorities of the enemy armies with an offer of a cessation of all hostile activities for the purpose of opening peace pourparlers, and that he shall, first, keep the council constantly informed by direct wire of pourparlers with the enemy armies, and, second, that he shall sign the preliminary act only after approval by the Commissaries Council.

The communiqué was signed by Oulianoff-Lenine, President of the Commissaries Council; Trotsky, Commissary of Foreign Affairs; Krylenko, Commissary of War; Beutch-Bruevitch, Chairman of the Council, and Gorbounoff, Secretary.

General Dukhonin, the Commander in Chief, on the 20th was ordered by "the People's Commissaries of War," Lenine and Krylenko, to offer an armistice to "all nations, allied and hostile." To this request the General made no reply, and on Nov. 21 he was deposed from his functions and Ensign Krylenko was appointed the new Commander in Chief. The order of the same day added that the soldiers must observe the strongest revolutionary and military discipline. Regiments on frontal positions were to elect immediately plenipotentiaries to begin formal peace pourparlers, and on the

progress of these they must inform the commissaries by all possible means. Only the Council of Commissaries had the right to sign a final agreement for an armistice.

General Dukhonin was subsequently murdered by being thrown from a train after the Bolsheviks seized the General Headquarters.

Trotsky's Pronouncement

On Nov. 25 Foreign Minister Trotsky sent a note to the diplomatic representatives of neutral powers in Petrograd informing them of the steps taken looking to an armistice, and adding:

The consummation of an immediate peace is demanded in all countries, both belligerent and neutral. The Russian Government counts on the firm support of workmen in all countries in the struggle for peace.

At a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldier's Delegates the same day Premier Lenine explained that the armistice order was issued in the desire to combat the counter-revolutionary tactics of General Dukhonin and other high officers, making it impossible for them to prevent the opening of negotiations.

This, he said, was in keeping with the policy of the democratic Government, that the masses themselves act, since the bureaucrats, civil and military, were distrusted. He pointed out that the soldiers were not empowered to sign a treaty for an armistice, but only to negotiate it.

Lenine declared that Russia did not contemplate a separate peace with Germany; that the belief that an armistice on the Russian front would make it possible for Germany to throw a large force on the French front was groundless, as the Russian Government, before signing a treaty for an armistice, would communicate with the Allies and make certain proposals to "the Imperialistic Governments of France and England, rejection of which would place them in open opposition to the wishes of their own peoples."

A period of turmoil followed throughout Russia, with conflicting reports coming from all portions of the country, announcing uprisings and predicting the speedy overthrow of the Bolsheviks.

Constituent Assembly Election

In the meantime elections for the Constituent Assembly were held. The result in Petrograd was announced by one agency as 272,000 votes for the Bolsheviks, 211,000 for the Constitutional Democrats, and 116,000 for the Social Revolutionaries. Another report stated that the Bolsheviks headed the poll at Petrograd with 400,000, the Cadets received 250,000, the Social Revolutionaries 150,000, with the rest scattered among sixteen parties, showing that the Bolsheviks failed to obtain a majority. The latter obtained 6 seats, the Cadets 4, and the Social Revolutionaries 2. The results from other sections were not reliably reported, but the figures indicated that the Bolsheviks polled from 40 to 45 per cent. of the total vote, coming chiefly from the laboring classes and army.

Notwithstanding the prevailing chaos and opposition, the Lenine-Trotsky Government persisted in negotiations for an armistice, and representatives were sent through the lines by Ensign Krylenko on Dec. 1 to begin the parleys. It was arranged that the first conference be held at the German Headquarters in Brest-Litovsk.

The First Peace Parley

The official report of the first parley was as follows:

We crossed the line, preceded by a trumpeter carrying a white flag. Three hundred yards from the German entanglements we were met by German officers. At 5 o'clock, our eyes blindfolded, we were conducted to a battalion staff of the German Army, where we handed over our written authorization from the National Commissaries to two officers of the German General Staff, who had been sent for the purpose.

The negotiations were conducted in the French language. Our proposal to carry on negotiations for an armistice on all the fronts of belligerent countries, in order later to make peace, was immediately handed over to the staff of the division, whence it was sent by direct wire to the staff commander of the eastern front and to the chief commander of the German armies.

At 6:20 o'clock we were taken in a motor car to the Minister's house on the road from Dvinsk to Ponevyezh, where we were received by Divisional General von Hoffmeister, who informed us that our pro-

posals had been handed to the highest commander, and that a reply probably would be received in twenty-four hours. But at 7:30 o'clock the first answer from the chief of the general command already had been received, announcing agreement to our proposals, and leaving the details of the next meeting to General von Hoffmeister and the Parliamentarians. After an exchange of opinion and further communication by wire from the chief of the general command, at midnight a written answer to our proposal was given to us by von Hoffmeister. In view of the fact that ours was written in Russian, the answer was given in German. The reply was:

"The chief of the German eastern front is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Russian chief command. The chief of the German eastern front is authorized by the German Commander in Chief to carry on negotiations for an armistice. The chief of the Russian armies is requested to appoint a commission with written authority to be sent to the headquarters of the commander of the German eastern front. On his side, the German commander likewise will name a commission with special authorization.

"The day and hour of the meeting are to be fixed by the Russian Commander in Chief. It is demanded that the German commander be warned in due time to prepare a special train for the purpose. Notice must be given at which part it is intended to cross the front. The commander of the German eastern front will place at the disposition of the Russian commission the necessary apparatus, so that it may keep in communication with its chief command.

(Signed) "VON HOFFMEISTER."

The Russian Parliamentarians decided to appoint as the place the junction of the Dvinsk-Vilna line, whence the Russian representatives will be conducted to the Brest-Litovsk headquarters of the German commander. The time appointed is mid-day of Nov. 19, (Russian calendar, or Dec. 2, new calendar.) At the same time we were informed that no firing would occur unless prompted, and that enemy fraternization would be stopped. We were blindfolded again and conducted to our lines.

The Russian peace delegates were Kameneff, Sokolnikoff, Bithenko, and Mstislasky—a peasant, a sailor, a soldier, and a workman. Kameneff, or Rosenfeld, is a well-known Bolshevik leader, slightly less extreme than Lenine. Captain Mstislavsky was formerly librarian to the General Staff. After the revolution he became a social revolutionary and proclaimed a doctrine, not of

separate peace, but of a separate war of the revolutionary army against all capitalist countries.

Official Report of Conference

On Dec. 5 the official report of the conference as issued at Petrograd was as follows:

The conference opened in the presence of representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Field Marshal Holendorf (Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf?) charged Prince Leopold of Bavaria with the negotiations, and he in his turn nominated his Chief of Staff, General Hoffmann. Other delegates received similar authority from their highest Commander in Chief. The enemy declaration was exclusively military.

Our delegates opened the conference with a declaration of our peace aims, in view of which an armistice was proposed. The enemy delegates replied that that was a question to be solved by politicians. They said they were soldiers, having powers only to negotiate conditions of an armistice, and could add nothing to the declaration of Foreign Ministers Czernin and von Kühlmann.

Our delegates, taking due note of this evasive declaration, proposed that they should immediately address all the countries involved in the war, including Germany and her allies, and all States not represented at the conference, with a proposal to take part in drawing up an armistice on all fronts.

The enemy delegates again replied evasively that they did not possess such powers. Our delegation then proposed that they ask their Government for such authority. This proposal was accepted, but no reply had been communicated to the Russian delegation up to 2 o'clock Dec. 5.

Our representatives submitted a project for an armistice on all fronts, elaborated by our military experts. The principal points of this project were: First, an interdiction against sending forces on our fronts to the fronts of our allies, and, second, the retirement of German detachments from the islands around Moon Sound.

The enemy delegation submitted a project for an armistice on the front from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This proposal is now being examined by our military experts. Negotiations will be continued tomorrow morning.

The enemy delegation declared that our conditions for an armistice were unacceptable and expressed the opinion that such demands could be addressed only to a conquered country.

The Berlin Version

On Dec. 6 the Berlin Government issued a report of the negotiations differing somewhat from the Petrograd statement. It was as follows:

Yesterday the authorized representatives of the chief army administrations of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria concluded in writing with the authorized representatives of the Russian chief army administration a suspension of hostilities for ten days for the whole of the mutual fronts. The commencement is fixed for Friday noon. The ten days' period will be utilized for bringing to a conclusion negotiations for an armistice. For the purpose of reporting verbally regarding the present results, a portion of the members of the Russian deputation has returned home. The sittings of the commission continue.

The negotiations continued for several days; on Dec. 7 it was announced from Jassy, the temporary capital of Rumania, that the Rumanian troops had decided to associate themselves with the Russians in the proposed armistice. On the 7th it was announced from Petrograd that for the first time since the war not a shot was fired on the Russian front, from the Black Sea to the Baltic.

Note to the Allies

Foreign Secretary Trotzky on the 6th sent all the allied embassies and legations in Petrograd a note intimating that the armistice negotiations with the Central Powers had been suspended for a week, at the initiative of the Russian delegation, for the purpose of providing opportunity of informing the peoples and the Governments of the allied countries of the existence of such negotiations and their tendency.

The note added that the armistice would be signed only on condition that troops should not be transferred from one front to another and that German troops were cleared from the islands around Moon Sound. It generally indicated the points of the negotiations, and concluded:

The period of delay thus given, even in the existing disturbed condition of international communication, is amply sufficient to afford the allied Governments opportunity to define their attitude toward the peace negotiations—that is, their willingness or refusal to partici-

pate in negotiations for an armistice and peace.

In case of refusal, they must declare clearly and definitely before all mankind the aims for which the peoples of Europe may be called to shed their blood during the fourth year of the war.

So far as reported no official replies were made to this note.

It was on the day following that the Lenine-Trotzky Government issued a proclamation declaring that "Generals Kaledine and Korniloff, assisted by the Imperialists and Constitutional Democrats, have raised a revolt and declared war in the Don region against the people and the revolution."

The proclamation added that the Constitutional Democrats and bourgeoisie were supplying the revolting Generals with scores of millions.

"The Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates have ordered the necessary movements of troops against the counter-revolution and issued decrees authorizing the local revolutionary garrisons to attack the enemies of the people without awaiting orders from the supreme authorities and forbidding any attempts at mediation."

This revolt, however, was not as serious as at first appeared, and after one or two slight skirmishes with the troops of Kaledine it was reported that the Bolsheviks were victorious and that General Korniloff had been wounded and Kaledine retired. All the news from Dec. 15 to Dec. 20 was conflicting, but the tone of the reports indicated that the Bolsheviks were strengthening their control all over Russia, except at Odessa and in certain Cossack districts.

The Constituent Assembly, on which the moderates had pinned their hopes, proved a fiasco. When the day came for its session, Dec. 11, less than fifty of the 600 delegates attended and Bolshevik soldiers refused to allow them to hold a session at the Taurida Palace. It was reported that the moderates feared to come to Petrograd and that the radicals refused to have anything to do with the assembly.

During this excitement the negotiations for an armistice continued without interruption. On Dec. 16 an agreement

was reached and an armistice was signed between the Bolshevik Government and the Teutonic Allies to continue from Dec. 17 for four weeks—to Jan. 14, 1918.

Text of the Armistice

The text of the armistice agreement is as follows:

Between the representatives of the higher command of Russia on the one hand and of Bulgaria, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey on the other hand, for the purpose of achieving a lasting and honorable peace between both parties, the following armistice is concluded:

The armistice shall begin on Dec. 14 (Dec. 17) at 2 o'clock in the afternoon and continue until Jan. 1, (Jan. 14.) The contracting parties have the right to break the armistice by giving seven days' notice. Unless notice is given the armistice automatically continues.

The armistice embraces the land and aerial forces on the front from the Baltic to the Black Sea and also the Russo-Turkish front in Asia Minor. During the armistice the parties concerned obligate themselves not to increase the number of troops on the above fronts or on the islands in Moon Sound, or to make a regrouping of forces.

Neither side is to make operative any transfers of units from the Baltic-Black Sea front until Jan. 1, (Jan. 14,) excepting those begun before the agreement was signed. They obligate themselves not to concentrate troops on parts of the Black Sea or Baltic Sea east of the fifteenth degree of longitude east of Greenwich.

The line of demarkation on the European front is the first line of defense. The space between will be neutral. The navigable rivers will be neutral, their navigation being forbidden except for necessary purposes of commercial transport or on sections where the positions are at a great distance. On the Russo-Turkish front the line of demarkation will be arranged by the mutual consent of the chief commanders.

Intercourse will be allowed from sunrise to sunset, no more than twenty-five persons participating at a time. The participants may exchange papers, magazines, unsealed mail, and also may carry on trade in the exchange of articles of prime necessity.

The question of release of troops freed from service who are beyond the line of demarkation will be solved during the peace negotiations. This applies also to Polish troops.

Naval Fronts—The armistice embraces all the Black Sea and Baltic Sea east of the meridian 15 degrees east of Greenwich, applying to all naval and aerial forces. In regard to extension of the

armistice to the White Sea and the Arctic Russian coast a special agreement will be made. Attacks upon war and commercial vessels must cease in the above regions, and attacks in other seas must be avoided.

Exchange of Civil Prisoners

After fixing the lines of demarkation in the Black and Baltic Seas and limiting the movement of warships, the agreement stipulates that commercial navigation of these seas will be permitted under rules to be formulated by a commission.

Immediately after the signing of the armistice peace negotiations are to be begun. It is provided that measures shall be taken for the exchange of civil prisoners, invalids, women, and children under 14 years, and for the amelioration of the condition of war prisoners. The treaty concludes with these words:

With the purpose of facilitating the conduct of peace negotiations and the speedy healing of the wounds caused by the war, the contracting parties take measures for re-establishment of cultural and economic relations among the signatories. Within such limits as the armistice permits, postal commercial relations, the mailing of books and papers, will be permitted, the details to be worked out by a mixed commission, representing all the interested parties, at Petrograd.

Revolutionary Acts in Russia

Within the first month in which the Bolsheviks conducted the de facto Government of Russia numerous edicts of a radical revolutionary character were issued, but they were rendered nugatory through the refusal of public officials to execute their orders. The Russian embassies in all countries refused to recognize the Bolsheviks, and proclamations were issued dismissing the diplomats from service. No nation up to Dec. 20, except Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey had recognized the Government; on Dec. 18 Trotzky notified the foreign embassies at Petrograd that unless they viséd passports of Bolshevik visit couriers, similar courtesies would be refused to themselves.

Among the most radical actions was a proclamation issued Nov. 26 by the Maximalist Commissioners proclaiming the abolition of class titles, distinctions, and

privileges. All persons henceforth are "citizens of the Russian Republic." The corporate property of nobles, merchants, and burgesses, according to the proclamation, must be handed over to the State.

On Dec. 17 it was announced that the Russian Church, which was one of the most powerful institutions under the old régime, had received attention at the hands of the Bolsheviks. They had directed the confiscation of all Church property, lands, money, gold, silver, and precious stones, and the abolition of religious instruction in the schools.

Strikes were in progress everywhere, not only by laborers, but by public functionaries and railway officials, who refused to work or to recognize the orders of the Bolsheviks. On Dec. 17 it was announced at Petrograd that the serious fuel situation in the city was complicated by strikes of employes in the Fuel Department, who refused to work under the Bolshevik Commissaries. A similar cause was responsible for a strike of the employes in the Petrograd City Hall, who quit work on the appearance of the new Bolshevik Mayor, who formerly was a day laborer.

On Dec. 16 a decree went into effect abolishing all military ranks, titles, and decorations. A correspondent cabled from Petrograd on Dec. 16 as follows regarding the effect of this decree:

Henceforward officers will be elected by the men. The officers who are not re-elected to their duties become privates, with their pay correspondingly lowered. Privates prefer to elect officers from among themselves, and former officers are therefore almost always degraded. There were several cases on Dec. 15 of officers publicly assaulted by soldiers, who tore off their epaulettes and medals, using considerable violence and every insult contained in the luxuriant vocabulary of the Russian private.

On the front, matters are even worse. With the active encouragement of German spies, the soldiers have introduced every possible means of degrading their officers. Colonels and their orderlies have been made to exchange functions. Officers of many years' service have been forced to clean out stables. An army whose soviets are unanimously opposed to the death penalty has no hesitation in its application to its own officers. The drastic reduction in pay is the last straw. Ranks have virtually ceased to count. An officer cannot desert, like a private. His country is still theoretically at war, and his fellow-soldiers would not hesitate to punish him and his family if he escaped.

Contents of Secret Treaties Revealed

LEON TROTZKY, the Bolshevik Foreign Secretary of Russia, made public shortly after assuming office the text of confidential communications that had passed between the Russian Foreign Office and foreign Governments in the earlier years of the war.

The first State document published dealt with the desire of Russia to acquire the Dardanelles, Constantinople, the west shore of the Bosphorus, and certain defined areas in Asia Minor. It set forth the demand of France and England that Russia agree to the freedom of Constantinople for cargoes not from or to Russian ports, the retention of the hold of the Mussulman on places in Arabia under a separate Mussulman Government, and the inclusion of certain parts of Persia in the sphere of British influence.

This document indicated that Russia agreed on the whole, but proposed an amendment demanding a clearer definition in regard to the government of Mussulman territory and the freedom of pilgrimage. It defined the Russian sphere of influence, and indicated Russia's concern about the northern boundary of Afghanistan, and also set forth Italy's agreement provided her claims in the East were recognized.

Boundaries of Germany

The second document was a telegram from M. Izvolsky, Russian Ambassador to France, dated March 11, 1917, and stated that France recognizes Russia's freedom to define her western boundaries. This was followed by a telegram from Sergius Sazonoff, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, assuring M. Izvolsky

that the agreement with France and England in regard to the Constantinople strait need not be re-examined, and stating the willingness of Russia to give France and England the freedom of defining the western boundaries of Germany, in exchange for the freedom allowing Russia to define the eastern boundary of Germany, but insisting on the exclusion of the Polish question as a matter of international discussion, and instructing M. Izvolsky to counteract an attempt to place the future of Poland under control of the powers.

M. Sazonoff's telegram said that Russia must prevent Sweden from becoming unfriendly, and by all means must earn the friendship of Norway, and that all political efforts to influence Rumania already had been made. The telegram touched on the exclusion of Germany from the Chinese markets, but said this must be subject to an economical conference at which Japan should be represented.

Offers to Greece

On Dec. 1 a series of documents was published by the Bolshevik Government relating to successive concessions offered to Greece for the purpose of inducing her to assist Serbia. These are said to have included an offer of Southern Albania, excepting Avlona; an offer of territory in Asia Minor, and other rewards at the expense of Turkey. These all came to nothing for various reasons.

One document, it is added, deals with a proposal to hand over Kavala to Bulgaria if the latter joined the Entente Allies. Another concerns Great Britain's offer of the Island of Cyprus to Greece, which lapsed owing to the refusal of Greece to help Serbia.

France and Alsace-Lorraine

One document declared that France claimed Alsace-Lorraine, the iron and coal districts of France, and the wooded regions on the left bank of the Rhine. There were also to be separated from Germany and freed from all political and economic dependence upon Germany, certain territories which were to be formed into free neutral States. These would be occupied by Russian troops

until certain guarantees were fulfilled and peace was concluded.

One document refers to the reported conference of financiers in Switzerland last September, in which Great Britain denies having participated, concerning which it is suggested that the German delegates insisted on the cession of the Baltic Provinces and the independence of Finland.

Among the documents printed was a telegram from Sergius Sazonoff, former Foreign Minister, to the allied countries dealing with the efforts of Germany to make peace between Germany, Russia, and Japan through the German Embassy at Stockholm.

In reply to Germany, M. Sazonoff is quoted as having said that he advised the Japanese Ambassador that Russia was willing to listen to a peace proposal, provided the proposal was made to Russia, Great Britain, France, and Japan, in which event he would notify Italy, which then was not in the alliance.

Another telegram, sent by the Russian Ambassador at Rome Oct. 31, 1917, told of a desire of the Italians to have Russia make an attack on or a demonstration against the Austro-Germans to relieve the pressure on Italy.

Secret Treaty With Italy

The text of an alleged secret agreement between France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy was given out at Petrograd on Nov. 28. The agreement sanctions the annexation by Italy of certain territory in return for entering the Entente Alliance and engages to brand as inadmissible the intervention of Pope Benedict with a view of stopping the war.

The document is said to have been signed in London, April 26, 1915, by Sir Edward [now Viscount] Grey, former Foreign Secretary; Paul Cambon, French Ambassador to Great Britain, and Count Benckendorff, the Russian Ambassador to Great Britain. It is said to contain a memorandum from the Italian Ambassador at London to the Foreign Office and the allied Ambassadors.

According to the Bolshevik revelations, Italy was to have the assistance of the French and British naval forces un-

til the Austrian Navy was destroyed. After peace Italy was to receive the Trentino, Southern Tyrol to the Brenner Pass, Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia, with additional geographical boundaries outlined in great detail.

Italy was to govern the foreign relationships of Albania in the event of that country obtaining an autonomous Government; but Italy was not to oppose objections if it were decided to apportion parts of Albania to Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece.

The agreement, it is alleged, supported Italy's contention in the principle of the balance of naval power in the Mediterranean, subject to future definition. Italy was to have rights in Lybia enjoyed

by the Sultan on the basis of the Lausanne treaty. Italy agreed to the proposed independent standing of Mussulman sacred places in Arabia.

In the event of France and Great Britain increasing their holdings in Africa at the expense of Germany, Italy was to have the right to increase hers. Great Britain was to facilitate Italy's borrowing \$250,000,000 in the British money market.

France, Great Britain, and Russia, according to the report, were to support Italy in preventing Papal influence from ending the war and in regulating questions concerning it. Italy's co-operation was to begin one month after the ratification of the agreement.

Lenine: The Man and His Ideas

By a Russian Social Worker

MORE than one clue to the meaning of the Bolshevik upheaval in Russia is to be found in the life of Lenine, its leading spirit. Until a few weeks ago it did not matter very much who Lenine was, or what his ideas were, but when soldiers, workmen, and peasants have suddenly translated him to the highest office in the land, it becomes important that the facts of his career should be known.

The question whether or not Lenine is a tool of the German Government may be left unanswered for the present. He undoubtedly received facilities from the German Government to return to Russia from Switzerland immediately after the revolution in March, but what motive prompted the German authorities to pick an archenemy of all autocracies for such a privilege is something of a mystery. Certainly, Lenine's previous career does not suggest him as very pliable material for German intrigue.

Nikolai Lenine was born at Simbirsk, in Central Russia, in the year 1870, and he is thus now 47 years of age. His real name is Vladimir Ilitch Ulyanov, and Lenine is only one of the several aliases which he, like other revolutionists, has

found it necessary to adopt at various times. A son of a Government official employed in the Department of Public Instruction, Lenine received his preliminary education in his home town. In his early twenties he went to Petrograd to continue his studies in the political science department of the Petrograd University. Here he at once became affiliated with a group of radical students who took an active interest in the political and social problems of the day.

His brother, A. Ulyanov, also a student of the same university, was already a member of the Populist Party (*Narodniki*) which secretly advocated violence against the existing authorities as one of the means of bringing about the abolition of autocracy. In 1887 this brother was arrested and charged with participation in a "terrorist" plot to wreck the imperial train carrying Alexander III. After a secret trial and without many preliminaries he was condemned to death and was hanged shortly thereafter. Lenine was also arrested at the time, but was released, as there was no evidence found against him. This arrest, however, caused his expulsion from the university.

GENERAL SIR HENRY WILSON



The British Member of the Interallied General War Staff.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

GENERAL SIR JULIAN BYNG



Commander of the British Army in the New Offensive Against the
Germans at Cambrai.

(Photo Western Newspaper Union.)

Work as a Propagandist

At this time the Russian Social-Democratic movement was still in its infancy. Underground propaganda and organizing were carried on among factory employes by the enlightened and idealistic intelligentsia pledged to the "cause." It was then that Lenine spent his Sundays in a circle of uneducated workmen, explaining to them the elements of Socialist economics and the fundamentals of the teachings of Karl Marx.

Along with the propaganda work, Lenine plunged deeply into research and studies of Russian statistics and economics, particularly the phases affecting the future development of Russia, and delving into the historic mission of its working and peasant classes. His first essay, entitled "The Economic Significance of the Populist Movement," was published in 1895. "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," a historico-economic treatise, made its appearance in 1899, at a moment of an acute polemic discussion between the Narodniki, (Populists,) who contended that the economic development of Russia will differ from that of Western Europe, and the Marxists, who accepted the Social-Democratic point of view. Even at present this book is considered a valuable document in Russian economic literature.

Because of his Socialist activities Lenine was compelled to leave Russia on several occasions. Switzerland, France, and Austria were the countries of his temporary domicile. From these foreign posts he directed the work of one of the factions of the Social-Democratic Party, developing a leadership of great power and initiative.

In 1901-2 he was on the editorial staff of *Iskra*, (Spark,) a Social-Democratic publication. Several brochures on the agrarian question and on the development of industrialism in Russia were written by him during the same period. His pamphlet, "The Problems of the Russian Social-Democrats," was commended by the leaders of the Russian Social-Democracy as the clearest exposition of the aims of the Russian working-class movement.

A definite stand as to its program and

policies was made by the Lenine faction at a general Russian Socialist convention, held in the Summer of 1903. This was the time when the word "Bolsheviki" was coined, meaning the majority that voted in accord with Lenine's proposal. In fact, the word "Leninism," used as a synonym for Bolshevism, and representing a certain factional Marxism, occurs very frequently in the Russian press.

A direct actionist, Lenine believed in the seizure of political power by means of a violent revolution and in establishing a proletarian government. Then only, he held, could there be accomplished an economic readjustment of the country, bringing with it a more equitable social order. Also, as a thorough Marxian, he had utmost faith in the ultimate triumph of the proletariat.

After the revolution of 1905 and the reaction that followed, the Lenine faction dwindled down to but a few emigrés and it seemed as if Bolshevism was destined to die out. But in 1911-12, when the spell of the reaction began to break up, and when, with the awakening, a new spirit began to permeate the political and social life of Russia, a sudden impetus to renewed activities was given to the Bolsheviki. This may also be explained by the fact that the leaders of this faction were the first to understand the momentous significance of this national resurrection. They immediately set to work, and the first Socialist daily paper, *Pravda*, (the Truth,) was one of the results of their efforts. Undoubtedly this daily has exercised considerable influence upon the working masses who rallied to it and gave it their whole-hearted support. Since then there has been a gradual growth of Bolshevism in the industrial centres of Russia under the intellectual guidance and leadership of Lenine. The movement gained in strength from year to year. As early as in 1913 the Bolsheviki sent six representatives to the Duma.

At the outbreak of the war in 1914 Lenine was in Cracow, at that time the headquarters of the organizations which directed the revolutionary movement in Russia. It should be remembered that Lenine, like other revolutionary leaders, was compelled to live in exile. The Aus-

trian authorities immediately arrested him on suspicion of being a Russian spy, but as he was easily able to prove that he had no connection with the Czar's Government, he was released and permitted to go to Switzerland, where he remained until March, 1917. The news of the successful revolution caused him to endeavor to return to Russia and the German Government gave him the necessary permission to pass through Germany.

Chief Russian Parties

On his arrival in Petrograd, Lenine gathered together his followers and began the agitation in favor of the Bolshevik program. This program was outlined by Lenine in a remarkable statement which in the light of recent events has become an important document for the understanding of the situation. According to this statement, the chief groupings of political parties in Russia are:

1. The representatives of the feudal landholders and the more conservative sections of the bourgeoisie.
2. The Constitutional Democrats (Cadets) and other liberal groups representing the majority of the bourgeoisie, that is, the captains of industry and those landholders who have industrial interests.
3. The Socialist groups which represent the small entrepreneurs, small middle-class proprietors, more or less well-to-do peasants, petite bourgeoisie, as well as those workers who have submitted to a bourgeois point of view.
4. The Bolsheviks, who ought properly to be called the Communist Party, which is at present termed the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, and which represents class-conscious workers, day laborers, and the poorer strata of peasantry, which are grouped with them as the semi-proletariat.

The Bolshevik Platform

The Bolshevik platform, as outlined by Lenine, reads as follows:

The Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates must at once take every practicable and feasible step for the realization of the Socialist program.

The Bolsheviks demand a republic of the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates; abolition of the standing army and the police, substituting for

them an armed people; officials to be not only elected but also subject to recall and their pay not to exceed that of a good worker.

Sole authority must be in the hands of the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. There must be no dual authority.

No support should be given to the Provisional Government. The whole of the people must be prepared for the complete and sole authority of the Councils of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates.

A constituent assembly should be called as soon as possible, but it is necessary to increase the members and strengthen the power of the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates by organizing and arming the masses.

A police force of the conventional type and a standing army are absolutely unnecessary. Immediately and unconditionally a universal army of the people should be introduced, so that they and the militia and the army shall be an integral whole. Capitalists must pay the workers for their days of service in the militia.

Officers Subject to Their Men

Officers must not only be elected, but every step of every officer and General must be subject to control by special soldiers' committees.

The arbitrary removal by the soldiers of their superior officers is in every respect indispensable. The soldiers will obey only the powers of their own choice; they can respect no others.

The Bolsheviks are absolutely opposed to all imperialist wars and to all bourgeois Governments which make them, among them our own Provisional Government. The Bolsheviks are absolutely opposed to "revolutionary defense" in Russia.

The Bolsheviks are against the predatory international treaties concluded between the Czar and England, France, &c., for the strangling of Persia, the division of China, Turkey, Austria, &c.

The Bolsheviks are against annexations. Any promise of a capitalist Government to renounce annexations is a huge fraud. To expose it is very simple, by demanding that each nation be freed from the yoke of its own capitalists.

The Bolsheviks are opposed to the (Russian) Liberty Loan, because the war remains imperialistic, being waged by capitalists in alliance with capitalists, and in the interests of capitalists.

The Bolsheviks refuse to leave to capitalist Governments the task of expressing the desire of the nations for peace.

All monarchies must be abolished. Revolutions do not proceed in fixed order. Only genuine revolutionaries may be trusted.

The Peasants to Seize All Land

The peasants must at once take all the land from the landholders. Order must be strictly maintained by the Councils of Peasants' Delegates. The production of bread and meat must be increased and the soldiers better fed. Destruction of cattle, of tools, &c., is not permissible.

It will be impossible to rely upon the general Councils of Peasants' Delegates, for the wealthy peasants are of the same capitalist class that is always inclined to injure or deceive the farmhands, day laborers, and the poorer peasants. We must at once form special organizations of these latter classes of the village population both within the Councils of Peasants' Delegates and in the form of special Councils of Delegates of the Farmers' Workers.

We must at once prepare the Councils of Workers' Delegates, the Councils of Delegates of Banking Employes, and others for the taking of all such steps as are feasible and completely realizable toward the union of all banks in one single national bank, and then toward a control of the Councils of Workers' Delegates over the banks and syndicates, and then toward their nationalization, that is,

their passing over into the possession of the whole people.

The only Socialist International, establishing and realizing a brotherly union of all the workers in all countries, which is now desirable for the nations, is one which consists of the really revolutionary workers, who are capable of putting an end to the awful and criminal slaughter of nations, capable of delivering humanity from the yoke of capitalism. Only such people (groups, parties, &c) as the German Socialist, Karl Liebknecht, now in a German jail, only people who will tirelessly struggle with their own Government and their own bourgeoisie, and their own social-patriots, and their own "centrists," can and must immediately establish that international which is necessary to the nations.

The fraternization between soldiers of the warring countries, at the front, must be encouraged; it is good and indispensable.

It will be noticed that the Bolsheviks have actually attempted to carry out the greater part of this program, and in some cases have apparently succeeded, at least temporarily.

One Aspect of Bolshevik Liberty

Ludovic Naudeau, a Petrograd correspondent of the Paris Temps, writing in October, 1917, drew this amusing sketch of one phase of life in the Russian capital:

One morning recently I was awakened by the cries of my neighbor in the next room. His boots had been stolen. The same day the manager of a newspaper office told me that he had been robbed of six pairs of pantaloons. What use could any one have for six nether garments? The star reporter came in with eyes bulging. "Four hundred thefts every night!" he cried; "that is the average for the last two weeks. The Petrograd militia are vainly seeking for the 18,000 criminals who are living in liberty among us. It is frightful!"

Under the old régime we were guarded by 5,750 police agents—large, strong men—who cost \$2,500,000 a year. Those Pharaohs have been replaced by 7,000 small, mean-looking militiamen, who cost, in present taxes, \$8,500,000 annually. Formerly we enjoyed sweet security. Today things fly out of one's pockets of

themselves; watches escape from their fobs; apartments empty themselves automatically of their objects of value. Every night one-half of the population is busy robbing the other half. Sometimes the thieves are civilians dressed as soldiers, and sometimes they are soldiers dressed as civilians. It is robbery made free-for-all — a socialistic budge-all-catch-all.

Besides, the persons whom one meets in prison do not stay there. One no longer stays in prison; it is not good form. Sometimes a new outburst of popular wrath opens the doors; sometimes the guards and sentinels give the prisoner to understand that the best thing he can do is to go away. There is talk of organizing a mass patrol of the streets, in which all the honest men of the city would have to go on guard by turns "in squads."

All this is true, confirmed by a thousand witnesses. During the weeks immediately following the fall of the empire, the capital, in a sort of solemn and anguished waiting, enjoyed absolute

peace, a truce of the underworld, a sort of petrification of crime. But today robbery has risen to the rank of a social institution. And yet, as Russia has not ceased to be a land of contrasts, there are no Apaches in the streets, no highwaymen, no hold-up men, none of those bloodthirsty thugs who menace life at night in other capitals. Many petty thieves and relatively few assassins!

I wrote this note in a street car, and when I put my notebook in my pocket I discovered that I had been relieved of my purse; a fact that is not without its good side, since I had forgotten to mention the pickpockets, who are as numerous as the pockets of honest men.

The Russian people lived for centuries under an autocracy, and yet they are by nature the most parliamentary of all the nations, doubtless because they are the most placid, the least irritable. We

observed this once more at the All-Russian Congress, where a few momentary tumults did not destroy our general impression of a dignified and rather sad calmness. In that old and pompous Alexandra Theatre, under the blaze of the candelabra, amid the dull radiance of gilding almost a century old, we saw 1,500 delegates. Their controversies were long, grave, sometimes noisy, but the spectator who recalled the Boulanger episode and the Dreyfus affair noticed how much less irascible and excitable the Russians were by comparison. If the Russian people did not have, deep in their nature, a vast fund of cheerful and accommodating plasticity, a great tendency to prevent or rather to postpone conflicts by means of discussion and pacific "readjustment," of provisional agreement, civil war would have broken out fifty times since last March.

General Gurko on the Revolution

Exiled Russian Commander's Views

General Gurko, one of the army commanders who made history for Russia in the days before the downfall of the Czar, was arrested and exiled by the Provisional Government in the first days of the revolution. He arrived in Paris early in November, 1917, and said interesting things to a newspaper representative, as follows:

YOU know that it was because of a letter which I wrote to the Czar that I was imprisoned in the Fortress of Peter and Paul; yes, a letter written two days after the revolution. Now, a week after the revolution, a law of amnesty was decreed. My letter, it seems to me, should have come under that amnesty, even if it had been criminal, which it was not. The text of it was published recently in an English newspaper, and still later in one of the principal Russian journals. The gist of it was this: All the Ministers of the Czar having been arrested and imprisoned at the moment of the revolutionary uprising, and most of them being entirely innocent of any misdeed, as time has proved—except in the case of two or three of them—I thought that I ought to appeal in their behalf to the fallen sovereign, so that he might say something

in their defense. Besides, out of politeness rather than conviction, I expressed the thought that perhaps the future would be more kind to the imperial family. It was because of these sentiments that I was accused of criminality. In order to punish me, and doubtless to be rid of the troublesome personage which certain men in power saw in me, I was arrested. They might have done it by means of two policemen, or even one would have sufficed. They preferred to mobilize a platoon of soldiers, two automobile machine guns, and an escort of cavalry.

In imprisoning me in the fortress they committed illegal acts which they tried later to make amends for. No matter! During the first days I was subjected to the treatment of a condemned criminal in a cell; later more humanity was shown. During the last weeks of my captivity I

occupied a large room, with barred windows, of course, but my wife was allowed to come and live with me. Then the authorities decided to set me free—and exile me. I sailed from Archangel for London, and now I am living in Paris. Before I can return to Russia the present order of things will have to change.

Many legends have been invented in regard to the origins of the revolution. One of them represents the Czar's family as pro-German. I assure you that it is nothing of the kind. The Czarina held the Germans in horror and treated William II. as a "mountebank." As for the Czar, with whom I often conversed and with whom I discussed all the current military questions, he was Commander in Chief only in name, and the military operations at the front escaped from his control, and even from his action. In imperial circles Rasputin passed for a partisan of Germany, but Rasputin had been dead two months when the revolution broke out.

The revolution had been brewing a long time. There, too, German gold did its work, as it is trying to do everywhere. Food supply difficulties, which had by no means reached the stage of starvation, furnished a suitable occasion. This revolutionary movement could have been suppressed. It would merely have been necessary to make use of the troops, instead of parading them before the crowd as a menace. In such cases it is not well to let soldiers mingle with the people; they fraternize.

One of the most disastrous consequences of the revolution was the crumbling of the Russian army on certain sectors under the influence of new doctrines. When that catastrophe occurred I presented myself, along with the Commander in Chief, Alexeieff, before the Provisional Government, the Executive Committee of the Soviet, and certain representatives of the Duma. We urged and begged them to stop the disorganization of the army; but apparently the task was not undertaken with entire good will. * * * Besides, the Russian front is 1,200 miles long!

This revolution was to give Russia all

kinds of liberty, but, alas! the dream lasted only one morning. One can now announce the failure of the movement and can state that the future belongs to the Government that shall go back to the beginning point, give the country the necessary force for the establishment of law and order, lay a solid foundation for its liberties—and, above all, banish politics from the army and restore discipline. We are still, I fear, in the descending period; but soon we shall touch bottom, and then, believe me, the good will gain ascendancy over the evil—at what price remains to be seen!

[General Gurko summed up the situation at that time (Nov. 15) by saying that if the Bolsheviki succeeded in entering into direct peace negotiations with the German Government, from whom they were already receiving financial aid, there would be reason for the gravest fears as to the immediate outcome. He continued:]

From the viewpoint of military success it is bitterly to be deplored that the Russian Army for the moment has ceased to wield anything more than a defensive, or, rather, a passive power. It still, however, holds 130 enemy divisions on that front. The German shock troops, today operating in Italy, have been taken from the Riga sector, where they were no longer needed; a few, also, have been drawn from the Russo-Bulgarian and French fronts. It is not possible for the Germans to strip the whole Russian front, where their 130 divisions are so spread out that they form only a very thin curtain.

In any case, the interests of Russia and those of the Entente Allies are and must remain one and the same. The Allies need Russia, and Russia cannot live without the Allies except by falling under the economic domination of the Central Empires. * * * Do not forget that the Russian soldier today is the same as the one of 1915 who fought without rifle, artillery, or munitions, rushing forward to be cut to pieces on the battlefield, and that Russian officers have shown that they knew how to die. What our armies did then they will do again when their leaders order it.

Military Events of the Month

From November 18 to December 17, 1917

By Walter Littlefield

ASIDE from the political events in the Chancelleries of the Allies, the declaration of war by the United States against Austria-Hungary, the formation of international councils of army and navy men for a better co-ordination of material, plan, and execution in the conduct of the war, and the dwindling belligerency of Russia and Rumania—and aside from such purely military actions as the double surprise wrought before Cambrai, the operations in the Regione of Veneto, the capture of Jerusalem, and the completion of the conquest of German East Africa—the principal event has been of tactical rather than of strategic importance. Its scope and character are as yet unrevealed, although its advent has been proclaimed by the German press of every shade of political and military opinion as something decisive in the war. It is the transfer of certain scores of enemy divisions from the Russian to the French front.

Before the Russian collapse we knew that von Hindenburg with his headquarters at Kovno was responsible for 450 miles of Russian front, and that on this front he had forty-eight divisions of infantry and ten of cavalry—in all an aggregate strength of about 1,200,000 men. South of him there were forty Austro-Hungarian divisions and an aggregation of Bulgars and Turks amounting to ten more. There were about 2,000,000 Teutonic effectives on the Russian front before the collapse.

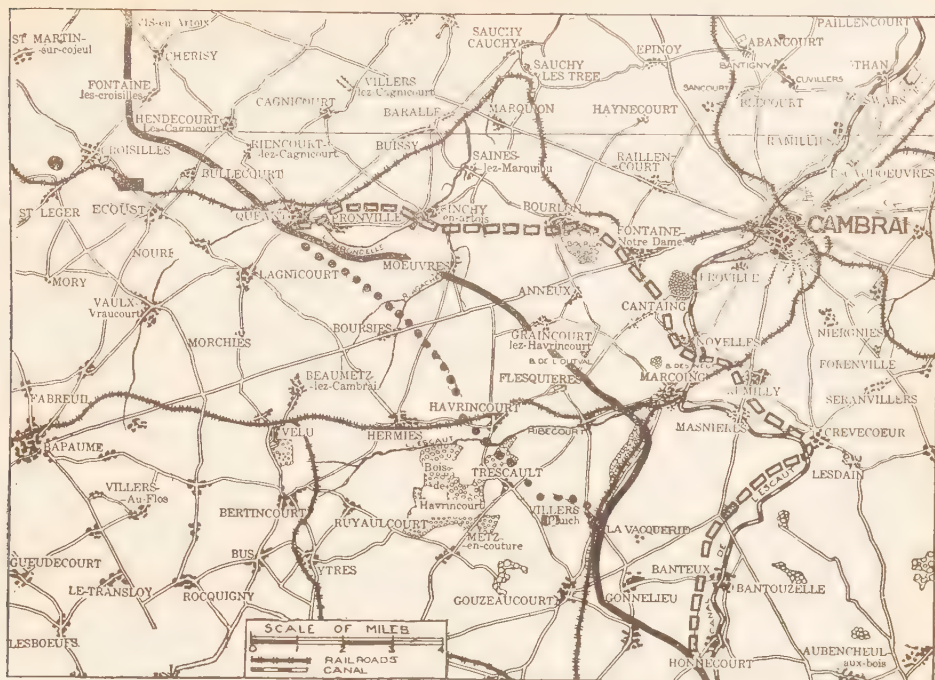
Of these we have positive information that forty-seven divisions, or nearly a million men, were sent in October to do battle in Italy and that their places were taken by half as many men in the first stages of training drawn from Germany and Austria. Moreover, from observations made by the French Headquarters Staff, published on Dec. 15, we are informed that Austria-Hungary's entire

man power today reaches only 1,239,908. This last figure indicates that the Austro-Hungarian man power has been greatly exaggerated. It is a fair deduction to make that the German man power has been similarly expanded. Yet we have the exact number of divisions formerly commanded by von Hindenburg on the Russian front. To know just how many divisions are being released for work against the English, French, and Americans on the western front would presuppose a knowledge of two unknown elements—how thinly guarded the Germans dare leave the eastern front and to what number the men diverted from it may be replaced by reservists.

After dealing at once with the matter of Cambrai, without attempting to identify the German reinforcements there as having already arrived from the Russian front or as being merely locally diverted, I shall take up some other events of the period covered, which, while of varied military importance, may tend to lighten for the Allies the most gloomy month of the most gloomy year of the war.

General Byng's Cambrai Drive

The manoeuvre executed by the Third British Army, under General the Hon. Sir Julian Byng, between St. Quentin and the River Scarpe in the last fortnight of November, when viewed alone, looms large on the annals of the war of attrition conducted by the British and French on the western front. Its initiative without artillery preparation, the tanks cutting the barbed-wire defenses, the territory occupied, and the large number of prisoners captured, when seen apart from other events, cause Vimy Ridge, which opened the way to an envelopment of Lens; Messines Ridge, which opened the way to the battles of Flanders, and even the great battle of the Somme to sink into insignificance. The hitherto invulnerable Hindenburg line



BATTLE OF CAMBRAI: DOTTED LINE SHOWS ORIGINAL POSITION, BROKEN LINE THE FURTHEST BRITISH ADVANCE, AND BLACK LINE THE POSITION AFTER BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

was pierced, and the approaches to that great supply depot, Cambrai, the junction of four railways and four highways, secured.

Its logical and strategic sequel was obvious: a similar surprise attack just north along the Arras front against the so-called Siegfried emergency line, presumably as lightly held, from Drocourt to Queant, and Lens would have been irrevocably flanked from the southeast and Cambrai from the northwest, and that other depot, Douai, the complement of Cambrai, would have been as good as lost to the Germans. Yet the logical sequel did not come to pass. A few days later the Germans walked right through the southern part of the salient just formed, and so ruptured the plan of campaign that all positions commanding the German approaches to Cambrai and several dominating those to Cambrai itself had to be surrendered. Comparisons with Vimy, Messines, and the Somme have vanished and have been replaced by that truer analogy presented by Castelnau and the Crown Prince of Bavaria on

the Lorraine front in the early days of the war—when first the Bavarian and then the Frenchman surprised each other in rapid sequence.

At this writing, however, the advantage of the ground before Cambrai still remains with the British. Documents found on German prisoners indicate that the enemy was about to abandon his static method of fighting and use his units in a more mobile fashion. Only the conviction that he possessed a superior man power would induce him to substitute the strategy of manoeuvre for the strategy of fortified position. Meanwhile, however, there is no fundamental military reason for supposing that the initiative of offensive has already passed from the Allies to the Germans.

Cambrai Battle in Detail

After a two-day artillery diversion on the Flanders front, particularly at Houthulst Forest and Zandvoorde, and of raids and counterraids elsewhere, the British Army under General Byng, early in the morning of Nov. 20, without any

artillery preparation, launched an attack from the defenses left a year ago west of Cambrai, when the battle of the Somme came to an end. For four days the assault was pushed with all possible zeal and with comparatively slight resistance on the part of the enemy, whose reserves on this sector had apparently been drawn off to protect the Passchendaele defenses, where the British artillery diversion was in progress.

Even the first accounts showed Byng's offensive to be one of the greatest British efforts of the war: at a stroke it had penetrated the Hindenburg line, lying northwest of the depot city of Cambrai, and on a thirty-two-mile front had advanced more than five miles, reaching the village of Cantaing, less than three miles southwest of the city. In the first two days of the battle the number of British casualties, principally borne by the Welsh and English county troops, was far less than the number of prisoners taken, which reached more than 9,000.

Struggle for Bournon Wood

On the 24th a fierce struggle began for the occupation of Bournon Wood, three and a half miles west of Cambrai. Both this wood and the town of the same name, lying to the northwest, possessed elevations vital to the defense of Cambrai. In the two days succeeding the town changed hands three times and was left on the 26th in German hands, the British, frightfully shelled, still holding on to part of the wood. On the 27th the British attempted a flanking movement, capturing the northwestern part of Fontaine Notre Dame, but were driven back owing to a concentration of German machine guns in La Folie Wood to the southeast. Several isolated British raiding parties, which had proceeded beyond their designated objectives, were picked up by the Germans. In certain instances these detachments were later rescued by others.

A certain lack of co-ordination, if not, indeed, confusion, began to characterize the British movements, which from Nov. 27 until Nov. 30 were subjected to a galling artillery fire from German guns in new emplacements which British observation seemed at a loss to

locate. Renewed German artillery activity was also noticed to be concentrated against the British positions on Passchendaele Ridge along the Flanders sector away to the north.

British Surprised in Turn

Then on the last day of the month the Germans made two simultaneous attacks upon the British positions before Cambrai, which were as much of a surprise as had been the British assault of the 20th. They began on the southern part of the salient formed by the British advance. One was delivered against Bournon Wood, the other between Vendhuile and Crevecoeur. Like the British assault it was preceded by no bombardment, but the infantry advanced, supported by heavy artillery fire.

It was a most curious procedure, and in certain features resembled on a smaller scale the initiative of the German attack at Plezzo and Tolmino against the Italians on Oct. 24. In both cases apparently nothing more than a demonstration was at first intended until the way opened of itself for a general offensive—on the Plezzo-Tolmino front by the discovery of the demoralization of certain detachments of the Second Army, and on the Cambrai front by the discovery that there was nobody there to fight them. German detachments penetrated for two miles within the British lines, surprised roadmenders and ambulance sections at work, and transportation trains innocently proceeding to the first British lines, which had been broken through without warning and without sending back information of what had happened.

In the southern attack the Germans entered the British lines south of Villers-Guislain and, by executing a turning movement to the north, succeeded in enveloping Gauche Wood, Gouzeaucourt, Gonnellieu, and La Vacquerie. In the northern attack the enemy pushed down between Moeuvres and Bournon Wood, but here at first met stronger forces and were hurled back by repeated counterattacks. On the first day of the battle the number of prisoners taken by the Germans reveals how lightly the line had been held, while their tremendous losses met with on the succeeding days, when

the enemy attempted to push his initiative, show how quickly the British forces had co-ordinated to meet what was developing into a formidable offensive. Several British detachments were surprised and captured in No Man's Land, others after capture were rescued, and some guns were detonated in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

Partial British Retirement

From Dec. 1 to 4 both armies manoeuvred for positions, but the German penetration, by accident or design, had reached so far and commanded so many strategic points that British retirements became necessary—but usually only after inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. Thus on the 2d the British retired from the village of Masnières, while in the neighborhood of La Vacquerie and Boverdon German massed attacks came repeatedly to grief. On Dec. 3 there were a series of furious German assaults, principally along the line from Marcoing to Gonnellieu, where wave after wave of the enemy rolled up only to be shattered and dissipated.

The relative positions of the armies on Dec. 5, with the Germans in possession of Graincourt, Anneux, Cantaing, Noyelles, and the wood and heights north of Marcoing, and the fact that they had penetrated on an eight-mile front to a depth of three miles, almost enveloping the new British salient, made further withdrawals of the British necessary if they were to avoid severe and unprofitable losses. These withdrawals would not necessarily weaken their positions west and northwest of Cambrai. Thus the British quietly got out of Bourlon Wood, which had become a slaughter pen, while still maintaining their captured positions on the Hindenburg line.

From Dec. 10 to Dec. 13 Bullecourt on the Hindenburg line became the centre of conflict, with Germans making trench gains east of the town and along the angle south of Rienocourt-lez-Cagnicourt.

Meanwhile, on the 12th, forty-eight miles to the north, the Germans attempted to do to the Ypres salient in Flanders what they had successfully achieved over the Cambrai salient. They made a sur-

prise attack on the southern flank and penetrated 300 yards of British trenches southeast of Polygon Wood, in the neighborhood of Polderhoek Château.

Italy and Her Invaders

When the last review of the operations in the Regione of Veneto closed, the Austro-German forces were making every effort to establish positions on the right or western bank of the Piave, behind which the Italian Second Army under General Cappello and the Third Army under the Duke of Aosta were being reformed. In the north, between the Astico and the Brenta, across the plateau of the Sette Comuni, and between the Brenta and the Piave, across the mountains and hills which form the northern slopes of the Monte Grappa Range, they were striving to develop their positions, confronted in the western sphere by the First Army under General Pectori and in the eastern by the Fourth Army under General Romilant.

The triune command—General Foch, Sir Harry Wilson, and General Cadorna—which had been constituted for the direction of the war in Italy, seemed to be convinced that the enemy could not be retained in the north, and must ultimately cross the Piave, and that the next line of defense, the Brenta, could not be held. So the reinforcements of French and British troops were employed to fortify the next line, the Adige, a retirement to which would have meant a pivot movement to the southwest performed by the First Army to the Val Lagarina, lying east of the Lago di Garda and parallel to it, and a retreat over the Venetian plains of the other three armies, with the sacrifice not only of such historic towns as Vicenza and Verona, but also of the Queen of the Adriatic, Venice.

But the Italians raised the cry of the French at Verdun: "They shall not pass!" They kept repeating: "Da qui non si passa!" With that conviction they fought and for a month little has been heard of the triune command. And although the English and French have been digging in along the Adige to protect the back door to France the Italians have revived the old Garibaldian cry of



SCENE OF ITALY'S BATTLES AGAINST THE INVADERS IN THE ALPS FROM ASIAGO TO THE PIAVE RIVER

'66: "L'Italia farà da se!" and have poured forth to defend the front door of Italy. And nobly have they alone defended it.

Situation in the Alps

It is a matter of thirty miles across the enemy's front in the north—from the Astico on the west to the Piave on the east. This front is fed entirely through one line of communication—the railway and highway which proceed together from the great military depot at Trent, which is in adequate communication with Bolzano, thirty-two miles further up the Adige, whence runs the great Trentino life line through the passes into Bavaria and northeast along the northern slopes of the Carnic Alps to Vienna—and this line of communication proceeds down the Val Sugana via Borgo and down the Brenta via Valstagna and Bassano to the plains. From it there are several highways, usually blocked by snow in the Winter, running westward through the mountains and hills north of the Monte Grappa Range and the Sette Comuni, which in the dispatches is sometimes called the Asiago Plateau. South of the Monte Grappa and the Sette Comuni there are few lateral highways until the plains which

begin at Asolo, Bassano, and Thiene are reached.

It will thus be seen at a glance that the invaders, weather permitting, have the great advantage of diversion which the defenders have not. At the same time they could not drive a wedge down the Brenta and reach the plains via Valstagna and Bassano, for the valley is very narrow and they would be exposed from the fire of the flanking hills and mountains strongly held by the Italians. Thus, the Sette Comuni in the western sphere and the Monte Grappa in the eastern, would first have to be cleared of defenders before the invaders could concentrate for a final thrust where the Valley of the Brenta broadens just above Valstagna.

What the Invaders Accomplished

This is what the Austro-German armies have been trying to do, and they have made measurable progress in accomplishing it; in the west they have occupied nearly all the spurs of the Meletta Range, the principal obstacle, and have descended the Val Frenzela which runs south of Gallio to within three or four miles of Valstagna; in the east they are still blocked by those northern ap-

proaches to Monte Grappa, although nearer the Brenta they have finally occupied the Caprile Hill, which would open the way to the lower valley, the Val San Lorenzo, were the approach not flanked by elevations still held by the Italians.

The situation presented on Dec. 17 was complicated; as the invaders press on, their angles of penetration become more acute and larger bodies of Italians can be sent to oppose them. In the rear their lines of communication are rendered more and more hazardous by the advance of the season of snows, which does not simultaneously affect the defenders manœuvring in lower altitudes. It has been estimated that there are between 270,000 and 300,000 men in the Austro-German armies, on the thirty-mile line between the Piave and the Asitico, who may at any moment become snowbound. Their casualties, it has been authoritatively stated, amount to half the number first named. The losses of the defending Italians have also been staggering, but they can be replaced. The replacing of the enemy casualties will depend entirely upon the weather until the end of March.

Meanwhile, over the late General Headquarters of the Italian armies at Udine float not only the Austrian and German flags, but also those of Turkey and Bulgaria.

Two Perilous Positions

Because of the constantly augmenting resistance of part of the Italian 4th Army, of the survivors of the 2d, and the reconstructed 3d along the Piave, Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf, who had been placed in command of the Austrian troops in the Trentino, began about Nov. 19 to develop the positions he had already secured between the Piave and the Brenta and the Brenta and Asiago. On the former terrain, as has already been shown, he was obstructed by the Monte Grappa Range, on the latter by the irregular heights of the so-called plateau to Sette Comuni. This development was preceded by an intense artillery fire, which extended from the Lago di Garda on the west to the Piave on the

east. Bombardments upon Monte Tondarecar and Monte Badenecche, west of the Brenta, were not, however, at first followed up by infantry attacks, but east of the Brenta, the bombardment of Monte Monfenera, Monte Pertica, and Monte Tomba, was so followed. In the western sphere, in the Meletta region, the Italians made raids inside the Austrian barrage and captured prisoners; in the eastern they were obliged to yield the lower slopes of Monte Tomba.

Both positions were extremely critical for the Italians during the last ten days of November. In both they were overmatched by the enemy in men and guns—first two to one and then five to two. Besides, as long as the enemy's line of communication was kept open—the railway and highway from Trent down the Val Sugana and the Brenta—he could receive as much reinforcement in supplies and men as his transport service could take care of and the depots at Trent and Bolzano would permit. The snowstorm of a single day, however, would render his line of communication inoperative. A continued storm might bring him disaster. Meanwhile, the Italians fought on, confident in their superior positions and hoping for an Alpine blizzard.

On Nov. 21 Berlin announced and Rome later confirmed the capture by the Austrians of the summits of Monte Fontana Secca and Monte Spinoncia, between the Piave and the Brenta. This was a tactical rather than a strategic victory. It allowed a larger concentration of men along the slopes of the mighty Grappa Range, but it led nowhere.

In the Asiago Region

On the 23d the attack shifted to the Asiago region, where the Austrians, aided by some German detachments, attempted to rush Monte Meletta and its spurs, Monte Tondarecar and Monte Badenecche, and from the west toward the front of Monte Castelvomberto-Caserta-Meletta d'Avanti, but were in all places met by the men of the First Army, and on the same day in the eastern sphere the Italian Fourth Army recaptured the slopes of Monte Tomba. From

that date until the end of the month there was a lull in the fighting. Observations then taken revealed two things—the enemy had met with tremendous losses and was bringing about a new concentration of troops for another offensive.

It came on Dec. 4 and lasted until Dec. 10, when news arrived from Rome that its violence had been broken. It secured for the enemy certain strategic positions more vital to the Italians west of the Brenta than east of it, but it brought about a loss to the enemy of over 150,000 men. In the first few days it caused the Italians to withdraw from between Monte Tondarecar and Monte Badeneche, where they had maintained a salient. But from Monte Sisemol, in the same Meletta region, the Italians had repelled attacks with great slaughter. Among these mountains, the enemy announced in a Berlin dispatch that he had captured 11,000 men and 60 guns. But from the advantage of position he had obtained between Tondarecar and Badeneche, the enemy on the 6th was in a position to attack from the rear position along Monte Castalgomberto and Meletta di Gallio. This the next day he proceeded to do, extending his attack from Castalgomberto to the Forza spur. On that day the prisoners captured during the offensive were increased to 15,000, so Berlin reported.

Results of Six Furious Days

Besides this what happened during these six days of fury is not quite clear, because certain positions beyond which the enemy had gone were still held by isolated bodies of Italians. It seems evident, however, that he had captured Gallio, proceeded down Frenzela Torrent, which flows south of that town to Valstagna, on the Brenta—but not so far as to reach the fields just northwest of Valstagna—and had captured the southern spurs of the Meletta Ridge.

On the 10th snow began to appear on the Sette Comuni, and the enemy turned his attention to the terrain east of the Brenta. Here, overlooking that river, a fierce struggle raged around the Col della Berretta, where the Austrians were aided by an enfilading fire from the

opposite bank. In the middle space, between the Brenta and the Piave, the battle raged around the Col dell' Orso, where the enemy gained a foothold. Further east the conflict blazed around Monte Spinoncia. Here several detachments of Germans aided the Austrians, who were also reinforced by the 4th Austrian Division, fresh from the Russian front. On the 14th the enemy reached Col Caprile from the slopes of Col della Berretta, at the head of the San Lorenzo Valley, and announced that the five-day operations between the Brenta and the Piave had resulted in 3,000 prisoners. On the 15th he captured the hill of Caprile, overlooking the valley which leads to a level opposite Valstagna.

The month along the Piave has been characterized by several vain attempts on the part of the Austrians to cross the river and develop the positions they had already secured at Fagare, a few miles above Zenson, and at Grisolera, south of Musile, where Italian engineers have flooded the twelve-mile triangle between the old bed of the river—the Sile—and the new. In the defense of the lower Piave the navy, assisted by British monitors, played an important part, and under the protection of monitors and destroyers the fortifications of Venice were reinforced and extended.

Capture of Jerusalem

As the preceding review went to press on Nov. 18 the announcement was slipped in that the British Egyptian army under General Allenby had occupied the port of Jaffa, thirty-one miles from Jerusalem, on the preceding day. The investment of the Holy City was already in progress and the steps which led to the event had been described in these pages. Meanwhile, every opportunity was given the Turkish troops to withdraw from the place by utilizing the Eastern Gate. This was taken advantage of, and on Saturday, Dec. 8, the gap in the encircling line was closed and the city surrendered. On the following Tuesday General Allenby, accompanied by the French, Italian, and Moslem missions, entered the gates and found the holy sites intact.

It was after the defeat of the Turkish expedition against the Suez Canal in

February, 1915, that the British Government decided that Palestine and not the canal, not even the Desert of Sinai, must be the bulwark of Egypt on the east. So Egypt changed her defensive to offensive operations, and, first under Maxwell

The Month's Naval Events

The most important naval exploit of the month occurred on the night of Dec. 9-10, when two Italian launches entered the Harbor of Trieste and torpedoed two Austrian predreadnoughts, the *Monarch* and the *Wien*. The *Wien* sank immediately, and the Italians returned without a scratch. Repeating their raiding adventure of Oct. 17, when two German destroyers sank nine merchantmen and the two British destroyers accompanying them, four German destroyers, on Dec. 12, sank a convoy of one British and five neutral merchantmen and a British destroyer and four armed trawlers which were there to protect them. Both these encounters took place in the North Sea. On the same day German destroyers sank two neutral merchant vessels and a trawler off the Tyne. In the week of Nov. 24 two American destroyers sank a German submarine by a depth charge and captured the crew. On Nov. 20 the American destroyer *Chauncey* was sunk in collision with a loss of twenty-one men, and on Dec. 6 the *Jacob Jones*, another American destroyer, was sunk by a German submarine with a loss of twenty-seven.

War has existed between the United States and Austria-Hungary since Dec. 7, thus facilitating the use of American troops in Italy, if expedient. Representatives from sixteen nations which are at war with Germany met in Paris for a three days' council on Nov. 29. On Dec. 1 the Supreme War Council of the Allies met at Versailles. The Paris Council concluded an agreement for a joint Naval Board and an Interallied General Staff for closer co-ordination, not only in regard to the fighting program, but also concerning questions of supply, economics, and finance. On Dec. 15 the formation of an American Military War Council was announced at Washington.

Two personal notes of military character have been the sending of Lieut. Gen. Sir W. R. Marshall to succeed the late Major Gen. Frederick Stanley Maude as commander of the Anglo-Indian forces in Mesopotamia, and General Sir Herbert Plumer of the Second British Army in France to command the British troops in Italy.



DIAGRAM OF JERUSALEM
(See article on page 101)

and then under the unfortunate Murray, and now under Allenby, the modern crusade was started across the desert to establish a better protection for the canal—the lifeline between Great Britain and her Indian empire. Unlike the famous crusades of the past, however, this one had in its ranks coreligionists of the Turks. For now the fellahin of Egypt and the Arabs of the new Kingdom of Hedjas have helped Jew and Gentile, after 673 years, to recover the Holy Sepulchre.

Much has been written about the conquest of German East Africa, which was proceeding by British, Belgian, and Portuguese troops. On Dec. 3 it was officially announced in London that this, the last oversea possession of Germany, had been "completely cleared of the enemy." Of all these possessions, having a total area of 1,027,820 square miles, German East Africa accounts for 384,180—175,220 square miles larger than the German Empire. Of their total population of 25,000 whites and 15,000,000 natives, German East Africa accounts for 15,000 whites and 8,000,000 natives.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From November 19 Up to and Including December 16, 1917

UNITED STATES

Nov. 19—President Wilson issued a proclamation providing for the registration and surveillance of enemy aliens and the protection of property.

Two Americans were killed in action in France, and five were wounded, on Nov. 20. Three American engineers who were working on the railways back of the British lines in France were killed in the battle of Cambrai on Nov. 30; one was wounded, and seventeen were reported missing.

Official announcement was made on Nov. 29 that National Guardsmen from every State had arrived in France.

Many imports were placed under license, and the export embargo was extended by a proclamation issued by President Wilson on Nov. 28. On Dec. 4 the War Trade Board made public its first "blacklist" of German-controlled banks and industries in South America, Cuba, and Mexico.

An agreement was signed in Paris on Dec. 5 by representatives of the United States and Switzerland providing for the shipping of food supplies to Switzerland and the maintenance of strict neutrality by Switzerland.

President Wilson addressed Congress on Dec. 4, recommending a declaration of war against Austria-Hungary. The resolution calling for war was passed by Congress and signed by the President on Dec. 7. On Dec. 12 a Presidential proclamation was issued, declaring a state of war, and outlining plans for dealing with Austro-Hungarians in the United States.

The formation of a Military War Council, to be composed of the Secretary of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, and five high ranking officers of the regular army, was announced by Secretary Baker on Dec. 15.

Colonel Edward M. House, head of the American Mission to Europe, returned to the United States on Dec. 15.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamer Schuyllkill was sunk in the Mediterranean Sea on Nov. 23. The American Consul at a Mediterranean port was ordered to ascertain whether the vessel was sunk by a German or an Austrian submarine.

Announcement was made on Nov. 24 that two American destroyers had sunk a submarine in the war zone and captured the crew.

The American steamer Actacon was sunk on Nov. 24. Two members of the armed guard were killed and two were reported missing.

The destroyer Jacob Jones was torpedoed Dec. 6 while on patrol duty in the North Atlantic. Sixty-five men were lost.

In the week ended Nov. 18, ten British vessels of over 1,600 tons were sunk; in the week ended Nov. 25, fourteen; in the week ended Dec. 1, sixteen, and in the week ended Dec. 8, fourteen.

The British steamer Apapa was sunk on Dec. 5. Eighty passengers and the crew perished.

French shipping losses averaged about four ships of over 1,600 tons weekly.

Spain announced on Dec. 10 that the Spanish steamship Claudio had been bombarded by a German submarine. Eight sailors were killed and several wounded.

In a decree made public Nov. 22 Germany established a barred zone around the Azores.

Norway lost two ships, the Strathome, which was torpedoed in the Mediterranean, and the San Croix, which was sunk in the English Channel. Five thousand Norwegian sailors have been lost since the beginning of the war.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Nov. 24—Austrians renew attacks on Italian lines in Southern Albania, between the Voyusa and Osum Rivers, but are repulsed.

Dec. 5—Fighting resumed on the entire Macedonian front from the Struma to the mouth of the Vajusa; several Bulgarian patrols captured by the French.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Nov. 20—British forces make successful attacks between St. Quentin and the Scarpe River.

Nov. 21—British under General Byng break the Hindenburg line on a thirty-two-mile front between St. Quentin and the Scarpe River, penetrate German defenses for a distance of more than six miles at the deepest point, reaching Caintaing, less than three miles from Cambrai, and capturing many villages and the first two German defense lines; French make attack on the Aisne in the Juvincourt region, taking several positions north of Craonne and Berry-au-Bac.

Nov. 22—British consolidate their positions; Germans fail in many attempts to regain lost positions, but retake Fontaine Notre

- Dame; British advance between Bullecourt and Fontaine-les-Crossille.
- Nov. 23—British renew their attack on Fontaine Notre Dame; French check counterattacks in the Juvincourt region.
- Nov. 24—British carry some high points in Bourlon Wood.
- Nov. 25—French in Verdun sector capture first and second German lines and deep dugouts between Samogneux and the region to the south of the Anglemont Farm; British battle for Bourlon Wood.
- Nov. 26—Germans, reinforced, enter Bourlon Village; French hold Verdun gains against fierce counterattacks.
- Nov. 27—British retake part of Fontaine Notre Dame and advance their Bourlon line.
- Nov. 30—Germans gain ground south of Cambrai, taking Vacquerie and Gouzeaucourt, but are driven back again; successful raids made against French positions north of Braye.
- Dec. 1—Germans break through British lines south of Villers-Guislain, and advance almost two miles, reaching Gouzeaucourt, but are repulsed in new attack on Moeuvres; French beat off attacks at Fosses Wood; American and Canadian engineers working on British railways join in battle at Gouzeaucourt; several captured, but escape; seventeen missing.
- Dec. 2—British withdraw from Masnières; General Haig advances Passchendaele line from 300 to 400 yards.
- Dec. 3—Germans launch terrific attacks south and southwest of Cambrai; British forced to draw back east of Marcoing and at Vacquerie.
- Dec. 6—British withdraw from the northern edge of Bourlon Wood; Germans occupy villages.
- Dec. 9—General von Hindenburg joins General von Ludendorff in directing operations at Cambrai; French stop German thrust in the direction of Bezonvaux, in the Verdun region.
- Dec. 11—Heavy German reinforcements arrive on the western front.
- Dec. 12—German mass attacks on the British line between Bullecourt and Quéant win 500 yards of British trenches.
- Dec. 14—Germans attack on the Ypres front and carry 300 yards of British trenches near Polygon Wood.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Nov. 19—Italians begin offensive on the Asiago Plateau and prevent new attempts at crossing the lower Piave River; Teutons take Quero, Monte Cornelle, and Monte Tomba.
- Nov. 20—Teutons driven back four times on the Monfenera Spur.
- Nov. 21—Italians repulse attacks at Monte Pertica.
- Nov. 22—Teutons capture Monte Fontana Secca and Monte Spinoncia, but are repulsed at Monte Pertica and Monte Monfenera.

- Nov. 23—Italians thwart encircling movement against Monte Meletta and repel attacks between the Brenta and Piave Rivers.
- Nov. 24—Italians hold the invaders on the Asiago, Brenta, and Piave fronts, and recapture Monte Tomba and Monte Pertica.
- Nov. 25—First Italian army takes the offensive at Meletta, capturing some machine guns.
- Nov. 26-27—Italians repulse massed attacks between the Brenta and Piave Rivers.
- Nov. 29—Austrians mass troops in the Val di Assa and Val di Galmarara.
- Dec. 2—Italians repulsed in attack on Monte Pertica.
- Dec. 4—Italians repulse infantry attacks in the Giudicaria region.
- Dec. 5-6—Teutons force Italians from strong positions between Mounts Tondarecar and Badenecche, but are checked near Meletta.
- Dec. 7—Austrians take Monte Sisemol, but fail to break through Italian line south of Gallio.
- Dec. 8—Teutons drive wedge between Mounts Tondarecar and Badenecche.
- Dec. 9—Asiago battle suspended by Teutons, who are checked at positions guarding the Franelle and Gadena Passes.
- Dec. 11—Italians repulse Teutons' attempts to retake the Agenzia and Zuliani positions in the Capo Sile region of the Lower Piave.
- Dec. 12—Austrians resume attacks in the Col della Beretta and Col dell'Orso regions; Germans storm Monte Spinoncia and defenses in the Calcina Valley.
- Dec. 15—Teutons reach Col Caprille.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

- Nov. 21—British advance five miles northwest of Jerusalem.
- Nov. 23—British capture a Turkish post at Jabir, in Arabia, fifteen miles north of Aden.
- Nov. 24—British storm the Nabi Samwil Ridge, the site of ancient Mizpah.
- Nov. 26—British capture Bitur Station and Ain Karun.
- Nov. 27—Turko-German artillery shells the mosque on the site of the tomb of the Prophet Samuel.
- Dec. 4—British make successful raid on Turkish post south of Nahr Auja.
- Dec. 7—British occupy Hebron.
- Dec. 10—British take Jerusalem.
- Dec. 12—British advance their line northwest of Jerusalem; Ghurkas carry positions as far as the mouth of the Midieh.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

Official announcement was made by the British on Dec. 1 that East Africa was entirely cleared of the enemy.

AERIAL RECORD

Venice was raided by the Austrians on Nov. 25.

Twenty-five German machines raided London on Dec. 6. Seven persons were killed, and twenty-one injured. Two machines were captured.

Announcement was made on Dec. 7 that two American aviation mechanics were wounded by bombs dropped on a French town.

British and French air fleets drop bombs in reprisal on German Rhenish industrial centres, inflicting serious damage.

NAVAL OPERATIONS

The German auxiliary cruiser *Botnia* was destroyed by German mines off the coast of the Island of Amager, on Dec. 5.

Italian torpedo craft on Dec. 9 sank the Austrian warship *Wien* in the harbor of Trieste.

RUSSIA

General Dukhonin was deposed by Nikolai Lenine on Nov. 22 for refusing to offer an armistice to the Germans, and Ensign Krylenko was appointed Commander in chief. On the same day the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, Leon Trotzky, formally notified the Allies of the armistice offer. On Nov. 25 the Cadet Party issued a declaration that no peace proposals issued by the Bolsheviks could be regarded as expressing the will of the Russian people. Ambassador Bakhmeteff repudiated the Bolshevik régime and several members of the embassy staff in Washington resigned. Kerensky resigned as Premier of the Provisional Government on Nov. 24. The Maximalist Commissioners, in a decree made public Nov. 26, abolished all class titles, distinctions, and privileges, and demanded that all corporate property be handed over to the State. The Congress of the Second Army approved all measures promulgated by the Council of National Commissioners, including the decree for an immediate armistice and peace. A conference of the leaders of all parties, including Milukoff and Tchernoff, met at army headquarters on Nov. 27 to organize a new Government. Information was received that German staff officers had arrived in Petrograd and were acting as advisers to Lenine. A temporary Soviet Parliament was agreed to on Nov. 28.

On Nov. 29, Count von Hertling, the German Chancellor, in his speech at the opening of the Reichstag, said that he was ready to enter into peace negotiations as soon as the Russian Government sent representatives having full powers to Berlin. On the same day announcement was made that the Bolsheviks carried six seats in the elections in Petrograd for the Constituent Assembly, the Cadets four, and the Social Revolutionists two. The Petrograd City Council adopted a resolution proposed by the Cadets repudiating truce negotiations. The Bolsheviks were re-

ported to have received about 40 per cent. of the entire vote. American and French military representatives protested against a separate armistice.

Trotzky issued an order on Nov. 30 that no British subjects should be permitted to leave Russia, pending the settlement of the cases of Chicherin and Petroff, two Russians alleged to be held in England because of their political convictions.

On Dec. 1 the Bolsheviks outlawed all their military opponents, imprisoned Count Kapnist, Chief of the Naval Staff, and declared General Dukhonin a public enemy. Trotzky dismissed Meklakoff, the Minister to France, because of his participation in the Interallied Conference. He later dismissed the Russian Legation and Consulates abroad which refused to recognize the Bolshevik Government.

General Dukhonin was killed by being thrown from a train on Dec. 5 after the Bolshevik forces had captured his headquarters at Mohilev. General Korniloff escaped before the arrival of the Bolshevik forces.

An official communication of the Bolshevik Government, issued Dec. 5, announced that a preliminary ten-day armistice had been agreed to. In spite of the opposition of Ukraina and the Caucasus, the armistice went into effect on Dec. 8, after Trotzky had sent a note to the allied embassies and legations in Petrograd, giving their Governments a week in which to accept or reject the plan. On Dec. 10 the Rumanians were forced by the Russians to sign an armistice. The formal armistice agreement between the Bolshevik Government and the Teutonic allies was signed at Brest-Litovsk on Dec. 15 to continue until Jan. 14, 1918.

Several provinces seceded from Russia and established separate Governments. The Ukrainian Rada proclaimed a republic on Nov. 20. Kuban and Siberia were reported to have established republics on Dec. 4. The provisional Government of Siberia stopped all food supplies to European Russia, and a temporary Government was established with Kerensky as Minister of Justice. Finland proclaimed her independence on Dec. 7.

The Bolshevik Government published the text of alleged secret agreements made by the Entente Allies concerning territorial aims and peace terms.

On Dec. 9 Generals Kaledine and Korniloff headed a revolt of the Cossacks, Imperialists and Constitutional Democrats in the Ural and Don regions against the Bolshevik rule. Kaledine was reported arrested on Dec. 15, and the cities of Rostov, Nakhitchevan, and Taganrog were reported in the hands of the Bolshevik troops.

The Constituent Assembly attempted to meet at Petrograd on Dec. 11, but the few

GENERAL SIR EDMUND ALLENBY



Commander of the British Expedition Advancing in Palestine.

(© Underwood & Underwood.)

GENERAL CONRAD VON HOETZENDORFF



Chief of Staff of the Austro-Hungarian Army.

delegates who appeared were threatened or arrested by the Bolsheviks. The Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, at a meeting held Dec. 16, approved a decree declaring the Constitutional Democrats enemies of the people. The Peasants' Congress, denouncing the arrest of members of the Constituent Assembly, called upon the army and navy to defend the delegates.

MISCELLANEOUS

Austria and Germany closed the last Swiss frontiers on Nov. 27.

The Scandinavian monarchs, at a conference held in the week ended Nov. 29, agreed to maintain neutrality and to aid one another economically as long as the war lasted.

The British House of Commons on Nov. 21 voted to disfranchise conscientious objectors. Lord Rothermere accepted the post of Air Minister. General Sir Herbert Plumer was appointed commander of the

British forces in Italy and Lieut. Gen. Sir W. R. Marshall was placed in command of the forces in Mesopotamia, to succeed General Maude.

The German Reichstag passed a war credit of 15,000,000,000 marks on Dec. 1. An electoral reform bill, approved by the Kaiser, was introduced in the Lower House of the Prussian Diet on Dec. 7, and subsequently referred to a committee to report in January.

Ecuador severed diplomatic relations with Germany on Dec. 8.

The Cuban House of Representatives passed a resolution on Dec. 12 calling for a declaration of war on Austria-Hungary.

A meeting of the Supreme War Council of the Allies was held in Versailles on Dec. 1.

The Interallied Conference was in session in Paris from Nov. 29 to Dec. 3.

A meeting of the Board on Finances and War Purchases was held in London Dec. 13, and Oscar T. Crosby was elected President.

The Titanic Battles for Cambrai

Story of British Drive, Led by Hundreds of "Tanks,"
That Broke Hindenburg Line—Partial German Recovery

By Philip Gibbs

The most sensational and sanguinary battles in France in 1917 were fought by the British and the Germans between Nov. 20 and Dec. 12 for possession of the important city of Cambrai. In the initial offensive Field Marshal Haig's forces under the command of General Sir Julian Byng made their attack on a thirty-two-mile front between St. Quentin and the Scarpe River, penetrating the Hindenburg line to a depth of five miles and recovering nearly 140 square miles of French territory. The attack was irresistible, being led by several hundred "tanks," and for a while the fall of Cambrai, a pivotal German supply centre, seemed imminent. The Germans a few days later massed many thousands of fresh troops from the eastern front and began a stubborn counterattack, which regained fully one-third of the lost ground and saved Cambrai for them. The British took about 9,000 prisoners, the Germans in their counterattacks about 6,000. The battle was continuous for nearly twenty days and is regarded as one of the most sanguinary fought in the entire war. The descriptions here presented are in the main from cable letters by Philip Gibbs.

[See Map on Page 21]

THE enemy yesterday (Nov. 20, 1917) had, I am sure, the surprise of his life on the western front, where without any warning by ordinary preparations that are made before a battle, without any sign of strength in men and guns behind the British front, without a single shot fired before the attack, and with his great

belts of hideously strong wire still intact, the British troops suddenly assaulted him at dawn, led forward by great numbers of tanks, smashed through his wire, passed beyond to his trenches, and penetrated in many places the main Hindenburg line and the Hindenburg support line beyond.

To my mind it is the most sensational

and dramatic episode of this year's fighting, brilliantly imagined and carried through with the greatest secrecy. Not a whisper of it had reached men like myself, who are always up and down the lines, and since the secret of the tanks themselves, which suddenly made their appearance on the Somme last year, this is, I believe, the best-kept secret of the war. How could the enemy guess, in his wildest nightmare, that a blow would be struck quite suddenly at that Hindenburg line of his—enormously strong in redoubts, tunnels, and trenches—and without any artillery preparation or any sign of gun power behind the British front?

The enemy had withdrawn many of his guns from this "quiet" sector, and he did not know that during recent nights great numbers of tanks had been crawling along the roads toward Havrincourt and the British lines below Flesquieres Ridge, hiding by day in the copses of this wooded and rolling country beyond Péronne and Bapaume. Indeed, he knew little of all that was going on before him under the cover of darkness.

Most of the prisoners say that the first thing they knew of the attack was when, out of the mist, they saw the tanks advancing upon them, smashing down their wire, crawling over their trenches and nosing forward with gunfire and machine-gun fire slashing from their sides.

The Germans were aghast and dazed. Many hid down in their dugouts and tunnels, and then surrendered. Only the steadiest and bravest of them rushed to the machine guns and got them into action and used their rifles to snipe the British.

British Rushed on Cheering

Out of the silence which had prevailed behind the British lines a great fire of guns came upon the Germans. They knew they had been caught by an amazing stratagem, and they were full of terror. Behind the tanks, coming forward in platoons, the infantry swarmed, cheering and shouting, trudging through the thistles, while the tanks made a scythe of machine-gun fire in front of them, and thousands of shells went screaming over the Hindenburg lines.

The German artillery made but a feeble answer. Their gun positions were being smothered by the fire of all the British batteries. There were not many German batteries, and the enemy's infantry could get no great help from them. They were caught, German officers knew they had been caught, like rats in a trap. It was their black day.

I think all the British felt the drama of this adventure and had the thrill of it, a thrill which I had believed had departed out of war because of the ferocity of shellfire and the staleness of war's mechanism and formula of attack.

Cavalry in Action

A mass of cavalry was brought up and hidden very close to the enemy's lines, ready to make a sweeping drive should the Hindenburg line be pierced by the advance of the tanks over the great belts of barbed wire and the deep, wide trenches of the strongest lines on the western front.

Yesterday I saw the cavalry in all this country waiting for their orders to saddle up and get their first great chance. I was astounded to see them there and was stirred by a great thrill of excitement, not without some tragic foreboding, because after seeing much of the war on this front and coming straight from Flanders with its terrifying artillery and frightful barrages it seemed to me incredible that after all cavalry should ride out into the open and round up the enemy. I had seen the Hindenburg line up by Bullecourt and Queant and knew the strength of it and the depth of the barbed wire belts that surround it.

The cavalry were in the highest spirits and full of tense expectation. Young cavalry officers galloped past smiling, and called out a cheery "Good morning," like men who have good sport ahead. In the folds of land toward the German lines there were thousands of cavalry horses, massed in parks, with their horse artillery limbered up, and ready for their ride.

This morning, very early, in the steady rain and wet mist, I saw squadrons of them going into action, and it was the most stirring sight I had seen for many

a long day in this war, one which I sometimes thought I should never live to see. They rode past me as I walked along the road through our newly captured ground and across the Hindenburg line. They streamed by at a quick trot and the noise of the horses' hoofs was a strange, rushing sound.

Rain slashed down upon their steel hats, their capes were glistening, and mud was flung up to the horses' flanks, as in long columns they went up and down the rolling country and cantered up the steep track, making a wide curve around two great mine craters in roads which the enemy had blown up in his retreat. It was a wonderful picture to see and remember.

Other squadrons of cavalry had already gone ahead and had been fighting in the open country since midday yesterday after crossing the bridges at Masnières and Marcoing, which the enemy did not have time to destroy. They had done well. One squadron rode down a battery of German guns, and a patrol had ridden into Flesquières village when the Germans were still there. Still other bodies of cavalry had swept around German machine-gun emplacements and German villages and drawn many prisoners into their net.

Tanks Do Their "Damndest"

The drama was far beyond the most fantastic imagination. This attack on the Hindenburg lines before Cambrai has never been approached on the western front, and the first act began when the tanks moved forward before dawn toward the long, wide belts of wire, which they had to destroy before the rest could follow.

These squadrons of tanks were led into action by the General commanding their corps, who carried his flag on his own tank—a most gallant man, full of enthusiasm for his monsters and their brave crews, and determined that this day should be theirs. To every officer and man of the tanks he sent this Order of the Day before the battle:

"The Tank Corps expects that every tank this day will do its damndest."

They did. As the pilot of one of them told me, they "played merry hell." They

moved forward in small groups, several hundreds of them, rolled down the German wire, trampled down its lines, and then crossed the deep gulf of the Hindenburg main line, pitching their noses downward as they drew their long bodies over the parapets, rearing up again with their long forward reach of body, and heaving themselves on to the ground beyond.

The German troops knew nothing of the fate that awaited them until out of the gloom of dawn they saw these great numbers of gray inhuman creatures bearing down upon them. A German officer whom I saw today, one out of thousands of prisoners who have been taken, described his own sensations. At first he could not believe his eyes. He seemed in some horrible nightmare and thought he had gone mad. After that from his dugout he watched all the tanks trampling about, crunching down the wire, heaving themselves across his trenches and searching about for machine-gun emplacements, while his men ran about in terror, trying to avoid the bursts of fire and crying out in surrender.

Some of the German troops kept their nerve and served their machine guns, firing between the tanks at British infantry, but the tanks dealt with them and silenced them. Some of the German snipers fired at the British at a few yards and the infantry dealt with them masterfully. But, for the most part, the enemy broke as soon as the tanks were on them and fled or surrendered.

A few of the tanks had bad luck, and I saw these cripples this morning where they were overturned by shellfire or had become bogged. Elsewhere I saw one or two which had buried their noses deep into the soft earth and lay overturned or lay head downward over deep banks down which they had tried to crawl. But the tank casualties were light, and large numbers of them went ahead and fought all day up Flesquières Ridge and round the château of Havrincourt, where the enemy held out for some time, and across the bridges of Marcoing and Masnières and up to the neighborhood of Noyelles and Graincourt and beyond Ribecourt.

Strange Tank Adventures

Standing on the battlefield, I heard from a young pilot a tale of his adventure in this battle, and all through his tale ran one refrain—it was his need of sleep. He spoke the word "sleep" as if it were some spell word, holding all the beauty of life. For nine days and nights before the surprise at dawn he had been working to get his engine right, to get his guns right, to fix things up, as he said, speaking with a grim, worn look at the box of tricks by his side. Half an hour before he went over he was seen by the enemy in Havrincourt Château away on a hill in front of him by the white glare of the Verey lights. He had tried to stop every time the light went up, but they saw his movement and instantly a field gun opened on him. Its shooting was marvelous, and I saw how near the shells had fallen to the track of that tank. The young pilot was sitting outside his tank with his Sergeant, but presently he said: "I guess we'll get inside. This is getting too hot."

As they advanced to battle the pilot and Sergeant and one other man were the only ones awake. All the rest were fast asleep—dead and drugged by sleep after their long ordeal.

That seems to me the queerest thing I have heard in this battle—that and the experience of a tank which was hit twice by direct hits. The first shell burst inside the tank after passing between the arm and body of the pilot, and by an amazing chance did not wound a soul. Another shell came inside and again no one was hit.

Later the officers and crew got out to deal with their tank, which had become stuck between two banks up by Havrincourt Village, while the enemy was still fighting there. Machine-gun bullets whipped round them like a swarm of wasps, but only one man was hit and he was only slightly touched.

"It was a million to one chance each time," said the pilot, "a miracle which you can't count on again."

Heroism of the Ulster Men

The attack of the Ulster battalions on the first two days of the battle was a hard and grim episode of the general

action, and ground was gained only by the most persistent endeavors and courage.

These men, newly down from the battles of Flanders, where they had terrible and tragic fighting, were determined to go far in this new field, and their spirit was high.

They had no tanks to cut the wire in front of them, as those machines were concentrated in large numbers on the right wing of the attack. The Ulstermen had the Hindenburg trenches before them, wide belts of wire, and beyond the trenches the deep ditch of the Canal du Nord, a most formidable series of defenses. They had to break down the wire in front of them by bomb explosions and under heavy machine-gun fire from the trenches and the further side of the canal bank, where the Germans were in concrete blockhouses and strong emplacements.

At first they broke their way through all obstacles in spite of being hung up by wire here and there and the harassing fire of snipers, and they cleared the trenches of the men who were demoralized by the surprise and suddenness of the attack.

Later some of the Ulstermen came up against a high "spoil" bank or waste heap, sixty feet high from the canal bank, and defended from tunneled dugouts underneath it. About 8:30 in the morning they captured the spoil heap and a crowd of prisoners in the dugouts, and then tried to get astride the Cambrai Road and to cross the canal.

A gallant little body of Belfast men, all from shipbuilding works on Queens Island, worked for hours under fire to build a bridge across and repair the destroyed causeway so that the infantry could pass. It was done before dusk, and the Ulstermen seized the way across the Cambrai Road, but could not cross the canal or get forward very far owing to the fierce machine-gun fire that swept down upon them from the east side of the canal, where the enemy was holding Moeuvres and Graincourt.

As the British troops advanced and the various villages were captured, the French civilians who had for three years been under German domination were re-

leased. The scenes at the liberation of these people are thus described by Mr. Gibbs in a cable letter written on Nov. 22:

The people I saw today (gathered together in a ruined village, in the heart of all these new scenes of war, with the tide of cavalry streaming up the roads, with tanks crawling on the hillsides and guns firing across the open fields, and new batches of German prisoners tramping down under escort, haggard and dazed by the swift turn of fortune's wheel, which had flung them into British hands when they seemed so safe behind their great lines) were all from Masnières near Marcoing, where 450 of them had awaited the coming of the English in feverish excitement since they heard the approach of the advance guards.

They were pitiful groups of men, women, and children—pitiful because of their helplessness in this corner of war among the guns. Some of the women had babies with them in perambulators and wooden boxes on wheels, into which also they had tucked a few things from their abandoned homes. Some of them were young women neatly dressed, but all plastered with mud after the tramp across the battlefields and woefully bedraggled. Some of the little girls had brought their dogs with them, and one child had a bird in a cage.

There were sturdy peasants among them and old folk with wrinkled faces and frightened eyes because of this strange adventure in their old age, and young men of military age who had not been taken away like most of their comrades for forced labor because their work was useful to the enemy in their own district. This was the case of a good-looking young barber to whom I talked, who had shaved the German officers and men for three years in Masnières.

These people looked woebegone as they waited in the ruins for the English lorries to take them away to safety, but in their hearts there was great joy, as I found when I talked to them, because they were on the British side of the lines and out of reach of the enemy, whom they hate bitterly because of the discipline put upon them and

their servitude, and most of all and all in all because he is the enemy of their country and the destroyer of their land and blood.

They told me that after the coming of the Germans in the early days of the war, when the Uhlans entered Masnières and fought with French and English cavalry at Crevecourt, where our cavalry was again fighting yesterday, they had no liberty and no property. The Germans requisitioned everything. They took their pigs and their poultry and their grain and their wine. If a peasant hid a hen he was heavily fined or put in prison; if he was discovered with a bottle of wine he was fined 10 francs or put in prison.

Kept Alive by American Food

In Masnières there were some fine houses like that of M. Millais, a manufacturer, full of good furniture and pictures. They were all stripped and left bare. The very floors were taken up. In all the little houses there was search made for any bit of lead piping, for any bit of brass or metal.

The civil population were fed almost entirely by the American Relief Committee, and after the entry of America into the war by the Spanish-Dutch Committee, which carried on the work. "Without that," they told me, "we should have starved."

The men were all put to work for the enemy in fields or in workshops and the women made to sweep roads, wash the dirty linen of the German soldiers, and to clean out the rooms, which were filled and refilled with the vermin of the trenches. The commandants of the village were generally young Lieutenants, very supercilious and very strict, but on the other hand not brutal or unjust. They were hard with the French people, as they were hard with their men.

The Mayor of Masnières, with whom I spoke today, said that there was no shadow of doubt that the German people are suffering severe privations from real hunger—so much that the officers often address the men on parade and in their lecture rooms and tell them that the soldiers must stand firm because they

are suffering less than the people at home. Other men told me the same thing today.

Hid in Cellar Three Years

The first news that came to these people of the change that was upon them was when they heard the firing of the British guns on Tuesday morning and later the sound of rifle shots and machine-gun fire. * * * The French civilians were very much frightened, and took refuge in their cellars, but they were buoyed up with a great hope that their liberation was at hand. Then they rushed out to greet their liberators, weeping with joy.

One man who has now come to the British side of the line is a man of thirty-eight or so, but with the look of one of 60, and with a strange, waxen color like that of death. He has a strange history. For all these three years and more since the beginning of the war he lived in hiding in the cellar of his own house, where German officers were billeted. He was fed by his wife out of extra rations given to the baby born during the war. The house was searched once a week, according to rule, and both husband and wife would have been punished by death if the man had been discovered, but he was never found. By queer chance, the morning that the English came to Masnières was the day on which the house was to be searched again. The man, who is now free, has wept ever since his liberation from that dark cellar in the town.

Where the Battle Was Fought

Mr. Gibbs gave this graphic and interesting description of the battlefield in a cable letter dated Nov. 25:

The way up to Havrincourt Village, on the ridge to the west of Flesquières, (by a stone cross, five centuries old, dedicated to St. Hubert, the patron saint of huntsmen before the tanks went a-hunting on a fine November morning,) was littered with things the Germans had left behind—field-gray overcoats, shrapnel helmets, innumerable pairs of boots, goatskin pouches, rifles, bayonets, bandoliers, tunics, gas masks. It was as if great numbers of men had thrown everything away from them in a moment

of great terror and had fled naked from their fear.

I went out into the open country. Outstretched before me was the whole panorama of this battle. I went up to the edge of it as close as one could go without getting into the furnace fires. All around me were the swirl and turmoil of the battlefield. Everywhere tanks were crawling over the ground, some of them moving forward into action, some of them out of action, mortally wounded, some of them like battle cruisers of the land going forward in reconnoissance.

Less than 2,000 yards away from us was a town on fire. It was Graincourt, and the enemy was "knocking hell out of it," in revenge for its capture. It had been my intention to go there, but I stopped short of it and was glad I had gone no further.

Shell after shell burst among its roofs and walls without ceasing for several hours. Red brick cottages went up in clouds of rosy smoke with flames in the heart of it. The enemy's shells burst in Graincourt with so many colors—green, purple, orange, rose, and pink—that it was a wonderful poem in color, but as tragic as the death that was there.

The German Surprise Attack

The Germans retaliated on Nov. 30 by delivering two flank and a centre attack southwest of Cambrai on a wide front and succeeded in surprising one weaker section of the British line, where 4,000 men were captured, with some territory, compelling the British a few days later to withdraw from about one-third of the advance they had previously made. This bloody attack is described as follows:

The assault began at about 8:40 o'clock. The enemy went over the ridge between these Moeuvres and Bourlon woods in dense masses. As they swept down the slope toward the Bapaume-Cambrai road they came under the fire of the British artillery. The British gunners had so many targets that they hardly knew where to begin shooting, but immediately poured a veritable deluge of shells into the advancing German ranks. British machine guns and rifles

also took part in the sanguinary business.

The Germans fell by scores as they advanced over the ridge in close formation, but they kept coming on. British infantrymen were thrown into the battle line for a counterattack, and hot fighting ensued. The Germans succeeded in penetrating to the vicinity of the Bapaume-Cambrai highway northwest of Graincourt, but this was as far as they were able to get.

Notwithstanding their terrible losses, the Germans continued to rush over the ridge in waves all day and always with the same result—they came under an intense fire and were mown down in great numbers. Late in the day British counterattacks succeeded in pushing the enemy back to virtually the same line that they had left.

Further to the south the Germans broke through the British front south of Villers-Guislain, and, by executing a turning movement to the north, succeeded in enveloping Gauche Wood, Gouzeaucourt, Gonnellieu, and La Vacquerie.

The Battle at Masnières

The Germans followed their advantage by continuing their attacks on Dec. 1 with fresh fury. The correspondent describes the battle for the village of Masnières as follows:

Nine separate counterattacks launched against Masnières by strong German forces yesterday were all repulsed after most sanguinary fighting, although the British pulled their line back somewhat to lessen the sharp salient there. An intense battle raged all day, and it is stated that the British killed more Germans between daylight and dark than in any similar period since the war began. It was practically a continuous fight from the start of the first counter-attack.

The enemy infantry kept surging forward in waves, and as each came up it was caught by the fire from the artillery, rifles, and machine guns. The attacking forces were mowed down like wheat before the wind, but with characteristic Prussian discipline they con-

tinued to fill their ranks and advance until after the ninth assault had failed.

During the afternoon the Germans succeeded in capturing Les Rues Vertes, a suburb south of Masnières, but a British counterattack pushed the enemy out again.

The British had to encounter ten German attacks in great force, advancing into the suburbs of Les Rues Vertes under the protection of a frightful bombardment. They repulsed these attacks ten times with machine-gun and rifle fire, until the enemy officers sent back word that their position in this suburb was untenable and they had to retreat from the annihilating fire. But by this time Masnières was at the end of a sharp salient, formed by the enemy's gain of the ridge below, and during the night, according to orders, the British withdrew unknown to the Germans, who were busy with their dead and wounded. Even on Sunday morning the Germans did not know that not a single English soldier remained in Masnières, and they bombarded it anew before sending forward more storm troops in the afternoon, when they discovered its abandonment.

The Germans continued their battle on the 2d and 3d, employing great forces. They approached La Vacquerie from the east and southeast, and at the outset it appeared that the attack was comparatively local. In their first charge the enemy came up against a stone wall and they were forced to fall back. They kept coming in waves, however. They finally won a footing in the town, but immediately were ejected. Intense fighting at close quarters followed.

British Lose Bournon Wood

In the early dawn on Dec. 4 the British withdrew from the Bournon salient to a depth varying from a half to two and a half miles. The readjustment of the lines was effected without any losses to the British and left them in possession of about two-thirds of the territory originally captured. Fierce artillery exchanges between the two fronts continued day and night from the 6th to the 12th, and there were indications that the Germans were massing immense forces for another great offensive.

Official History of the "Tanks"

Story of Evolution of the Armored Motor Cars That Broke the Hindenburg Line

The great part played by several hundred "tanks" in the British drive at Cambrai has confirmed the military value of these new engines of war. The subjoined narrative by an officer of the General Staff tells how these land dreadnoughts were developed by the British Government and how the crews were trained in secret before the debut of the "tanks" at the battle of the Somme:

THE Machine Gun Corps of the British Army as constituted in October, 1915, was divided into an infantry, a cavalry, and a motor branch. Six months later a new section was formed at Bisley. The men for this new section were taken from the pick of the Derby recruits; for the junior officers two Colonels went on a voyage of discovery to cadet battalions and other units and selected promising young men with a knowledge of internal combustion engines who had given proofs of an adventurous spirit and of ability to make men move. For some time the object of the new unit remained a mystery even to those drafted into it, except so far as the qualifications required of the officers afforded an inkling.

The name given to the new organization—the Heavy Armored Section of the Motor Machine Gun Service—only deepened the mystery, as there were no signs of cars, armored or unarmored, and the only training given to the men was foot drill and machine-gun practice. However, after some time spent in these occupations, the Colonel in command addressed the company commanders and some other officers on parade, and after commending the spirit they had hitherto shown, bade them be of good heart, as a wonderful new car, which would astonish them all, was shortly to be issued to them for service in the field.

At last it was announced that the new car was ready. But it was not brought to the camp near Aldershot, where the section was stationed—that was far too much in the public eye. A site had been chosen in a more remote part of the country; there a camp was pitched, care-

fully screened from inquisitive passers-by; it was surrounded by fences and guarded by sentries posted at intervals of 100 yards, with orders to admit no one who was not furnished with a special pass. Companies of the Armored Car Section, as soon as their preliminary training was completed, were successively drafted to this camp to become familiarized with their weapon of destruction.

Monster Weighing Forty Tons

The new armored car concealed in this lair certainly had all the promised elements of surprise. At first sight it appeared little more than a huge, shapeless bulk of metal. It was said to weigh some forty tons, was armor plated all over, with tiny spyholes at intervals, from some of which peeped out murderous-looking gun muzzles, and had no visible means of progression except two small motor wheels attached like a tail behind. The wheels behind were found to act only as a rudder to direct its course, the propulsive force coming from some internal and invisible wheels that traveled over long endless metal tracks, extending in an elliptical shape from the snout to the rump and moving forward as the creature advanced. The pace at which this strange object moved was slow—barely three miles an hour. The first company of the Heavy Armored Car Section were delighted with the spectacle of the creature intrusted to their care, and promptly adopted the name "Big Willie," with which their new pet had previously been christened. The two next of the same breed to come in were called "Little Willie" and "Mother."

In the Autumn of 1914, when the opponents had settled down to trench war-

fare, it became obvious that some means of parrying the danger of well-directed and well-protected machine-gun fire from the German trenches must be discovered if our infantry were to carry out assaults with success. The idea of a self-propelled armored car which could move unscathed over unprotected ground, could crush down wire entanglements, and carry guns with crews to work them occurred to several people both in the army and the navy. Such an engine, recalling the *turris mobilis* of Livy and the beffroi of the Middle Ages, would not only be able to tackle troublesome machine guns in the German trenches, but would also help to clear a way through barbed wire obstacles for the infantry.

Suggested by American Tractor

Even before this war the development of the caterpillar tractor had suggested to a few far-sighted people the possibility of evolving from this invention a machine capable of offensive use over rough country in close warfare.

Among the earliest of the more practical suggestions was one by Colonel Swinton, the first commanding officer of the "Heavy Section," in October, 1914, to build armored cars on the Holt tractor system, an American invention, or on a similar caterpillar principle, to smash through wire entanglements and climb trenches. This idea was subsequently referred to the Committee of Imperial Defense and the War Office, and experiments with various tractors were made on behalf of the War Office for some time without practical result. In the meantime, a similar idea had occurred to officers in the Royal Naval Air Service, and Mr. Churchill, then First Lord, took it up warmly.

When in June, 1915, the Commander in Chief in France sent in a memorandum urging an exhaustive examination of the question, two State departments chiefly concerned had the matter well in hand. Moreover, the Ministry of Munitions, which had recently been established, was also considering the matter. Through the medium of the Committee of Imperial Defense the various efforts for the solution of the problem were co-ordinated,

and a committee, of which Mr. Churchill was a member, was appointed to decide on the distribution of the work.

According to the recommendation of this committee, the War Office laid down the conditions which had to be fulfilled by the car. It should be able to climb a five-foot parapet and cross a ten-foot ditch; in weight and width it had to conform to the measurements of standard War Office bridges and to railway transportation requirements, and it must not be too high, for reasons of visibility to the enemy; it must be protected against close-range rifle and machine-gun fire, and must be able to destroy machine-gun emplacements. It was agreed, however, that the first experimental work should be left in the hands of the Admiralty Committee.

A Year Spent in Experiments

A year was spent by the Admiralty Committee in researches and experiments before a satisfactory machine was designed and constructed. Finally, from among the numerous types of tractors inspected the most satisfactory was found to be a caterpillar tractor with an endless self-laid track, over which internal driving wheels could be propelled by the engines.

The construction of these new engines of warfare was still necessarily a slow business. Improvements were continually being adopted, which necessitated changes in the original designs, and men had to be specially trained in the factories for the work required. It was not, therefore, as we have seen, till about July, 1916, that the first consignment arrived at the secret manoeuvre ground to meet the personnel which was to use them.

The new machines, as delivered at the secret camp, were found to be of two slightly different designs. One, called the male, was armed with two Hotchkiss quick-fire guns, with a subsidiary armament of some machine guns. These were especially designed for dealing at close quarters with the concrete emplacements for the German machine guns. The other type, called the female, was armed only with machine guns, and was more suitable for dealing with machine-gun per-

sonnel and riflemen than with the emplacements.

The members of the Heavy Section of the Machine Gun Corps after arriving at their camp had a good deal of work in front of them before they could hope to take their tanks on active service. They had to learn how to drive and steer them, to repair them, and to fire off their guns when boxed up within their narrow compass; they even had to learn how to live at all inside them.

Hardships Suffered by Crews

Imagine a narrow cabin some nine or ten feet wide, thirteen feet long, and four feet high, into which had to be crammed an engine of over 100 horse power, two guns, and three or four machine guns, provisions for three days, ammunition and equipment, besides a crew of several men. The noise made by the engine made it impossible to hear an order, consequently every communication had to be made by signs; the armor plating was so effective that one could only see for steering or for aiming the guns through the narrowest chinks; the motion, too, of the tank over rough ground was not unlike that of a ship in a heavy sea, and this motion, combined with the smell of oil, the close atmosphere, the heat and the noise, was at first apt to induce the same symptoms as sometimes afflict those uninjured to sea voyages.

In spite of all these difficulties, so great was the zeal displayed that at the end of July, 1916, it was possible to hold two exhibition combats with tanks over the trench system prepared, one before General Staff officers, the other before the King. These exhibitions showed that the tanks answered the purposes for which they had been designed, and orders were given for them to be made ready for France. At the end of August fifty tanks were loaded at night on the railway at the camp's private siding and sent off to France with all due precaution for secrecy. They were landed at Havre on Aug. 29, and went up to the front, some by road, others by railway.

The tanks sent over were painted all over, for the purpose of concealment, with weird colors, which added to their grotesque appearance. They were also given

fancy names by the men, sometimes illustrated by rough heraldic emblems on the body. Among the names given were His Majesty's Landships Cyclops, Chaos, Café au Lait, Champagne, Cordon Rouge, Chartreuse, Chablis, Cognac, Curaçoa, and Crème de Menthe. There was an H. M. L. S. Dreadnought, a Daredevil, and a Deadwood Dick.

First Tanks in Battle

When the tanks arrived at the front they were naturally objects of wonder to all who were privileged to see them. Detachments of tanks were assigned to the army commander then engaged in the continuation of the Somme offensive. On Sept. 15 they were let loose for the test of battle.

The new offensive, which began on Sept. 15, was a continuation of the great battle of the Somme that had started in the previous July. The object of this offensive was to drive the Germans out of high ground running east and south of Thiepval, from which they could enfilade our newly gained positions. The Germans were strongly intrenched, and had hundreds of gigantic wasps' nests scattered about in the shape of strong concrete emplacements for machine guns. Bitter experience had taught our Generals that a successful advance under cover of our artillery barrage into the first-line trenches was too often doomed to be hung up by the concerted fire from these wasps' nests, which could not be reached by our infantry. The chief business of the tanks was to help our infantry by destroying these nests.

Sept. 15 was a misty morning and comparatively few of our troops saw the long line of tanks which the night before had been comfortably parked in a secluded valley, deploying into battle position. But when the mists rose and the tanks appeared to friend and foe in all their grotesque uncouthness, the effect was as exhilarating to us as it was dumfounding to the Germans.

When the Germans had recovered their senses sufficiently they directed all the available rifle and machine-gun fire upon them. But the tanks did not mind. A war correspondent, describing the ad-

ventures of Crème de Menthe on the way to Courcellette, narrates that:

"The bullets fell from its sides harmlessly. It advanced upon a broken wall, leaned up against it heavily until it fell with a crash of bricks, and then rose on to the bricks and passed over them, and walked straight into the midst of factory ruins."

Exploits of the Monsters

One tank in another part of the field was in action for twenty consecutive hours. Another, getting well ahead of the infantry, on finding itself alone, turned back to see what had become of its human companions. They were found to be held up by a machine-gun emplacement full of Germans, so the tank obligingly sat on the emplacement, shot down the Germans, and led the men on to further victories.

It must not, however, be imagined that the proceedings of the tanks were quite as amusing to those inside as they appeared to the British infantry, who had barbed wire leveled for them and machine-gun emplacements crushed as they advanced. The cramped quarters, the head-splitting noise, and the difficulty of ascertaining what was going on outside made the lives of the tank crew anything but agreeable in battle. Their periscopes were apt to be shot away; the steering gear, never easy, became almost impossible. The mere manual labor of moving the levers of the engines and turning apparatus was enormous, especially in these early machines. The crew had difficulty in communicating with the outside world, and had to rely chiefly on two carrier pigeons taken with them on the voyage; as for communication with them by the outside world, this was even harder. The tank, indeed, proved to be an admirable protection against ordinary rifle bullets.

Even when the tanks themselves were knocked out, this was not necessarily fatal to the crews, who often managed to escape, and the casualties were small in proportion to the number of tanks put out of action. Those who inaugurated tank attacks in this first battle deserve all the credit they can receive.

Tanks Used at Gaza

Once having proved their value, the tanks came to stay. Later in the year tanks were sent out to Egypt and were in action at Gaza. In November they were used again in France. Meanwhile, more and more tanks were being constructed and an increasing personnel to form the crews and the repair sections was being trained in England. After the first success in France the growing importance of the organization was emphasized by a change of title from "Heavy Section" to "Heavy Branch of the Machine Gun Corps." Finally, in July, 1917, the growing size and importance of the tanks organization justified the Army Council in entirely separating it from the Machine Gun Corps and establishing it as a special Tank Corps by itself under a Director General.

Enemy's Countermeasures

In France the tanks have been in action in successively increasing numbers at each attack delivered on a large scale. At Arras in April, at Messines in June, and at the third battle of Ypres in August they have continued their valuable work. It could not be expected that a vigilant enemy like the Germans would not contrive countermeasures. They have established special observers and airplanes to watch for tanks and signal their appearance, and guns, both in the rear and in the trenches, to deal with them. Armor-piercing bullets are served out to their riflemen and machine gunners for use at close quarters, and elaborately concealed tank traps are prepared to engulf the monsters.

It is hardly possible yet to allocate all the credit for the hard and persistent work carried out by the pioneers of this corps. But even if they cannot yet be named, they have the satisfaction of having helped to save the lives of hundreds of brave men, and perhaps to have brought nearer the final victory. It has been truly said that we were first this time in inventing a new engine of war, an engine at once effective and at the same time, unlike so many of the German inventions, transgressing none of the hitherto accepted conventions of war.

Epic Battles in the Alps

Italians in a Month's Fierce Fighting Hold the Invaders on the Piave and Asiago Fronts

THE world watched with breathless interest the struggle of Italy to stop the Austro-German invasion at the line of the Piave, where last month's story left the invaders within less than a score of miles of Venice. The intervening weeks brought desperate fighting all along the Piave line, especially in the northern reaches among the Alps and around Asiago; but with slight exceptions the Italians held fast and the Austrians suffered heavy losses in vain.

To take up the narrative where it stopped a month ago: The effects of the sanguinary fighting along the lower Piave, where the Italian Third Army, under the Duke of Aosta, had checked the invaders, were described on Nov. 19, 1917, by an Associated Press correspondent, who had made a tour of thirty miles along the battle front, visiting Zenson, Fagare, and the Sega Mill.

"Everywhere," he wrote, "the enemy had been thrown back, except at the brink of the river at Zenson, where a few men were huddled in the bushes, unable to go backward or forward, and were being slowly cut to pieces. At Fagare, Follina, and the Sega Mill the rout of the enemy was complete, having been accomplished in fearful hand-to-hand fighting on Nov. 16 and 17. * * *

"On the cemetery road, where the Austrians advanced and set up their line of quick-firers, a fearful scene was spread before the party. The road was littered as though a tornado had passed by. Dead horses lay all about in contorted shapes. The highway was strewn with enemy helmets, blood-stained clothing, cartridge belts, and all kinds of accoutrements. The trees on either side were cut in two, and the lines of bushes were leveled like grain before a storm.

"Just ahead on the road was Sega Mill, where the bloodiest fighting was centred. The mill wheel was still running, and the water was flowing peace-

fully, but all about were evidences of fearful carnage. The soldiers who held the mill stood unconcernedly at the door, while all over the ground were tatters left by the Austrians as they were driven on the mill and thrown into the river.

"Passing on to the bank of the river, just back of the mill, a horrible sight opened just under the eyes of the visitors. Over there on the sand bar in midstream lay corpses in heaps, as far as the eye could see, the uniforms showing plainly that they were Austrians. Some lay on the bank, and some floated in the water. The Italians had just buried the bodies of 300 Austrians, but those other hundreds could not be brought back for decent burial, as the Austrian guns cut down stretcher bearers every time they went off toward the sand bar. An officer's dead horse, with saddle and rich saddle cloth, lay among the bodies.

"The gruesome line of bodies extended far down the river. The Austrians had been cut down by machine-gun fire as though by a scythe. All the men in the line pitched forward on their faces and lay there, as though on dress parade, but prostrate.

"Going on to Zenson, the little town could be seen to have been retaken by the Italians after the enemy had obtained a brief lodgment in it. Behind the town on the river edge are bushes. Here were huddled what remained of the first enemy storming party which crossed the river. The whole place was swept by fire, and one realized the fearful furnace these men were in.

"As our party passed the inundated region the tops of cornstalks could be seen above the long stretches of water, indicating that it was about five feet deep. Similar traces of vineyards could be seen above the flood. Soldiers of the Engineer Corps were along the banks of the canal. They had opened the sluices wide, and the water was up to the sills.

The harvest had been gathered, but there can be no planting or sowing there next Spring."

Battles in the Mountains

Between the Piave and Brenta Rivers and on the Asiago Plateau the Austrians greatly outnumbered the Italians, but the mountainous terrain gave the defenders some advantage, and in both regions terrific fighting went on from day to day. On Nov. 22 a great encircling attack was attempted by the Austro-German forces against Monte Meletta, but the Italians held all their positions. Where the spurs of Monte Tomba overhang the Piave River the enemy's artillery concentrated in a desperate attempt to blast a road to the heart of the plain of Venice. The first concerted attack here was described by Perceval Gibbon under date of Nov. 22:

"For three days previously the Italians on the west bank at Cornuda, at Vidon Bridge, and along the banks had seen the distant roads on the other side crowded with the enemy—a whole army moving in plain sight against the background of Autumn hills and flowing down to threaten the river. Such gunfire as only a month ago the Italians could have developed on the Isonzo would have shut the roads in a hundred places, but that is not possible now, and the great machine of death and destruction came down to its place. Ahead of it the big motor guns flung their fire curtain among the villages that so recently were new to war, and at about 8 o'clock in the evening of Saturday, (Nov. 17,) as soon as it was definitely dark, came the first attempt to cross.

Attack in River Boats

"Von Below wasted no time in attempts to bridge the river. He had a flotilla of those large, high-nosed boats which are used on the rivers of the plain, and several companies occupying about forty of these craft came suddenly poling and rowing into the glare of the searchlights in an attempt to get across and gain a footing by mere swiftness and suddenness of manoeuvre.

"The Piave at Fener has two channels separated by a long island of shingle,

and the boats came shooting around the head of this island into a strange blaze of illumination—searchlights converging, rockets ascending and descending in showers of blinding white magnesium flame, and gun flashes flickering afar like wildfire. The Italian machine guns and those deadly Fiat machine pistols, which fire faster than any known weapon, started to life with a single rending roar. The boats, which had been rowed with desperate energy, and were crammed to the gunwales with men, stopped as though they had run aground, flogged to a standstill by the frenzy of fire. Some went drifting down stream, full of dead and dying Germans. Two were overturned, and from yet others there were seen men leaping overboard to take the chance of saving themselves by swimming. Others got back around the nose of the island and reached the eastern bank again, but, save for the swimmers who surrendered and the wounded who came ashore lower down, not a man of them reached the Italian side.

Second Attempt Successful

"But another attack was already in preparation opposite the village of Fener itself, and already the German guns were shelling the ruins of the little place and the positions around it, and at 1 o'clock Sunday morning a large body of them managed to pass the water in the darkness and to secure a footing on the western bank. Supported by intense shellfire from their guns across the river, they pushed on and occupied the village, while the Italians fell back with their machine guns.

"The enemy's organization was as good as always. Hardly were his first men in the village when his pontoons were swinging down the river into position, and from above, on Monfenera, searchlights showed the methodical bustle of activity as the Germans and Austrians brought their forces forward for the next prompt step in the unending battle.

"There was no rest. Before noon on Tuesday the big Prussians were thrusting at the slopes at Monfenera, and by night they were aloft on the steep sides of the river. Their fire was truly

infernal at this time. They moved behind a walking wall of shells converging from the eastern roads, where their motor guns were massed in large numbers.

"Yesterday morning an Italian counterattack was launched. It is the Italian Fourth Army which fights on this sector, and its chosen brigades, such as the Brigata and the Como, are as sound as ever they were. They charged with the bayonet again and again, turning the fight into a hand-to-hand struggle at a dozen points. From the very start the enemy began to yield ground, and when night fell he had been thrown back for more than half the distance to the river. He tried more than once to return to the attack, but failed to achieve anything."

In the Brenta Gorge

The losses of the enemy were ghastly and of the Italians heavy in that encounter, but the Monte Tomba defenses held, and the blow failed. Then another portion of General von Hoetzendorf's great machine was reinforced, and the full strength of the Fourteenth Army under von Below was aimed at the Brenta Valley and the adjoining slopes of Monte Grappa. A part of Perceval Gibbon's account of the fighting there in the last week of November is as follows:

"The gorge of the Brenta became a spout of shells, aimed at the Italian machine-gun positions, and the Grappa front, where Monte Pertica flanks it on the north and Col del Orso and Monte Solarolo on the northeast, were searched from end to end with exhaustive fire by great masses of medium calibre artillery, in which the enemy is especially rich.

"The Italian guns here were mostly mountain artillery, little guns which fire more rapidly than any I have ever seen, but so light and small that I witnessed a gunner lift the barrel off its carriage and carry it away. The answering fire was, therefore, negligible. It was only when big attacks showed themselves that the Italians were able to get some of their own back.

"It was a country as little favorable as can be imagined for the German method of trampling down the defense by the mass and momentum of large bodies of

attacking troops, as Prussians, who followed their shells down the Brenta gorge, went forward easily enough till they reached a point where the valley suddenly widens. There they met a blast of machine guns and were stopped as though at a dead wall.

"Three times they withdrew to shelter, while their guns searched afresh for the Italian emplacements, and three times went forward again, always with the same result. A number of them, led by a Lieutenant, who managed to crawl beyond the dead line of machine-gun fire along the stones that litter the river side, were observed and forced to take to the water by riflemen above the road. There the waters of Brenta took charge of them and hustled them down, drenched and frozen, into captivity.

Alpini Versus Edelweiss

"It was a clear repulse for the enemy, and his next attack was upon another point of the Grappa front, where the Col della Berreta lifts over the Brenta Valley east and a little south of San Marino. The fine flower of Austrian mountain troops was brought up, the famous Edelweiss, who wear their badge, a specimen of that depressing flower. The bombardment was varied by truly a frightful fire, directed beyond the defenders' lines, a curtain of shells designed to shut them in with the slaughterers and shut reinforcements out.

"Then up came the Edelweiss, a whole division of it, to the attack. There was a moment when the situation was grave for the Italians. The Alpini and infantry, who held the line, were terribly outnumbered, and from the first moment their communications with the rear were broken, the telephone wires cut into short lengths by shells, the signalers shot down as they tried to speak with flags, and runners who started were never heard of again.

"There were also a certain number of gas shells beginning to flavor the incessant bombardment, sending up a dense, acrid smoke that drifted toward the defenders and blinded them as to what was taking place beyond the smoke. Out of that darkness the Edelweiss came pressing up, taking their positions for a final

rush in parties of one platoon at a time, getting their machine guns into position among the rocks and finally attacking with the usual bombing parties.

"The leading Italian infantry and Alpini fought desperately in their trenches and out of them; there was never a moment at which they were not snowed under by weight of numbers. Yet they fought on, and here and there even succeeded in clearing their front for a short time and attempting local counterattacks. But it was a pretty hopeless business, and in the minds of the commanders there was always dawning the knowledge that the question of retreating must be faced.

Reinforcements Just in Time

"The curtain fire was still roaring in their rear when from the right of the line the uproar of the fight took a new note, and along that battered front there ran news that reinforcements were coming up and that some were already there and counterattacking. It was true. They had come through the curtain of death, paying a toll of losses, half a dozen battalions of them, and not feeling any the kindlier to the Edelweiss for the trouble they had in getting there. They went into the fight with a dash which Italian troops seem able to command at any moment, and the Edelweiss never had another chance. The newcomers simply rushed them down the hill to the woods and fought them there in the smoke and over the charred wood underfoot, killing lavishly with the long sword bayonets which infantrymen are prone to slip from their rifles and use as daggers.

"There can be no question as to the gravity of the enemy losses. The slopes above the wood and fringes of the burning wood itself were full of his dead, and he had not gained an inch of ground. Edelweiss badges can be bought very cheaply in the Italian lines today."

Stopping the Asiago Drive

On the high tableland that takes its name from the ruined village of Asiago the Italians met the supreme test. General von Hoetzendorf massed his strongest divisions here for a blow that was to

smash a way through the Sette Comuni and down the Brenta Valley to the plain of Venice; and here a small Italian army under General Boriani stood its ground under daily attack from Nov. 9 to the end of the month, yielding a little at some points, but triumphantly preventing the Austrians from breaking through. It was one of the most heroic achievements in all this Alpine fighting for the life of Italy. Mr. Gibbon wrote on Nov. 29:

"Hither after the retreat from the Isonzo came General Boriani and what was left of his 5th Brigade of Bersaglieri, with sufficient Alpini and infantry added to them to make them look like a weak division. * * * They were the men sent thither to withstand that mighty Austrian thrust, whose total strength reached forty-four battalions of the cream of the Austrian Army, such divisions as the 19th, which the Italians hammered down to a residue of 3,000 men, while their own strength totaled no more than twelve battalions at any one time, and their total forces from Nov. 9 to now have been only nineteen battalions of Alpini infantry and Bersaglieri.

"Upon them and upon that ecstacy of strength which comes to brave men from the knowledge of their weakness depended the defense of one of the high-roads to the plain, that old blood-sodden, hard-bought road across the Asiago Plateau, which opens on the east to the Brenta Valley and on the west to the Valley of the Astico—easy roads, both of them, leading by plain and straight ways to the heart of Italy.

In an Untenable Position

"Faced at Monte Meletta with the alternatives of an almost immediate further retirement to another line or of attacking with inferior forces, in the hope of recovering some of the lost ground and thereby mending the situation, Boriani chose the latter, and on Nov. 16 his men by sheer fighting retook the whole of Meletta d'Avanti and Meletta di Gallio, besides thrusting out westward and ridding themselves of a number of objectionable Austrian neighbors in the form of advanced posts.

"He had accomplished what he de-

signed, but no single victory could make his position a good one. * * * The incessant bombardment and Austrian pressure made the position daily worse. The snow was deepening on the desolate levels of the tableland, walled in by its fringe of great mountains.

"It was a case of attacking or being squeezed or hunted out. Boriani, of course, attacked. He organized his attack to begin on the morning of Nov. 22, before the bitter dawn of these high, wintry deserts. He did not know—he had no means of knowing—that the Austrians were as tired of him as he of them, and had themselves arranged an attack for that morning, to start just after the hour which he had arranged. So, when the Italians went forward they were met by the preliminary bombardment which was to make things easy for the Austrian infantry. * * *

"There ensued perhaps the most frightful open fighting which this war has seen. It was a *mêlée* over acres of ground where battalions were locked one with another and stabbed and slashed among the crags and over the snow while the Austrian shells burst among them, killing friend and foe together. There were men who fought barehanded and others who fought with stones. It was a saturnalia of killing. Sheer numbers decided it, and by nightfall the Italians had lost a little ground, every yard of which had been paid for with dead men. They recovered the whole of that ground in the course of the night, and it was not till the night of Nov. 26 that they fell back, without a fight and without pressure from the enemy upon their present line."

The Austro-Germans delivered a heavier blow in the Asiago region on Dec. 3-6, capturing 15,000 Italians and taking several villages in the Meletta sector, but by the 9th they had been definitely checked and remained penned up in the high valleys, apparently for the Winter. Field Marshal von Hoetzendorf had sacrificed hundreds of thousands of his men and had failed in the main object.

Again it is the pen of Perceval Gibbon that furnishes the most graphic story of those days of fighting:

"It was upon the uplands of Sette Comuni that the great hope of Germany in Italy has been frustrated by something more than heroism. A wind drove into the faces of the Italians, the iron Bersaglieri, the glorious infantry, the red hot Alpini, and they saw beyond the slope in the moving mists the mass of their foe. Nothing but that vision and the memory of Italy's subjection and humiliation could have furnished and nourished that feverish fire of battle which has raged over the plateau of the seven communes during the four days and halted General Conrad von Hoetzendorf in sight of the goal of his life's ambition.

"It was gunnery and nothing else which carried the Austrians around Badeneceche on the south to the Pit of Vorlara and across its northern saddle between its main height and that of Tondarecar upon the evening of the 5th. After a day of grim fighting the Bersaglieri, baptized with their own blood, stopped dead attack after attack and saw a barricade of Austrian corpses build itself in front of their machine-gun positions.

"To realize what was then happening, you need a vision of death striding those misty valleys like a proprietor walking in his own fields. The hill of the Bersaglieri was held by front men who had fought since the offensive in August on the Bainsizza Plateau. They fought till fighting availed no longer, and then fell back, fighting still and attacking at every opportunity with the bayonet.

Feat of Eighteen Italians

"Eighteen of the Bersaglieri, who wandered back along the valley, came up Monte Fior in the morning. By that time the Austrians had spread through the valleys in the rear of the first line barrier of great mountains and occupied this peak. The Bersaglieri knew nothing of what was happening. They only saw Austrians, and there was no officer to call them off. Therefore, true to their tradition, they attacked.

"There was not even a corporal to lead them, but by some miracle of their own valor and faith they actually cap-

GENERAL ARMANDO DIAZ



The New Supreme Commander of the Italian Armies in Succession
to Cadorna.

(Photo Paul Thompson.)

GENERAL BADOGLIO



Chief of Staff to General Diaz, the New Head of the Italian Armies.
(Photo Paul Thompson.)

tured the mountain before the enemy knew that he had only a handful to deal with, and they held it for twenty minutes before the enemy found out his mistake and came back in his hundreds to kill them all. But one (he was wounded and overlooked among the rocks, has made his way back to the Italian lines and testifies as an eyewitness to that crazy heroic feat of arms.

"Battalions of the Alpini who held the linked mountains of Monte Castelgomberto and Monte Fior against attack crossed the saddle between Badenece and Tondarecar in the rear of these heights. The Alpini did not retire. They counterattacked Tondarecar and retook it. But the forward flow of the enemy forced them to fall back again on their own positions. Then the enemy surged up about them.

Alpini Died Where They Stood

"Ere yet they were fully enveloped and while there yet remained a last channel of communication with the living world there came through a message from their commander. 'The enemy is pressing on the south,' it said. 'I am attacking him with two battalions.'

"From that moment he was cut off. Those who listened could hear the stammer of his machine guns and the spatter of his rifle fire, a salvo of salute to fate

by those who wear green color badges and eagle feathers.

"Prisoners spoke of them as they were twenty-four hours later, diminishing in numbers, hard pressed, refusing all overtures of surrender and still fighting and dying in the ancient Alpini manner. Then the final silence closed down on them. The Austrian fire opened from Monte Fior, and we knew that the Alpini had left us by their own road, a lofty and glorious road, which has always been theirs.

"That night with the enemy moving in columns behind his first line of mountain barrier and his men exhausted and reduced by long days of intermittent fighting, the General gave the order for retirement to the line of Mont Spil, Monte Miela, and Lazzaretti village.

* * * When next morning General von Hoetzendorf turned up before the final line, he was stopped dead. The great battle was over. It has been a strange business at ghastly cost, which none but the Austrians who paid it can reckon fully. The sum is told in the mounds and litters of dead among the snow patches of the mountain desolations. General von Hoetzendorf's hope of Austria has penetrated our front for four kilometers on a width of twelve kilometers and he is no nearer his dream than ever."

Fighting in Lagoons to Save Venice

Fifteen centuries ago Attila and his Huns drope the inhabitants of the Italian mainland into the marshes and lagoons between the Piave and Sile Rivers, where they founded the colonies which later became Venice. In exactly the same spot today the "modern Huns" are trying to break through to that city. Italy's war of the lagoons to save Venice is one of the strangest conflicts in history. An eyewitness described it on Dec. 15, 1917, as follows:

Since Nov. 13, when the Austrians in crossing the lower Piave in their headlong rush to Venice were suddenly checked by the Italian lagoon defenses, the entire Gulf of Venice, with its endless canals and marshes, with islands disappearing and reappearing with the tide, has been the scene of a continuous battle. The fighting is absolutely without precedent.

The Teutons are desperately trying to turn the Italian right wing by working their way around the northern limits of the Venetian Gulf. The Italians inundated the region and sealed all the entrances into the gulf by mine fields. The gulf, therefore, was converted into an isolated sea. Over this inland waterway the conflict is raging bitterly. The Italians have a "lagoon fleet" ranging

from the swiftest of motor boats, armed with machine guns, small cannon, and torpedo tubes, to huge, cumbersome, flat-bottomed British monitors, mounting the biggest guns.

The Italian vessels navigate secret channels dug in the bottom of the shallow lagoons. Only the Italian war pilots know these courses. Even gondolas straying out of the channels are instantly and hopelessly stranded. Not only this, but since the muddy flats and marshy islands do not permit of artillery emplacements, the Italians have developed an immense fleet of floating batteries. The guns range from three-inch fieldpieces to great fifteen-inch monsters. Each is camouflaged to represent a tiny island, a garden patch, or a houseboat. Floating on the glasslike surface of the lagoons, the guns fire a few shots and then change position—making it utterly impossible for the enemy to locate them. The entire auxiliary service of supplying this floating army has been adapted to meet the lagoon warfare. Munition dumps are on boats, constantly moved about to prevent the enemy spotting them. Gondolas and motor boats replace the automobile supply lorries customary in land warfare. Instead of mo-

tor ambulances, motor boats carry off dead and wounded. Hydroaeroplanes replace ordinary fighting aircraft.

Along the northern limit of the Venetian Gulf, where the Austrians, having filtered into the Piave Delta, now seek to cross both the Sile and the Piave, the enemy each night hooks up pontoons. At daybreak every morning one end of a huge pontoon structure is anchored to the east bank of the Piave and the other flung out to the strong current, which soon stretches the makeshift bridge across.

The moment this happens the enemy infantry madly dashes across. Simultaneously the Italian floating batteries open a terrific fire. Every morning so far the Austrians have tried the trick, and every morning they have failed, with heavy losses, to effect a crossing.

The flooding of the delta maroons thousands of Italian families on island-like patches, and likewise cuts off some Austrian troops. The latter stick stubbornly to their strongholds, supplied by Austrian boats. Day after day these patches of land are the scenes of fierce hand-to-hand fighting, when small detachments of either side try to drive the others off.

Sinking a Battleship in Trieste Harbor

By Perceval Gibbon

The exploit of Lieutenant Rizzo of the Italian Navy in going into the Harbor of Trieste with two small motor boats and their crews and torpedoing the Austrian battleship Wien, with her sister ship, the Monarch, was told in these words in a cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES:

THE Wien was one of three ships launched in 1895. Her sisters were the Monarch and Budapest. She carried four 10-inch guns and six 6-inch guns and a crew of 441 officers and men. The Italians almost got her a month ago when she was shelling the lower Piave line and motor boats went for her with their torpedoes. She had other narrow escapes, too, and now she lies on the clean sandy bottom of Trieste Harbor in about eleven fathoms of turquoise-blue water.

Lieutenant Rizzo and the crews of his two launches—craft not much bigger than a ship's lifeboat—are the men who put her there. The thing had been well prepared, after careful study of the mined area. It seems that the Austrians had devised a system of combined nets and mines, so that Rizzo's chances were great, at best, of being blown to pieces. One of his chief problems was that of the huge steel cables attached to the nets, but he cut these handily asunder on the night of Dec. 9, [1917.]

When the two little boats set out there was a mist on the sea. It was past midnight when they crawled in toward the coast, where lies the white City of Trieste, cascading in snowy traces down its radiant hillside to the piers and docks of its port. The two boats crawled in toward the harbor mouth.

Trieste Harbor is an affair of three piers jutting seaward, making thus two channels, one on either hand of the central pier, which is also a breakwater. These channels were closed by booms and nets, with their mines all linked to the piers by great steel hawsers.

The boats glided alongside one pier and Rizzo climbed up its concrete side and reconnoitred the situation. There was nobody on that pier. On the middle pier, however, was a guardroom. There could be heard a confusion of voices and barkings of dogs, and from the railway station ashore the noise of an engine screaming vociferously, and between whiles the slapstep feet of the sentry patrolling the middle pier.

Lieutenant Rizzo crawled back and gave the order, and up came his men, crawling on hands and knees over the concrete, passing the big cutting tools from hand to hand, groping their way to the cables. Some set to work to cut them, while two men scouted inshore lest some sentry should arrive.

The cutting instruments worked well. It needed only a strong jar to set the mines exploding, but the cutters bit their way through strand after strand of twisted steel wire. Three cables above water were severed without trouble; then five more below water were grappled and hauled to the surface and cut in their turn.

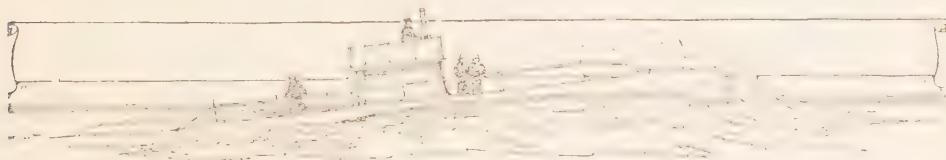
At last came the moment when the weight of the net and its attachments tore the last remaining steel strands asunder, the whole great cobweb of metal and explosives sank, and the harbor lay open. Rizzo and his men crawled

back to their boats, and those boats moved like shadows into the Vaplone di Muggia, where the Wien and Monarch lay nosing their buoys. Nearest lay the Wien; the Monarch slumbered 200 yards beyond her. Rizzo edged in to investigate, and then backed off till he had his enemy at 150 yards. His second boat, commanded by an old petty officer, shifted out upon his beam to get a line which cleared the Wien's bow and commanded the Monarch's great steel flank. Rizzo raised his arm in that gloom and saw the answering gesture of the petty officer. It was the moment to let her go. In a second four long steel devils were sliding through the water for the enemy.

A roar, a blast of flame, a waterspout raining on them, and a second roar as the Monarch, too, got her dose. In the motor boats the men yelled involuntarily as the torpedoes landed on their targets.

A searchlight flashed out from the Wien and sawed at the darkness. A scream sounded over the water: "Wer da?" There were shoutings and stampings along the deck of the wounded ship, searchlights waking along the shore and on the breakwaters, and anti-aircraft guns arousing everywhere. No one in Trieste knew whence the attack had come, whether from the air or the sea. The sky was festooned with bursting shrapnel, while the ships in the harbor opened with their guns toward the harbor mouth, shelling the mist of the Adriatic at random. By the light of that furious illumination the Italian sailors saw the great bulk of the Wien listing toward them.

By this time they were making for the harbor mouth, shells spouting around them, but none hit them, and both boats saw before they left that last subsidence, that wriggle and resignation with which a great ship goes under. The Monarch still floated, but the Wien lay at the bottom.



Clemenceau's Pledge to France

New Premier, on Taking Office, Declares the One Purpose of His Government Is Victory

Georges Clemenceau, the new Premier of France, delivered his formal declaration of Ministerial policy in the Chamber of Deputies on Nov. 20, 1917, and received a vote of confidence by 418 to 65, the opposition being that of the United Socialists. He read his declaration in a firm, clear voice, and his emotion when he spoke of France's debt to her dead was evinced only by the trembling of the sheets in his hand. His speech in full is as follows:

GENTLEMEN: We have accepted places in the Government in order to conduct the war with redoubled efforts and with a better concentration of all our energies. We come before you with the sole idea of a unified war. We would that the confidence which we shall ask you to give us might be an act of confidence in yourselves, an appeal to the historic virtues of the men of France. Never before has France felt so clearly the need of living and growing in the ideal of force placed at the service of the human conscience, in the resolve progressively to advance the right, both as among individuals and as between peoples capable of establishing their liberties.

"Conquer that justice may prevail"—that is the watchword of all our Governments since the beginning of the war. That program, open as the sky, we shall maintain.

We have great soldiers, of great traditions, under leaders tempered by trial and animated by that supreme devotion which gave their elders renown. Through them, through all of us, the immortal native land, in the noble ambitions of peace, will pursue the course of its destinies.

Those Frenchmen whom we were constrained to throw into the battle have claims upon us. Their desire is that none of our thoughts turn away from them, that none of our acts be foreign to their interests. We owe them everything, without any reserve—everything for France, bleeding in her glory; everything for the exaltation of right triumphant.

The single, simple duty is to stand by the soldier, live, suffer, and fight with him; renounce everything that is not of the fatherland. The hour has come for us to be solely French, and with pride to declare that that suffices for us.

Salvation in Solidarity

Let everything today be blended—the claims of the front and the duty in the rear. Let every zone be the zone of war. If there must be men who find in their souls impulses of the old times, let us put them aside. All civilized nations are engaged in the same battle against the modern development of ancient barbarity. Against this, with all our good allies, we are an immovable rock, a barrier that shall not be passed.

Let only fraternal solidarity, the surest foundation of the world to come, be shown at the forefront of the alliance, at every instant and everywhere. In the field of ideas France has suffered for everything that makes man firm. In her hope, drawn from the sources of purest humanity, she consents to suffer still for the defense of the soil of her great ancestors, with the hope of opening ever wider, to men as to peoples, all the doors of life. The force of the French soul is in that. That is what animates our people while they work as well as while they fight.

Those silent soldiers of the workshops, deaf to evil suggestions, those old peasants bent over their land, those robust women at their toil, those children who bring them aid—there are our "poilus," who, thinking later on of the great work, may say, like those of the trenches, "I was in it."

With those also we must remain steadfast; we must see to it that, stripping ourselves for the fatherland, we one day may be loved. To love each other, it is not sufficient to say so, we must prove it. We would like to try to give that proof, and we ask you to aid us. Can there be a finer program of government?

"War, Nothing But War"

There have been mistakes. Let us think only of repairing them. Alas, there have been crimes also—crimes against France. Let them receive prompt chastisement. We take before you, before the country that demands justice, a vow that justice shall be done according to the rigors of the law.

Neither personal consideration nor political ardor shall turn us from our duty or lead us to go beyond it. Too many criminal attempts have already resulted on our battle front in the shedding of a superabundance of French blood. Weakness would be complicity. We shall be without weakness, yet also without violence. All the accused before courts-martial—that is our policy, the soldier in the pretorium in solidarity with the soldier in combat. No more pacifist campaigns, no more German intrigues. Neither treason nor semi-treason. War—nothing but war!

More Liberal Censorship

Our armies shall not be taken between two fires. Justice is on the way. The country will know that it is defended and is a France forever free. We have paid too great a price for our liberties to cede any part of them beyond the need of preventing publicity and excitations from which the enemy might profit. A censorship shall be maintained for diplomatic and military information, as well as for those susceptible of disturbing peace at home, up to the limits of respect for opinions. A press bureau will give news, nothing but news, to all who solicit it.

In wartime, as in time of peace, liberty is to be exercised under the personal responsibility of the writer. Outside of that rule there is only arbitrary anarchy.

It has not seemed to us necessary to say more under the present circumstances

to indicate the character of this Government. Days will follow days, problems will follow problems, we shall march in step with you to the realizations that the necessities impose. We are under your control. The question of confidence will be continually in the balance.

We are going to enter upon a régime of restrictions after the example of England, Italy, and America, admirable in her ardor. We shall ask of each citizen that he take his full part in the common defense, that he give more and consent to receive less. There is abnegation in the army. So let abnegation exist throughout the country.

We shall not forge a greater France without putting our life into it. Something of our savings is asked besides. If the action that concludes this session is favorable to us, we expect of it consecration. In the complete success of our war loan is to be found supreme evidence of the confidence that France owes to herself when she is asked for victory.

May it be vouchsafed us to live that victory in this hour, to live it in advance in the communion of our hearts, in proportion as we draw more and more upon that inexhaustible spirit of self-sacrifice which should culminate in the sublime flight of the soul of France to the highest peak of its hopes. Some day, from Paris to the humblest village, shouts of acclamation will greet our victorious standards, stained with blood and tears and torn by shells—magnificent emblem of our noble dead. That day, the greatest day of our race, after so many others of grandeur, it is in our power to create. For our unchangeable resolution, gentlemen, we ask the seal of your approval.

Victory His One Aim

Replying to interpellations on the policy of his Government, M. Clemenceau said to the Chamber later on the same day:

I will speak sincerely and briefly. The Ministerial declaration has already replied to the question regarding our war aims and the League of Nations for which M. Ribot's committee is preparing. I have been reproached with being unfavorable to arbitration. Well, at the time of the Casablanca affair I proposed

arbitration, but it was refused by both Germany and Austria. I understand your idealism and I share it, but where we differ is that I am under no illusion regarding the reality of facts. I do not believe that a League of Nations is the necessary outcome of the present war. Why? Because if the entry of Germany into the League of Nations were proposed tomorrow I would not consent. You might offer me as a guarantee a signature. Well, go and ask the Belgians what that is worth.

Peoples must be capable of freeing themselves. You are compelled to begin by saying that Germany will smash up

Prussian militarism, but the terrible fact is that she does not break it. Hypothesis is always in the stage of hypothesis. We cannot commit ourselves to such a course without injuring the morale which enables us to persevere with the war. When we are thoroughly embarked in a course of action we should talk as little as possible. The argument of M. Forgeot is incontestable in theory, but it will not hold water in the face of realities. The men in the trenches are fighting for a peace which will give them life and honor.

You ask me my war aims. I reply that my aim is to be victorious.

Lloyd George on War Aims

The British Premier Indorses President Wilson's Views on Peace With Victory

Premier Lloyd George, in an address at London before Grey's Inn Benchers on Dec. 14, asserted that any overtures to Prussia for peace before victory would be a betrayal of trust. He declared himself in accord with President Wilson's address to Congress. Striking passages from the Premier's address follow:

I WARN the nation to watch men who think there is a half-way house between victory and defeat. [This reference was to the Lansdowne proposal.] There is no such half-way house. These are the men who think the war can be ended now by some sort of peace—the setting up of a League of Nations, with conditions as to arbitration for disputes and provisions for disarmament, and with a covenant on the part of all nations to sign a treaty along these lines.

That is the right policy after victory. Without victory it would be a farce. Who would sign such a treaty? I presume, among others, the people who have so far successfully broken the last. Who would enforce the new treaty? I presume the nations that have so far not quite succeeded in enforcing the last. To end the war entered upon and to enforce a treaty without reparation for infringement of that treaty merely by entering into a more sweeping treaty would, indeed, be a farce in the setting of a tragedy.

We are not misled by mere words like

disarmament, arbitration, and similar terms. You cannot wage war or secure peace by mere words. We ought never to have started unless we meant, at all hazards, to complete our task.

Of course, our enemies are ready to accept a peace, leaving them with some of the richest provinces and the fairest cities of Russia in their pockets. It is idle to talk of security under such conditions. There is no protection for life or property in a State where the criminal is more powerful than the law. The law of nations is no exception. We are dealing with a criminal State now, and there will always be criminal States until the reward for international crime becomes too precarious to make it profitable, and the punishment of international crime becomes too sure to make it attractive.

We are confronted with the alternatives of abasing ourselves in terror before the lawlessness, which means ultimately a world intimidated by successful bandits, or going through with our task to establish a righteous and lasting peace

for ourselves and our children. Surely no nation with any regard for its self-respect and any honor can hesitate a moment in its choice.

A Hopeful Prospect

If there were no prospects of things going better the longer we fought, it would be infamous to prolong the war, but because I am fully convinced, despite some untoward events and discouraging appearances, that we are making steady progress toward the desired goal, I would regard peace overtures to Prussia, at the very moment when the Prussian military spirit is drunk with boastfulness, as a betrayal of the great trust with which my colleagues and I have been charged.

The German victories have been emblazoned to the world, but her troubles did not appear in the bulletins. However, we know something of them. The deadly grip of the British Navy is having its effect, and the valor of the troops is making an impression which will tell in the end. * * *

This is not the most propitious hour. Russia's threatened retirement from the war strengthens the Hohenzollerns and weakens the forces of democracy, but Russia's action will not lead, as she imagines, to universal peace. It will simply prolong the world's agony and inevitably put her in bondage to Prussian military dominance.

[If Russia persisted in her present policy, the Premier pointed out, the withdrawal by the enemy from the east of a third of his troops must release hundreds of thousands of men and masses of material to attack Great Britain, France, and Italy. He went on:]

It would be folly to underestimate the danger from the release of the enemy's eastern forces. It would equally be folly to exaggerate it. But the greatest folly of all would be not to face it.

America Coming "With Both Arms"

If the Russian democracy has decided to abandon the struggle against military autocracy, the American democracy is taking it up. This is the most momentous fact of the year, which has transposed the whole situation. There is no more powerful country in the world than the United States, with their gigantic

resources and indomitable people, and if Russia is out, America is coming in with both arms.

If this is the worst moment, it is because Russia has stepped out and America is only preparing to come in. Her army is not yet ready and her tonnage is unbuilt, but with every hour that passes the gap formed by Russia's retirement will be filled by the valiant sons of the great American Republic.

Germany knows it and Austria knows it. Hence the desperate efforts to force the issue before America is ready.

They will not succeed, but we must be prepared for greater efforts and greater sacrifices. It is no time to cower or to falter.

Great Britain's will is as tempered steel and will bear all right to the end. There must be a further drain upon our man power in order to sustain the additional burden until the American Army arrives.

There is no ground for panic. Even now, after we have sent troops to Italy, the Allies have marked superiority in numbers in France and Flanders and considerable reserves at home.

Much greater progress has been made in man power in the last few months than either our friends or our foes realize, but it is not enough to enable us to face the new contingencies without anxiety. The problem of man power, however, does not end with the army.

Victory a Question of Tonnage

Victory now is a question of tonnage. Nothing can defeat us but the shortage of tonnage, and the advent of the United States has increased the tonnage problem enormously. Germany has gambled on America's failure to transport her army to Europe.

The Prussian claim is that autocracy alone can do things. The honor of democracy is at stake, and I do not doubt that the Prussians will be disillusioned, but both America and Great Britain will have to strain their resources to the utmost to increase their tonnage.

The fact that American tonnage will be absorbed in the transport of its own armies compels us to increase our responsibilities in assisting France and

Italy with the transportation of essential commodities to their shores.

In order to obtain the necessary men for this object we must interfere to even a greater extent than heretofore with the industries not absolutely essential to the prosecution of the war.

[Premier Lloyd George, in concluding, emphasized how the country could aid by further economizing and in the increase of home production. "We must strip even barer for the fight," he said. British food imports next year, he stated in this connection, must be reduced 3,000,000 tons by increased home production and economy. The Premier also spoke on aerial warfare, saying that the nations possibly would determine that this must be the last war in which air weapons were used, as they brought the perils and horrors of the battlefields to civilians at home, who previously had dwelt in security.]

Air Reprisals by Allies

Baron Rothermere, the British Air

Minister, made the following declarations in favor of air reprisals at the same meeting:

My advisers have asked me to make a precise statement of our air policy. The question of reprisals comes first and foremost. At the Air Board we are wholeheartedly in favor of reprisals. It is our duty to avenge the murder of innocent women and their children. As the enemy elect, therefore, so be it—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. And in this respect we shall strive for a complete and satisfying retaliation. Von Ludendorff proclaims this a War of the Nations, suggesting that the civil population is a mark for the bombs equally with the fighting men. We detest this doctrine, holding it to be grossly immoral, but, fighting for our lives and the lives of our women and children, we will not consent to its one-sided application. The enemy has to learn in this, as in the larger things, that outrages on the civilian population of this country do not pay.

America's Purpose in the War

Address by Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, Summarizing the Government's Views of the War's Results

The United States Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, delivered an address in New York City Dec. 12, 1917, which was regarded as of deep significance, voicing the Government's views respecting the war. Secretary Baker spoke before the Southern Society of New York and emphasized the obliteration of sectional feeling in his opening remarks as follows:

THE year 1917 is writing a new date line in our history. It will take none of the glory from any of our memories; it will leave us as a priceless inheritance the great traditions of our race, out of which our institutions and our liberties have been fabricated, but from this year many things which are separated in sentence are all written under a new date, and the supremacy of common sacrifices in a common cause makes us more really a united people, more really a nation, than we have ever been in our entire history.

The family of the nation has become

continental in its extent. Many of these distinctions which once troubled us will be absorbed in the new glory of citizenship in the new nation. And this will be especially true because of the heroic character and the idealism of this enterprise. Every now and then somebody tells me that he has heard somebody say that America is fighting somebody else's war, and my instant reflection is, Well, suppose that were true? Is it not more heroic to save somebody else's life than your own? To whom do we build monuments, for whom do we cast hero medals—the men who save their own lives or

those who save the lives of others? What is the quality of heroism if it be not unselfish self-sacrifice?

And yet it is not necessary, nay, it would not be true, to admit that this is an unselfish expedition in that sense or to that extent, for in very truth our nation is engaged in fighting its own battles, its own material battles, if that mattered, but it does not. It is engaged in fighting its own spiritual battle; it is engaged in saving the soul of democracy.

And so all wars which have been waged for the prestige of Kings or the territorial extension of empires fail in their analogy. There is a quality in this war which evokes a spiritual response and that will be a new kind of cement for the making of a stronger and more triumphant people when it is over.

And there is another exceedingly happy quality in this. We are not fighting this battle alone. I am not even ambitious that the glory of the final conquest should come to us alone. I would far rather have the triumph of democracy the reward of the associated effort of democratic peoples everywhere, so that when this war is over neither we nor they can have any monopoly of that virtue, but will be partners in its glory, and so associates in the further progress which is to be made.

For we must never forget, when we speak of democracy, that it is not an accomplishment, it is not a thing that has been done, but it is a progress; it is a system of growth; and though today we might achieve what our limited vision proclaims to us as the democratic ideal, its quality is such that when we stand on what now seems to us the highest peak in that range, there will be greater heights to tempt and inspire us.

And so, when this war is over, and the crude mediaevalism which at last brings the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs to confront their fate in the young giant of the democratic spirit; when this contest is over and the David of democracy has dealt with the Goliath of mediaevalism and autocracy, there will still be work for David to do worthy of his best efforts, and in the accomplishment of it large benefits to the race will remain to be achieved.

Pride in War Preparations

People are sometimes disposed to adopt a complaining tone about our efforts, not many, but here and there one. There are two ways of looking at this war and our preparation in it. One is to look at what we have done, and one is to look at what we have not done. If we realize that practically every activity of the Government associated in this business has been required in a very short space of time to expand 3,000 per cent., if we take account of the things that actually have been achieved, not only will we find that we have won the admiring commendation of visitors from the Old World, who are familiar with what they have done and are still amazed at our progress, but we will find sound ground for pride in the strength, capacity, and greatness of our own people.

Now, I am perfectly aware that in any great enterprise where one starts in wishing to achieve everything and to accomplish all, in the mere rush of preparation there are things for which the industry of the country was not yet adequately prepared; things which time will right, and so if one goes about with a critical and fault-finding spirit, he can always find enough to satisfy that sort of spirit—it does not take much.

What the Nation Has Done

But when you think that a people who really love peace, who for 100 years had devoted themselves to its ideals and its practices, whose affections were engaged with the accomplishments of peace and civilization, who had learned to love justice and who had embodied it in their own political and social institutions, who had established among themselves a generous competition in industrial and scientific and commercial progress, who had spread abroad among themselves processes of universal education, so that almost year by year the general level of the material and intellectual and spiritual life of their people was visibly elevated—if you come to recognize in us that sort of people, devoting ourselves with an intense devotion to the working out of finer adjustments for human happiness and for the recognition of the

rights of the individual, and then see us suddenly summoned to go back 500 years and deal with a recrudescence of brute force, unilluminated by any sort of morality or humanitarian consideration, and then see what we have done in that space of time to readjust ourselves to this odious and unlovely thing that we are forced to do, I think it will be agreed, not only that we have done great things, but that we can be reassured about civilization.

It does not mean the enfeeblement of a people. Disinclination to fight does not mean inability to fight. We can with confidence, from now on, pursue those processes which have hitherto engaged us and seem to promise so much, always with the assured conviction that education does not destroy courage and that a civilized, peace-loving, God-fearing nation, if it has to protect itself against brute aggression, has the capacity, the concentration of purpose necessary; nay, that in democratic institutions there is that virtue which is perfectly sufficient to any contest it may be called upon to face.

Tribute to Our Soldiers

[After alluding to the nation's extraordinary response to the Selective Draft act and the orderly manner in which ten million Americans were registered in one day, as well as the universal desire of all classes to render aid in any manner, he continued:]

While we are in this war to make the world safe for democracy, democracy is making itself manifest here among us; for that is democracy—the co-operation, without distinction of fortune or opportunity, of all the men of the nation for the common good, and the good of each individual is democracy.

We are recognizing it, too, in our human relations. I have been traveling around over the country seeing these training camps, and I find that when 10,000 or 20,000 or 30,000 boys are camped near a city, large or small, the city adopts them. There is an instantaneous and widespread process of affectionate adoption going on, so that men have the feeling, men of my time of life, when they walk along the street and see

a man in khaki, there is an almost irresistible desire to say, "My son!"

How beautiful that is, and how true it is! For when, on some moonlight night on the fields of France, some American boy's face is upturned from having made the grand and final sacrifice in this cause, no passerby nor no imagination that reaches him will be able to discern whether he came from a blacksmith's forge or a merchant's counter or a banker's counting room. He will simply be an American, and our affection for him, our adoption of him, our pride in him, will be as undiscriminating.

Now, all this tends to afford some consolation. It is one of the by-products of this war that is going to be of immense value to mankind when it is over. * * *

Alignment of Civilized Nations

It is a wonderful story, the alignment of the nations which can truly be called civilized, against the ancient mediaevalism which survives in the heart of Europe. The hope of mankind, so often frustrated, apparently is now to be accomplished. It could not be done in Napoleon's times, in spite of the French Revolution and its philosophy and its promise, because of what Danton called "the Allied Kings of Europe." It could not be done in 1849 because of the Metterniches and the Bismarcks. It could not be done in 1870 because they were still triumphant, but out of the West, out of this youngest and latest and most hopeful of the nations of the earth; out of this young giant, fashioned out of all the peoples, who originate in a new philosophy, little rivulets of it have gone over to other peoples in other parts of the world.

And now, in the fullness of time, this giant is full grown, and she joins hands with other peoples, who, though older, are yet the children of her spirit, and we are partners now with great men of great nations who have borne for three years heroically the brunt of this struggle, and at the end of it, out of the noise of battle and smoke of the battlefield, there arises the picture of a new federation of nations, of a new fraternity of mankind—the sons and daughters of civilization joining hands to protect the sacred prin-

ciples upon which the freedom of mankind rests.

Rise of a New Ideal

Napoleon is credited with the statement that morals is to force as three to one. If Napoleon thought that, what shall we make the proportion? And it is because the American people realize this that they have shot through all their preparations for this war an influence of idealism and morality which is a new thing in the world.

About our training camps new conditions have arisen. All sorts of modern, advanced notions with regard to the

amusement and entertainment and recreation of young men in order that they may be virile, strong, and high-minded have been adopted, not because of any particular wisdom in any place, but because of the unanimous judgment and demand of the American people, and so, when our army goes abroad, it will be a knightly army, not an army of conquest that expects to come home with a chariot and somebody chained to the wheels and loaded up with material spoils, but an army that is going over to live and die for the fine fruits of a high idealism and a purified national morality.

American Army at Home and Abroad

Engineers Under Fire in France

AMERICAN army engineers had an unexpected first brush with the enemy while working on the British railways in the region of Gouzeaucourt on Nov. 30, 1917, when they were caught in a German turning movement. The Americans escaped by lying prone on the ground in shell holes while the British fired over them. Then, when the British were near enough to enable them to participate in the fighting, the Americans played an important part in replying to the enemy.

Americans elsewhere took a busy hand in the fighting and were under hot German shellfire. Numbers of them volunteered for patrol work in the danger zone, and all acquitted themselves finely.

After the British had pushed the Germans out of Gouzeaucourt and back from the ridge to the east, the engineers furnished volunteers for patrol work during the night. All night they kept the vigil amid shellfire and bullets from the machine guns and rifles. They could have done no better if they had been picked troops from regular infantry. Several American units working in the back areas came under very heavy shellfire as the German attack progressed.

The French official communication paid the following tribute to the Americans:

We must remark upon the conduct of certain American soldiers, pioneers, and workmen on the military railroad in the sector of the German attack west of Cambrai on Nov. 30. They exchanged their picks and shovels for rifles and cartridges and fought beside the English. Many died thus bravely, arms in hand, before the invader. All helped to repulse the enemy. There is not a single person who saw them at work who does not render warm praise to the coolness, discipline, and courage of these improvised combatants.

Another interesting account of the Americans in action comes from the enemy, in the form of an article from a German correspondent, which was published in Berlin on Dec. 3. It reads:

Independent American units have been thrown into the trench line. The felt hat has given way to the English-fashioned steel helmet, and the whistling and bursting of the shells have become familiar sounds to American ears.

For the first time since they have been participating as independent contingents the Americans have tasted the real earnestness of war, even though it was but a minor hand-to-hand scuffle. But this time the shells did not merely fly over their heads, but into the very trenches they had selected, and presently, with an infernal noise, these things which the young soldiers believed to be a firm protection began to quake and burst.

And hard on the heels of this a firm attack by our onrushing Bavarian reserves forced the way into the American trenches, and musket shots and bursting

hand grenades relieved the artillery fire.

Our new opponents made a most determined defense, and desperate hand-to-hand fighting set in. Butts of guns, fists, and hand grenades were freely brought into play, and many men fell to the ground before the rest gave up resistance and surrendered. After a bare hour the German storming troops were back in their own trenches with booty and prisoners.

There they stood before us—these young men from the land of liberty. They were sturdy and sportsmanlike in build. Good-natured smiles radiated from their blue eyes, and they were quite surprised that we did not propose to shoot them down, as they had been led in the French training camp to believe we would do.

They know no reply to our query, "Why does the United States carry on war against Germany?" The sinking of American ships by U-boats, which was the favorite pretext, sounds a trifle stale. One prisoner expressed the opinion that we had treated Belgium rather badly. Another asserted that it was Lafayette who brought America French aid in the war of independence, and because of this the United States would now stand by France.

Moving Troops to France

Secretary Baker, in the first statement so far made regarding the progress in increasing General Pershing's forces, said on Nov. 23 that troops were departing from the United States and arriving in France as rapidly as intended in the War Department's plans. "As many American troops are now overseas as we expected in the beginning to have overseas at this time," were Mr. Baker's exact words.

Announcement was permitted on Nov. 29 that National Guardsmen from every State in the Union had arrived in France. While it was not permitted to disclose the identity of units, it was stated that all those which sailed from the United States had arrived safely, and that some already were in training within sound of guns on the battle front.

The guardsmen had been arriving in the American zone for many weeks. They were scattered somewhat, but as far as possible the units from the same State were being kept close together, except in one case. They found the regular army had made good preparations for them, and, while many were billeted in houses in French towns, others were

quartered in low wooden barracks specially erected.

Health of Training Camps

To offset the effect of rumors of a high mortality rate in the army, the War Department on Dec. 1 made public a report which showed that since the United States entered the war only 1,394 men had died, been wounded, or reported as captured or missing. The report covered every branch of the army, National Guard, national army, and the regular army in the United States and in France, or about 800,000 men. The number of soldiers who had died from all causes was 1,348, 35 had been wounded, and 11 had been captured or reported as missing. "Natural causes" was marked against 937 deaths, accidents had resulted in 352 deaths, while only 11 had been killed in action and 18 lost at sea. This left a discrepancy of thirty in the deaths, the causes of which had not been determined officially. These may be comprised in the cases which eventually will come under the classifications of suicide, accident, or homicide.

Considerable anxiety was caused by a report from Surgeon General Gorgas. One of the first results was the promulgation of most stringent regulations designed to reduce the number of pneumonia cases in the National Guard and national army camps. Venereal diseases, next to pneumonia and measles, have been the most prominent in sick reports from army camps. At the end of November these diseases averaged in National Guard camps at the rate of 135 to 1,000 men, and in national army camps at the rate of 139 per 1,000. Secretary Baker, in calling the attention of department and divisional commanders to this menace, said: "The present rate is twice as high as has obtained under strict discipline in the past." Strict instructions were issued to prevent infected men from being sent to join the army in France.

Few Cases of Crime

The first case of an American soldier abroad being condemned to death by court-martial and being executed was that of Private Frank Cadue, an infan-

tryman, who was hanged on Nov. 5 for the rape and murder of a seven-year-old French girl in France. A statement issued by the War Department on Dec. 3 said that the sentence had been approved. The record of the trial says that Cadue confessed to the crime and pleaded that, being under the influence of liquor, he did not know what he was doing.

Reports show that the discipline of the American Expeditionary Force is good.

Thirteen negroes, soldiers of the 24th United States Infantry, were hanged at dawn on Dec. 11, 1917, on the Government reservation near San Antonio, Texas, for murders committed during mutinous rioting in the streets of Houston, Texas, on Aug. 23. Forty-one other negro soldiers were sentenced to life imprisonment, four others to short terms, and five were acquitted. A statement issued by the Chief of Staff at Southern Department Headquarters after the execution contained the information that the sixty-three negroes had been tried by a general court-martial and that the sentences had been approved by the commanding General. The law did not require the President's approval.

Recruiting for the regular army broke all previous high records during the week ended Dec. 15, 1917, as a result of the announcement by the War Department that no man of draft age would be accepted on the basis of voluntary enlistment after that date. This brought the total number of regular army enlistments since April 1, 1917, up to 337,247.

The aggregate of soldiers' and sailors' war risk insurance written by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department crossed the \$1,000,000,000 mark on Nov. 24, with hundreds of policies on the way from France yet to come in. More than 120,000 policies have been recorded, the average protection asked being about \$8,500.

Military War Council

Secretary Baker announced on Dec. 15, 1917, that with President Wilson's sanction there had that day been created a "Military War Council within the War Department," consisting of the Secretary

of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, and five high ranking officers of the United States Army. The object of the new body is to serve as a connecting link between the War Department and the American forces abroad, and to handle problems of supplies as well as of military policy. It will act in conjunction with the Interallied War Purchase Board, of which Oscar T. Crosby, Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury, has been made President.

No detailed explanation was made as to the apportionment of military and strategical authority between the new War Council and the General Staff, but Secretary Baker issued the following statement defining other aspects of the subject:

At the outset the council consists of the Secretary of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff, (General Tasker H. Bliss;) Major Gen. Henry G. Sharpe, (Quartermaster General;) Major Gen. Erasmus M. Weaver, (Chief of Artillery;) Major Gen. William Crozier, (Chief of Ordnance,) and Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, (Judge Advocate General, who is also Provost Marshal General in charge of Selective Draft.) The purpose of the council is to oversee and co-ordinate all matters of supply of our field armies and the military relations between the armies in the field and the War Department. The council will act through the Chief of Staff and will be provided suitable accommodations and facilities for the transaction of its business.

The work of the War Council is of the highest importance and there will be added to the council from time to time general officers of large experience, so that it may constitute the main reliance of the department for the large planning and initiative necessary to make our support of the armies in the field most effective and helpful. * * * From time to time members of the council will be directed to spend in the theatre of war the time necessary to make general observations and special studies for the information of the council. All details to the council are at the pleasure of the Secretary of War. While any officer is detailed to the council, provision will be made to free him from administration duties and responsibilities.

The War Council does not take over the specialized duties of the General Staff or the War College, but is intended to bring to the larger problems of the department both the experience and general training of the officers of most mature years and largest experience in the service.

Present Strength of United States Navy

THE annual report of the Secretary of the Navy, issued on Dec. 9, 1917, contained striking figures of the United States Navy's war expansion, showing that its personnel at that date numbered 269,000.

Since Jan. 1, 1917, the naval force had increased from 4,500 officers and 68,000 men to 15,000 officers and 254,000 men; the number of stations of all kinds operated by the navy had increased from 130 to 363; the number of civil employes from 35,000 to 60,000; the strength of the Naval Reserve from a few hundred to 49,246 men; the average monthly expenditure from \$8,000,000 to \$60,000,000; the number of ships in commission from a little more than 300 to more than 1,000; the hospital corps from 1,600 to 7,000; the national naval volunteers from zero to 16,000 men; the Marine Corps from 344 officers and 9,921 men to 1,197 officers and 30,000 men.

Secretary Daniels asked that the permanent enlisted personnel be increased to 129,000 bluejackets, 10,000 apprentice seamen, 7,000 men in the trade schools, and 4,000 for the air service; and that the figures for war purposes be 180,000 bluejackets, 24,000 apprentices, 14,000 in trade schools, and 10,000 for aviation. Training facilities have already been provided for 113,650 men, exclusive of the Naval Academy and the regular service schools. For the new fiscal year Mr. Daniels asked for a naval budget of \$1,039,660,502. In regard to the future building program of the navy he contented himself with recommending that the remainder of the three-year program already approved be authorized.

The formation of an Allied Naval Council was announced on Dec. 14 by Secretary Daniels. The council is the direct outgrowth of the Allied Naval Conference held in Paris on Nov. 29-30. (See Page 91 of this issue.) The announcement was made after the receipt in Washington of a cablegram from Admiral William S. Benson, in which he said:

It has been decided to create a naval allied council in order to insure the closest

touch and complete co-operation between the allied fleets. The task of the council will be to watch over the general conduct of the naval war and to insure co-ordination of effort at sea as well as the development of all scientific operations connected with the conduct of the war.

The council will make all the necessary recommendations to enable the Government to make decisions. It will keep itself informed as to the execution of plans decided upon. The members of the council will report to their respective Governments as may be necessary.

The individual responsibility of the Chiefs of Staffs and of the Commander in Chief at sea toward their Governments as regards operations, as well as the strategical and tactical disposition of the forces placed under their command, remains unchanged. It has been decided that the council should consist of the Ministers of Marine of the nations represented and of the Chiefs of the Naval Staffs.

As the meeting of the council will of necessity be held in Europe, the chiefs of the General Naval Staffs of the United States and Japan will be represented by flag officers nominated by their respective Governments. The Allied Naval Council will be provided with a permanent Secretary, whose business it will be to collect and collate all necessary information, &c.

The council will meet as often as may be thought necessary, under the Presidency of the Minister of Marine of the country in which the meeting is held. The various Admiralties will furnish the council with the information which is necessary for the work to be carried on.

Two American Destroyers Sunk

The United States destroyer Jacob Jones, one of the fastest and largest craft of her type, was torpedoed and sunk at dusk on Dec. 6, 1917, by a German submarine while on patrol duty in foreign waters. The destroyer sank almost immediately. Forty-four officers and men out of a total of 110 were saved, one being taken prisoner by the submarine. Among the survivors was Lieut. Commander David Worth Bagley, brother-in-law of Secretary Daniels.

The torpedo struck the destroyer amidships, blowing the afterpart of the vessel to pieces. Some fifty men engaged in that part of the ship were killed. The remaining members of the crew got away on rafts and in boats, in which they remained until the next morning, when

the rescue steamer arrived. Several of the men died from exposure, while the others suffered severely during the seventeen hours in the boats. Lieut. Commander Bagley was rescued by one of his seamen, who afterward died from injuries and exposure. The seaman, with six other members of the crew, was swimming toward a raft when he bumped into a floating object which he thought was a bundle of clothes, but proved to be Commander Bagley with the fur collar of his greatcoat wrapped about his head. Bagley appeared almost unconscious. Although suffering intensely himself from injuries and the cold water, the seaman caught hold of the commander, and, with the aid of his shipmates, pulled him to the raft, where he soon revived. The seaman, however, succumbed a few hours later, and was buried at sea.

The Jacob Jones was built at the New York Shipbuilding Company's plant in Camden, N. J., and was launched in May, 1915. The vessel was 315 feet 3 inches over all, 30 feet 6½ inches beam, 17 feet 7½ inches in depth, and had a draft of 9 feet 8½ inches. Its trial displacement

was 1,150 tons and its speed 29½ knots. The destroyer burned oil and had a fuel capacity of 200 tons. It was able to develop 17,000 horse power. Two attempts are alleged to have been made to destroy the Jacob Jones last February. The first was on Feb. 1, while the vessel was off the Delaware Capes, and the second was made a few days later, either at the Philadelphia Navy Yard or while it was coming up the Delaware River bound for the yard.

Another American naval loss was that of the destroyer Chauncey, which was engaged in naval patrol duty and the U-boat hunt in foreign waters. It was sunk in collision on Nov. 19. Admiral Sims reported that twenty-one men were lost. The Chauncey was one of the old type of destroyers, completed in 1902, and displaced 420 tons, less than half the displacement of the newer and speedier destroyers now being built. Its complement was ninety-one officers and men. For several years before the war the Chauncey was used only in coast defense work, and was classified as a coast torpedo vessel.

Enemy Aliens Under Surveillance

RESTRICTIONS governing the conduct of enemy aliens in the United States and providing for the protection of shipping and other property from destruction or damage, in addition to regulations already in force, were established by President Wilson in a proclamation issued on Nov. 19, 1917.

By this new order machinery was created to prevent, by means of military guards, the approach of enemy aliens within prescribed waterfront areas or within three miles of navigable streams, and to expel enemy aliens from and prevent their re-entrance into the District of Columbia and the Panama Canal Zone. It was also provided that enemy aliens must be registered, must obtain Government consent to travel or change their occupations, and must report from time to time to Federal and municipal officers.

Steps were taken by the United States

to inform the German Government of the measures adopted under the President's proclamation in order to assure the Berlin authorities that no abuse of their countrymen here was contemplated. Through the neutral embassies now representing the hostile Governments at the two capitals, the information was conveyed that the United States was doing no more to German subjects here than Germany did to Americans there long ago. Along with this report, it was understood, went a memorandum of the German sailors in this country held as prisoners of war, civilians interned as dangerous aliens, and crews of the former German merchantmen detained under guard by the immigration authorities.

The number of unnaturalized Germans already interned does not exceed 600, and officials do not expect an increase of more than two or three hundred at the most as a result of failure to obey the

new regulations. The men interned are comfortably housed in barracks at military prisons, receive their food, clothing, and lodging, and many are allowed to work and receive pay.

Estimates based on returns received up to Nov. 27 from corporations, banks, and warehouses indicated that the money and property in the United States belonging to Germans and subject to sequestration by A. Mitchell Palmer, as Alien Property Custodian, exceeded \$600,000,000 and would probably approach a billion dollars.

As is shown in the President's proclamation regarding the declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, [printed elsewhere in this magazine,] subjects of that empire are on a different footing from Germans. Similarly, the property of Austro-Hungarians is safe from seizure. This was made clear in a statement issued by the Alien Property Custodian on Dec. 9, in which he said:

Declaration of war with Austria-Hungary will not change the status of citizens or subjects of Austria-Hungary resident in this country. Such persons are not included within the term "enemy" as employed in the Trading with the Enemy act,

and their property in this country will not be molested or interfered with in any way.

Deposits in the Postal Savings banks of the United States and deposits in other banks and banking institutions belonging to citizens or subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire resident in this country are not liable to seizure by the Government and will not be taken into possession by the Alien Property Custodian. There is no reason whatever why such persons should be concerned about their property, real or personal, or their funds in bank, or securities, or other investments.

Under the Trading with the Enemy act the test of enemy character is one of residence and not nationality. The Alien Property Custodian will take into his possession only the property in this country held for, or on account of, or for the benefit of, persons who are actually resident within the enemy territory.

One of the most important steps taken by the Government was the issuance of regulations by the Federal Trade Commission under which enemy-owned patents and copyrights are licensed for manufacture or use by citizens of the United States. About 20,000 patented and copyrighted articles were affected by the regulations, including dyestuff formulas and valuable medical cures.

New Zealand's Casualties

NEW ZEALAND, with a population of about one million, had up to the middle of August, 1917, contributed 86,000 men to the British military forces. According to an official statement, there were then 14,681 men, of whom 6,553 were available to go to the front. They were held as reinforcements in case of heavy casualties. Some of the other men were in hospitals and convalescent homes. There were at the front 24,320 men. The reinforcements held in France for immediate use numbered 3,114. So that the available reinforcements in England and France numbered less than 10,000. At the same time there were 3,211 men in Egypt and Palestine. The number of men returned to New Zealand was 10,547; of these 8,573 had been discharged. No fewer than 1,238 of the re-

turned men had re-enlisted. The dead numbered 8,461; missing, 45; prisoners, 97; wounded, 21,521. Troops on the water were between 6,000 and 7,000. The number sent from New Zealand up to that time, including the expeditionary force to Samoa, was 76,943. There were 9,024 men in the training camps, and the grand total of the dominion's contribution under all headings was 86,000. The combined Australian and New Zealand—or "Anzac"—fighting forces have already exceeded 448,000 men out of a total of 6,000,000 inhabitants.

New Zealand casualties have been heavier than those of the Australian contingents, as will be seen by comparing the figures just mentioned with those in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, December, 1917, Page 387.

The President's Address to Congress

Text of Speech Defining Aims of United States and Calling for Declaration of War on Austria-Hungary

President Wilson's message to Congress on Dec. 4, 1917, took the form of an address devoted wholly to the war. It was delivered by the President before the houses in joint session, and at the same time was cabled to almost every capital of Europe, where its firm tone had an electrical effect in heartening the other warring nations. The full text is as follows:

GENTLEMEN of the Congress: Eight months have elapsed since I last had the honor of addressing you. They have been months crowded with events of immense and grave significance for us. I shall not undertake to detail or even to summarize these events. The practical particulars of the part we have played in them will be laid before you in the reports of the executive departments. I shall discuss only our present outlook upon these vast affairs, our present duties and the immediate means of accomplishing the objects we shall hold always in view.

I shall not go back to debate the causes of the war. The intolerable wrongs done and planned against us by the sinister masters of Germany have long since become too grossly obvious and odious to every true American to need to be rehearsed. But I shall ask you to consider again and with very grave scrutiny our objectives and the measures by which we mean to attain them; for the purpose of discussion here in this place is action and our action must move straight toward definite ends. Our object is, of course, to win the war, and we shall not slacken or suffer ourselves to be diverted until it is won. But it is worth while asking and answering the question, When shall we consider the war won?

From one point of view it is not necessary to broach this fundamental matter. I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purpose in it. As a nation we are united in spirit and intention.

I pay little heed to those who tell me

otherwise. I hear the voices of dissent—who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamor of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and there fling themselves in impotent disloyalty against the calm, indomitable power of the nation. I hear men debate peace who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it, with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speaks for the nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut about their uneasy hour and be forgotten.

Purpose of United States

But from another point of view I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the war to be for and what part we mean to play in the settlement of its searching issues. We are the spokesmen of the American people and they have a right to know whether their purpose is ours. They desire peace by the overcoming of evil, by the defeat once and for all of the sinister forces that interrupt peace and render it impossible, and they wish to know how closely our thought runs with theirs and what action we propose. They are impatient with those who desire peace by any sort of compromise—deeply and indignantly impatient—but they will be equally impatient with us if we do not make it plain to them what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms.

I believe that I speak for them when I say two things: First, that this intolerable thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face,

this menace of combined intrigue and force, which we now see so clearly as the German power, a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations; and, second, that when this Thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace—when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe, and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world—we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice—justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect, our enemies as well as our friends.

No Vindictive Action Sought

You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong. It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula, "No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities."

Just because this crude formula expresses the instinctive judgment as to the right of plain men everywhere it has been made diligent use of by the masters of German intrigue to lead the people of Russia astray, and the people of every other country their agents could reach, in order that a premature peace might be brought about before autocracy has been taught its final and convincing lesson and the people of the world put in control of their own destinies.

But the fact that a wrong use has been made of a just idea is no reason why a right use should not be made of

it. It ought to be brought under the patronage of its real friends. Let it be said again that autocracy must first be shown the utter futility of its claims to power or leadership in the modern world. It is impossible to apply any standard of justice so long as such forces are unchecked and undefeated as the present masters of Germany command. Not until that has been done can right be set up as arbiter and peacemaker among the nations. But when that has been done—as, God willing, it assuredly will be—we shall at last be free to do an unprecedented thing, and this is the time to avow our purpose to do it. We shall be free to base peace on generosity and justice, to the exclusion of all selfish claims to advantage even on the part of the victors.

First Aim Is to Win the War

Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved, I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it.

We shall regard the war only as won when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan States, over Turkey, and within Asia—which must be relinquished.

Germany's success by skill, by industry, by knowledge, by enterprise we did not grudge or oppose, but admired rather. She had built up for herself a real empire of trade and influence, secured by the peace of the world. We were content to abide the rivalries of manu-

facture, science, and commerce that were involved for us in her success and stand or fall as we had or did not have the brains and the initiative to surpass her. But at the moment when she had conspicuously won her triumphs of peace she threw them away to establish in their stead what the world will no longer permit to be established, military and political domination by arms, by which to oust where she could not excel the rivals she most feared and hated.

Peace Must Remedy Wrongs

The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and Northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans, and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent and alien domination of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose nor desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands, in all matters, great or small. We shall hope to secure for the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula and for the people of the Turkish Empire the right and opportunity to make their own lives safe, their own fortunes secure against oppression or injustice and from the dictation of foreign courts or parties, and our attitude and purpose with regard to Germany herself are of a like kind.

Not Threatening German Independence

We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs. We should deem either the one or the other absolutely unjustifiable, absolutely contrary to the principles we have professed to live by and to hold most sacred throughout our life as a nation.

The people of Germany are being told by the men whom they now permit to

deceive them and to act as their masters that they are fighting for very life and existence of their empire, a war of desperate self-defense against deliberate aggression. Nothing could be more grossly or wantonly false, and we must seek by the utmost openness and candor as to our real aims to convince them of its falseness. We are in fact fighting for their emancipation from fear, along with our own, from the fear as well as from the fact of unjust attack by neighbors or rivals or schemers after world empire. No one is threatening the existence or the independence or the peaceful enterprise of the German Empire.

The worst that can happen to the detriment of the German people is this, that if they should still, after the war is over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world, men or classes of men whom the other peoples of the world could not trust, it might be impossible to admit them to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace. That partnership must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of Governments.

It might be impossible also in such untoward circumstances to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace. But there would be no aggression in that; and such a situation, inevitable because of distrust, would in the very nature of things sooner or later cure itself by processes which would assuredly set in.

Rights of Central Powers

The wrongs, the very deep wrongs, committed in this war will have to be righted. That, of course. But they can not and must not be righted by the commission of similar wrongs against Germany and her allies. The world will not permit the commission of similar wrongs as a means of reparation and settlement. Statesmen must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide awake and fully comprehends the issues involved. No representative of any self-governed nation will dare disregard it by attempting any such covenants of selfishness and com-

promise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna.

The thought of the plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all Governments must henceforth breathe if they would live. It is in the full disclosing light of that thought that all policies must be conceived and executed in this midday hour of the world's life.

German rulers have been able to upset the peace of the world only because the German people were not suffered under their tutelage to share the comradeship of the other peoples of the world either in thought or in purpose. They were allowed to have no opinion of their own which might be set up as a rule of conduct for those who exercised authority over them. But the congress that concludes this war will feel the full strength of the tides that run now in the hearts and consciences of free men everywhere. Its conclusions will run with those tides.

Poison of False Statements

All these things have been true from the very beginning of this stupendous war; and I cannot help thinking that if they had been made plain at the very outset the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Russian people might have been once for all enlisted on the side of the Allies, suspicion and distrust swept away, and a real and lasting union of purpose effected. Had they believed these things at the very moment of their revolution and had they been confirmed in that belief since, the sad reverses which have recently marked the progress of their affairs toward an ordered and stable government of free men might have been avoided.

The Russian people have been poisoned by the very same falsehoods that have kept the German people in the dark, and the poison has been administered by the very same hands. The only possible antidote is the truth. It cannot be uttered too plainly or too often.

From every point of view, therefore, it has seemed to be my duty to speak these declarations of purpose, to add these specific interpretations to what I

took the liberty of saying to the Senate in January. Our entrance into the war has not altered our attitude toward the settlement that must come when it is over. When I said in January that the nations of the world were entitled not only to free pathways upon the sea but also to assured and unmolested access to those pathways I was thinking, and I am thinking now, not of the smaller and weaker nations alone, which need our countenance and support, but also of the great and powerful nations, and of our present enemies as well as our present associates in the war. I was thinking, and am thinking now, of Austria herself, among the rest, as well as of Serbia and of Poland. Justice and equality of rights can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world, and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient.

War Against Austria-Hungary

What shall we do, then, to push the great war of freedom and justice to its righteous conclusion? We must clear away with a thorough hand all impediments to success, and we must make every adjustment of law that will facilitate the full and free use of our whole capacity and force as a fighting unit.

One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Does it seem strange to you that this should be the conclusion of the argument I have just addressed to you? It is not. It is in fact the inevitable logic of what I have said. Austria-Hungary is for the time being not her own mistress, but simply the vassal of the German Government. We must face the facts as they are and act upon them without sentiment in this stern business.

The Government of Austria-Hungary is not acting upon its own initiative or in response to the wishes and feelings of its own peoples, but as the instrument of another nation. We must meet its force with our own and regard the Central

Powers as but one. The war can be successfully conducted in no other way. The same logic would lead also to a declaration of war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They also are the tools of Germany. But they are mere tools, and do not yet stand in the direct path of our necessary action. We shall go wherever the necessities of this war carry us, but it seems to me that we should go only where immediate and practical considerations lead us, and not heed any others.

Penitentiary for Enemy Offenders

The financial and military measures which must be adopted will suggest themselves as the war and its undertakings develop, but I will take the liberty of proposing to you certain other acts of legislation which seem to me to be needed for the support of the war and for the release of our whole force and energy.

It will be necessary to extend in certain particulars the legislation of the last session with regard to alien enemies; and also necessary, I believe, to create a very definite and particular control over the entrance and departure of all persons into and from the United States.

Legislation should be enacted defining as a criminal offense every willful violation of the Presidential proclamations relating to enemy aliens promulgated under Section 4067 of the Revised Statutes and providing appropriate punishment; and women as well as men should be included under the terms of the acts placing restraints upon alien enemies. It is likely that as time goes on many alien enemies will be willing to be fed and housed at the expense of the Government in the detention camps, and it would be the purpose of the legislation I have suggested to confine offenders among them in penitentiaries and other similar institutions where they could be made to work as other criminals do.

Further Limiting of Prices

Recent experience has convinced me that the Congress must go further in authorizing the Government to set limits to prices. The law of supply and demand, I am sorry to say, has been replaced by the law of unrestrained selfishness. While we have eliminated profiteering in

several branches of industry, it still runs impudently rampant in others. The farmers, for example, complain with a great deal of justice that, while the regulation of food prices restricts their incomes, no restraints are placed upon the prices of most of the things they must themselves purchase; and similar inequities obtain on all sides.

It is imperatively necessary that the consideration of the full use of the water power of the country and also the consideration of the systematic and yet economical development of such of the natural resources of the country as are still under the control of the Federal Government should be resumed and affirmatively and constructively dealt with at the earliest possible moment. The pressing need of such legislation is daily becoming more obvious.

The legislation proposed at the last session with regard to regulated combinations among our exporters, in order to provide for our foreign trade a more effective organization and method of co-operation, ought by all means to be completed at this session.

And I beg that the members of the House of Representatives will permit me to express the opinion that it will be impossible to deal in any way but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion with the enormous appropriations of the public moneys which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained, unless the House will consent to return to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee, in order that responsibility may be centred, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication as much as possible avoided.

Additional legislation may also become necessary before the present Congress adjourns in order to effect the most efficient co-ordination and operation of the railway and other transportation systems of the country; but to that I shall, if circumstances should demand, call the attention of Congress upon another occasion.

If I have overlooked anything that ought to be done for the more effective

conduct of the war, your own counsels will supply the omission. What I am perfectly clear about is that in the present session of the Congress our whole attention and energy should be concentrated on the vigorous and rapid and successful prosecution of the great task of winning the war.

We can do this with all the greater zeal and enthusiasm because we know that for us this is a war of high principle, debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoliation; because we know, and all the world knows, that we have been forced into it to save the very institutions we live under from corruption and destruction. The purposes of the Central Powers strike straight at the very heart of everything we believe in; their methods of warfare outrage every principle of humanity and of knightly honor; their intrigue has corrupted the very thought and spirit of many of our people; their sinister and secret diplomacy has sought to take our very territory away from us and disrupt the Union of the States. Our safety would be at an end, our honor forever sullied and brought into contempt, were we to permit their triumph. They are striking at the very existence of democracy and liberty.

Fighting for a Holy Cause

It is because it is for us a war of high, disinterested purpose, in which all the free peoples of the world are banded to-

gether for the vindication of right, a war for the preservation of our nation and of all that it has held dear of principle and of purpose, that we feel ourselves doubly constrained to propose for its outcome only that which is righteous and of irreproachable intention, for our foes as well as for our friends.

The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and quality. For this we can fight, but for nothing less noble or less worthy of our traditions.

For this cause we entered the war and for this cause will we battle until the last gun is fired.

I have spoken plainly because this seems to me the time when it is most necessary to speak plainly, in order that all the world may know that even in the heat and ardor of the struggle and when our whole thought is of carrying the war through to its end we have not forgotten any ideal or principle for which the name of America has been held in honor among the nations and for which it has been our glory to contend in the great generations that went before us.

A supreme moment of history has come. The eyes of the people have been opened and they see. The hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy.



Declaring War on Austria-Hungary

Text of Joint Resolution of Dec. 7, 1917, and
of the President's Formal Proclamation of War

THE United States declared war against Austria-Hungary on Dec. 7, 1917, when President Wilson approved a joint resolution adopted by Congress the same day, declaring "that a state of war exists" between the two countries. The resolution passed the Senate by a vote of 74 yeas, there being no nays; it passed the House by a vote of 363 to 1, the negative vote being cast by a Socialist member from New York City named Meyer London.

The text of the resolution was as follows:

JOINT RESOLUTION

Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas, The Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government has com-

mitted repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; therefore be it,

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that a state of war is hereby declared to exist between the United States of America and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government; and the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

CHAMP CLARK,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL,

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved, 7th December, 1917.

WOODROW WILSON.

Proclamation of War Against Austria

President Wilson issued the war proclamation on Dec. 12, as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, The Congress of the United States, in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in them, have resolved, by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, bearing date of Dec. 7, 1917, as follows:

Whereas, The Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that a state of war is hereby declared to exist between the United States of America and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and

the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Whereas, By Sections Four Thousand and Sixty-seven, Four Thousand and Sixty-eight, Four Thousand and Sixty-nine, and Four Thousand and Seventy of the Revised Statutes, provision is made relative to natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of a hostile nation or Government, being males of the age of 14 years and upward who shall be in the United States and not actually naturalized;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim to all whom it may concern that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government; and I do specially direct all officers, civil or military, of the United States that they exercise vigilance and

zeal in the discharge of the duties incident to such a state of war, and I do, moreover, earnestly appeal to all American citizens, that they, in loyal devotion to their country, dedicated from its foundation to the principles of liberty and justice, uphold the laws of the land, and give undivided and willing support to those measures which may be adopted by the constitutional authorities in prosecution of the war to a successful issue and in obtaining a secure and just peace;

And, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution of the United States and the aforesaid sections of the Revised Statutes, I do hereby further proclaim and direct that the conduct to be observed on the part of the United States toward all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of Austria-Hungary, being males of the age of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, shall be as follows:

All natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of Austria-Hungary, being males of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not naturalized, are enjoined to preserve the peace toward the United States and to refrain from crime against the public safety, and from violating the laws of the United States and of the States and Territories thereof, and to refrain from actual hostility or giving information, aid, or comfort to the enemies of the United States, and to comply strictly with the regulations which are hereby or which may be from time to time promulgated by the President; and so long as they shall conduct themselves in accordance with law they shall be undisturbed in the peaceful pursuit of their lives and occupations and be accorded the consideration due to all peaceful and law-abiding persons, except so far as restrictions may be necessary for their own protection and for the safety of the United States; and toward such of said persons as conduct themselves in accordance with law all citizens of the United States are enjoined to preserve the peace and to treat them with all such friendliness as may be compatible with loyalty and allegiance to the United States.

And all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of Austria-Hungary, being males of the ages of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, who fail to conduct themselves as so enjoined, in addition to all other penalties prescribed by law,

shall be liable to restraint, or to give security, or to remove and depart from the United States in the manner prescribed by Sections 4,069 and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes, and as prescribed in regulations duly promulgated by the President;

And pursuant to the authority vested in me I hereby declare and establish the following regulations, which I find necessary in the premises and for the public safety:

1. No native, citizen, denizen, or subject of Austria-Hungary, being a male of the age of 14 years and upward, and not actually naturalized, shall depart from the United States until he shall have received such permit as the President shall prescribe, or except under order of a court, Judge, or Justice, under Sections 4,069 and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes;

2. No such person shall land in or enter the United States, except under such restrictions and at such places as the President may prescribe;

3. Every such person of whom there may be reasonable cause to believe that he is aiding or about to aid the enemy, or who may be at large to the danger of the public peace or safety, or who violates or attempts to violate or of whom there is reasonable ground to believe that he is about to violate any regulation duly promulgated by the President, or any criminal law of the United States or of the States or Territories thereof, will be subject to summary arrest by the United States Marshal, or his deputy, or such other officers as the President shall designate, and to confinement in such penitentiary, prison, jail, military camp, or other place of detention as may be directed by the President.

This proclamation and the regulations herein contained shall extend and apply to all land and water, continental or insular, in any way within the jurisdiction of the United States.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this eleventh day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-second.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State.



Reasons for Our War on the Dual Empire

House Committee's Official Report

The action of Congress in declaring war upon Austria-Hungary was in response to President Wilson's address of Dec. 4 to the Sixty-fifth Congress, which had assembled in its first regular session on Dec. 3. (The address appears in full on Pages 63-68.) A report presented to the House enumerated the reasons why war should be declared and reviewed the conduct of Ambassador Dumba in meddling with domestic affairs. The report follows:

THE Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 169) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same, having had the same under consideration, reports it back with some amendment, and recommends that the resolution as amended do pass.

In his address delivered at the joint session of the two houses of Congress, on Dec. 4, the President uses this language:

One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary.

The accompanying resolution carries out this recommendation of the President. The enactment of this declaration involves very little readjustment of the affairs between the United States and Austria-Hungary, because a state of war, which this declaration declares to exist, actually has been a fact for many months. The depredation on American lives and rights by Austrian naval forces has been small compared with that of Germany, but they have been indulged in to an extent to constitute war upon this country, and this fact, taken in connection with other acts of Austria-Hungary, has more and more brought that Government into a position where the American people have realized that she must be included with Germany as an enemy.

Ambassador Dumba Arraigned

In September, 1915, it was discovered that Ambassador Dumba and Austrian Consuls in St. Louis and elsewhere were

implicated in instigating strikes in American manufacturing plants engaged in the production of munitions of war. An American citizen named Archibald, traveling under an American passport, had been intrusted with dispatches in regard to this matter from Dumba and Bernstorff to their Governments. These facts were admitted by Dumba. By reason of the admitted purpose and intent of Dumba to conspire to cripple business industries in the United States and by reason of the flagrant violation of diplomatic propriety in employing an American citizen protected by an American passport as a secret bearer of official dispatches through the lines of an enemy of Austria-Hungary, the Austro-Hungarian Government was requested to recall Dumba.

The Austrian Consuls at St. Louis and New York were implicated with Dumba in these transactions, particularly in the circulation of strike propaganda. They were implicated in procuring forged passports from the United States for the use of their countrymen going home. Long before the above activities were made public our Government had evidence that the Austrian Diplomatic and Consular Service was being used in this country for Germany's warlike purposes.

While Austria's submarine warfare has been of a very limited character, it has adopted and adhered to the policy of the ruthless submarine warfare of the Imperial German Government.

Ancona and Other Sinkings

After diplomatic relations with Germany had been broken, the State Department on Feb. 14, 1917, dispatched the following telegram to the American Embassy at Vienna, surveying briefly the position of the Austrian Government on submarine warfare:

In the American note of Dec. 6, 1915, to the Austro-Hungarian Government in the Ancona case, this Government called attention to the views of the Government of the United States on the operations of submarines in naval warfare, which had been expressed in no uncertain terms to the ally of Austria-Hungary and of which full knowledge on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government was presumed. In its reply of Dec. 15, 1915, the Imperial and Royal Government stated that it was not possessed with authentic knowledge of all the pertinent correspondence of the United States, nor was it of the opinion that such knowledge would be sufficient to cover the Ancona case, which was of essentially a different character from those under discussion with the Berlin Government. Nevertheless, in replying to the American note of Dec. 19, 1915, the Austro-Hungarian Government in its note of Dec. 29 states:

"As concerns the principle expressed in 'the very esteemed note that hostile private ships, in so far as they do not flee 'or offer resistance, may not be destroyed without the persons on board 'having been placed in safety, the Imperial and Royal Government is able 'substantially to assent to this view of 'the Washington Cabinet."

Moreover, in the case of the Persia, the Austro-Hungarian Government, in January, 1916, stated in effect that, while it had received no information with regard to the sinking of the Persia, yet, in case its responsibilities were involved, the Government would be guided by the principles agreed to in the Ancona case.

Within one month thereafter the Imperial and Royal Government, coincidentally with the German declaration of Feb. 10, 1916, on the treatment of armed merchantmen, announced that "all merchant vessels armed with cannon, for whatever 'purpose, by this very fact lose the character of peaceful vessels," and that, "under these conditions, orders have been 'given to Austro-Hungarian naval forces 'to treat such ships as belligerent vessels."

In accordance with this declaration, several vessels with Americans on board have been sunk in the Mediterranean, presumably by Austrian submarines, some of which were torpedoed without warning by submarines flying the Austrian flag, as in the case of the British steamers *Secondo* and *Welsh Prince*. Inquiries made through the American Ambassador at Vienna as to these cases have so far elicited no information and no reply.

Again, on Jan. 31, 1917, coincidentally with the German declaration of submarine danger zones in waters washing the coasts of the Entente countries, the Imperial and Royal Government announced

to the United States Government that Austria-Hungary and its allies would from Feb. 1 prevent by every means any navigation whatsoever within a definite closed area.

From the foregoing it seems fair to conclude that the pledge given in the Ancona case and confirmed in the Persia case is essentially the same as that given in the note of the Imperial German Government dated May 4, 1896, viz.:

"In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared 'as a naval war zone, shall not be sunk 'without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to 'escape or offer resistance," and that this pledge has been modified to a greater or less extent by the declaration of the Imperial and Royal Government of Feb. 10, 1916, and Jan. 31, 1917.

In view, therefore, of the uncertainty as to the interpretation to be placed upon these declarations, and particularly this latter declaration, it is important that the United States Government be advised definitely and clearly of the attitude of the Imperial and Royal Government in regard to the prosecution of submarine warfare in these circumstances.

Please bring this matter orally to the attention of the Austro-Hungarian Government and request to be advised as to whether the pledge given in the Ancona case and the Persia case is to be interpreted as modified or withdrawn by the declarations of Feb. 10, 1916, and Jan. 31, 1917. If, after your conversation, it seems advisable, you may hand to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a paraphrase of this instruction, leaving the quoted text verbatim.

Avoided a Direct Answer

In reply, the Austrian Government, in an aide memoire of March 2, 1917, after reviewing the illegal blockade measures of the Allies, stated that "it now, as hertofore, firmly adheres to the assurances given by it" in the Ancona case.

The Austro-Hungarian Government also stated that Austro-Hungarian submarines had taken no part in the sinking of the British steamers *Secondo* and *Welsh Prince*, and that "the assurance 'which it gave the Washington Cabinet 'in the Ancona case and renewed in the 'Persia case has neither been withdrawn 'nor restricted by its declarations of 'Feb. 10, 1916, and Jan. 31, 1917."

The Austro-Hungarian note endeavors,

through a legal argument, to show consistency between these assurances and its declarations. In this way the Austro-Hungarian Government evades a direct answer to the American inquiry, but in its argument it substantially adheres to the declaration of Jan. 31, 1917, for it states that "the entire declaration is essentially nothing else than a warning "to the effect that no merchant ship "may navigate the sea zones accurately "defined in the declaration," and that "the Imperial and Royal Government is, "however, unable to accept a responsibility for the loss of human lives which "nevertheless may result from the destruction of armed ships or ships encountered in the closed zones."

In view of the explicit acceptance and avowal by the Austro-Hungarian Government of the policy which led to a breach of relations between the United States and Germany, the Government of the United States found it impossible to receive Dumba's successor, Count Tarnowski. The Government felt that it could not receive a new Ambassador from a country which joined Germany in her submarine policy, even though its participation was by verbal and not physical co-operation. This was communicated to the Austro-Hungarian Government in a telegram from the State Department dated March 28, 1917.

President's Earlier Forbearance

In his message to Congress of April 2, 1917, the President said in respect to the attitude of Austria-Hungary:

I have said nothing of the Governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our rights and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against the citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war

only when we are clearly forced into it, because there are no other means of defending our rights.

The Austrian note of Jan. 31, 1917, proclaimed the same submarine policy as that of Germany, and officially announced her intention, if she saw fit, to pursue the same ruthless submarine policy that Germany had inaugurated.

Many vessels have been sunk in the Mediterranean—the area in which Austrian submarines operate—by submarines which carried no flag or mark and the nationality of which was unknown. A great many of these undersea craft are believed to have been Austrian submarines or submarines commanded by Austrian officers or supplied from Austrian bases or by Austrian means.

On April 4, 1917, the American four-masted schooner *Marguerite* was sunk by a submarine thirty-five miles from the coast of Sardinia, while en route to Spain. The submarine carried no flag or marks to indicate its nationality. It is known, however, that Austrian (sic) was the language spoken by the officer of the submarine who came aboard the vessel with the boarding party, and it is believed that the submarine was Austrian.

Note From Count Czernin

Before war was declared to exist between the United States and the Imperial German Government, it was intimated to the United States Government that if war should be declared by the United States upon Germany, Austria-Hungary would be under obligation to break off diplomatic relations with the United States. Consequently, after the declaration of war of April 6, 1917, the Austro-Hungarian Government informed the American Chargé at Vienna on April 8 that diplomatic relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary were broken, and handed him passports for himself and members of the embassy. The following is the translation of the note handed to the American Chargé by the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs:

Vienna, April 8, 1917.

Since the United States of America has declared that a state of war exists between it and the Imperial German Government,

Austria-Hungary, an ally of the German Empire, has decided to break off diplomatic relations with the United States, and the Imperial and Royal Embassy in Washington has been instructed to inform the Department of State to that effect.

While regretting under these circumstances to see a termination of the personal relations which he has had the honor to hold with the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States of America, the undersigned does not fail to place at the former's disposal herewith the passports for the departure from Austria-Hungary of himself and other members of the embassy.

At the same time the undersigned avails himself of the opportunity to renew to the *Chargé d'Affaires* the expression of his most perfect consideration. CZERNIN.

The Italian Situation

Until the present Austro-German drive in Northern Italy the Austrian forces were gradually being driven back by the forces of the Italian Army. With the assistance of German troops drawn from the Russian front a very serious catastrophe was inflicted upon the Italian arms, which, if it had not been stemmed, might have resulted in the collapse of Italy. Such a result would have been a great blow to those with whom we are associated in this war, and as much to the United States as to any of her co-belligerents.

As a result of this situation the Allies have rushed aid to Italy, and the United

States is sending ships, money, and supplies, and will probably soon send troops, who will be facing and making war on Austrian soldiers.

The Italian situation is one of the utmost importance in the present conduct of the war. A declaration of war by the United States against Austria-Hungary will hearten the people of Italy, who have been misled by the mischievous and diluting propaganda engineered by Germans. It will strengthen, from a military point of view, the whole allied cause. These are strong considerations for a declaration of war against Austria-Hungary.

These considerations, and the fact that Austria-Hungary is adhering to the illegal and inhumane policy of ruthless submarine warfare, and is, as the committee believes, making war upon American vessels and American citizens on the high seas, and other reasons which are not deemed necessary to recapitulate here, induced the committee to report unanimously the accompanying resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same. The action of the committee is unanimous, and it trusts that the resolution will soon become a law.

Why Turkey and Bulgaria Were Omitted

Government spokesmen explained that Turkey was omitted from the war declaration for the following reasons: There were no Turkish representatives remaining in the United States; the number of Turkish subjects in this country was negligible, only 12,054 having come to this country between 1899 and 1910; Turkish interests in the United States were insignificant, while American missionaries alone had expended over \$20,000,000 in Turkey, which, with other

property, was subject to confiscation if war were declared; Americans in Turkey were numerous and could not leave the country; moreover, Turkey was apparently restive under German control, and there were hopes of a separate peace. In the case of Bulgaria, it was explained that Bulgarians were fighting only in what they regarded as Bulgarian territory; that Bulgaria's interest in the war was purely local, and that she had refused to accede to the German demand that she break with the United States.

Discussion in the Senate and House

IN offering the war resolution to the Senate, Senator Stone, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, spoke of the break in relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary and said the Dual Monarchy had virtually, although not actually, aligned itself as a belligerent against the United States.

"In this great world struggle all men know the intimate and apparently indissoluble relation existing between the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary," said Senator Stone. "It has become palpable and clear that an actual state of war exists between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Governments.

"The Supreme War Council at Paris has defined battle fronts in Europe, one of which has been defined to embrace France, Belgium, and Italy. This reach is laid out as one continuous battle front under one general command. I am told that American troops are up to this date massed in France, but if they are operating on one of the long-defined battle front which embraces Belgium and Italy, I cannot see that it would make any difference where American, British, French, or Italian troops might for the moment be located.

"The state of war already exists between Austria and the United States. It is better for us and for the world that this great fact should be recognized and acted upon affirmatively and authoritatively. The United States cannot afford to play a fast and loose game with the nations of the world. National honor and national interest alike demand that this Government should assume an attitude of dignity, sincerity, and commanding firmness in its international relations."

Senator Lodge and Others

Senator Lodge urged that, although he was willing to follow the advice of the President against a declaration of war on Turkey and Bulgaria, at this time, he regarded it as essential, sooner or later, to include them. He contended that Turkey, as an outlaw nation, must be over-

thrown. He said that an anomalous situation existed as to Bulgaria, which had a representative legation in Washington, and that, while assuming to be friendly with the United States, Bulgaria was the ally of Germany.

Senator Knox dwelt on the status of subjects of Austria-Hungary in the United States, saying fear had been expressed that if the United States went to war with the Dual Monarchy, they would be treated as enemy aliens and deprived of their liberty. The Senator adverted to President Wilson's proclamation with respect to nationals of Germany when the United States went to war with the Prussian autocracy, in which the Executive enjoined citizens of the United States to treat all such subjects "with all such friendliness and loyalty as may be compatible with loyalty and allegiance to the United States."

Senator Knox ventured the opinion that President Wilson would issue a proclamation as to Austrian subjects, as he had done with Germany's nationals, and that the "tens of thousands of subjects of Austria-Hungary" employed in coal mines and other industries throughout the country would not be molested if they remained loyal to America in the war.

Senator La Follette's Attitude

Senator La Follette, who had at all previous times bitterly opposed the war declaration against Germany, was not present when the vote was taken; after the vote he entered the Chamber and spoke as follows:

"Had I been here I would have put in an amendment, which I offer now, to make sure that the United States bound itself not to participate in any territorial aggression that any of our allies might have against Austria-Hungary. If that amendment had been accepted, I would have voted for the resolution; otherwise I would have voted against it."

Senator La Follette's amendment was as follows:

That the United States asserts its determination not to be bound by, or be-

come a party to, the enforcement of any agreement or agreements heretofore entered into between the allied powers, to deprive the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary of title to, or the control of, any territory which was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or possessions, Aug. 1, 1914.

Senate leaders said the La Follette amendment unquestionably would have been discarded as embracing an issue to be considered entirely apart from the declaration of war.

Discussion in the House

Chairman Flood of the Foreign Affairs Committee opened the debate with a comparison of Austria-Hungary and Germany in the ruthless submarine and other campaigns. He closed with an explanation of the military necessities in the case requiring that war be recognized as existing with the Dual Monarchy to defeat German autocracy more quickly. As serious as a resolution of war is, he said, "it is less so in this instance than would ordinarily be the case, because Austria has been making war upon this country for many months, and we have already declared war against her chiefly and the Government which dominates and directs her actions and policies in this crisis of the world's history." Mr. Flood said a declaration of war was not only wise but "essential to the welfare of the armies of this country and of the allied nations."

"Austria," he continued, "has declared in favor of an unrestricted and ruthless submarine warfare, has ordered us off of certain portions of the high seas, and when we did not obey this order, has sunk our ships and murdered our citizens. This has been done in violation of the agreement reached between Austria and this country with reference to the methods of submarine warfare."

Mr. Flood said that when the war began no principle of international law was more securely established than "that war should be so conducted that injury and death should be spared to noncombatants so far as was humanly possible." The principle, he said, was as old as civilization. It was old in the time of Grotius, who held that in the calamities of war children were ex-

empted and spared on the score of their age, and women from respect to their sex. Even Germany recognized this principle until the war had been going on for six months, and while her armies committed outrages of the most atrocious kind in Belgium and in Northern France, and in other parts of the battle front, the German Government denied most of these outrages and atrocities, and, where they were admitted, attempted to justify them as being within the limits of this rule.

Mr. Flood on Grievances

He reviewed the acts of Austria as set forth in the report of the Foreign Affairs Committee, (printed in preceding pages,) and added:

"The assault upon these ships and the murder of these American citizens was as much an act of war against this country as if Austria had landed an army upon our shores and marched it to this city, burning our homes and murdering our citizens as it came.

"No more aggressive act of war can be committed by one nation against another, and we should not submit to such outrages from any nation, great or small. Our flag has been insulted, the integrity of our territory has been invaded, the lives of our citizens have been taken, and to submit would bring irreparable injury, loss, and suffering to our people."

Mr. Flood said America's prosperity and welfare were "inseparably connected with our right of free intercourse with other nations." To order vessels of the United States off any parts of the seas would mean disaster to our commerce. Our total exports to Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy, he pointed out, were this year \$3,000,000,000 and more. These represented the products of farms, mines, and factories, and for them to stop would mean stagnation of industry and suffering and want in the land.

"A nation which will not fight against these outrages, which will not defend its flag, the integrity of its territory, the lives and prosperity of its citizens," declared Mr. Flood, "will not long retain the love of its own people, or the respect

of other people, and it could not long endure, because it is unworthy to endure.

"Let us pass this resolution speedily," concluded Mr. Flood. "Let us link together for overwhelming defeat the two mediaeval Governments which plunged the world into war and still stand as the worst obstacles to a just peace among the nations. Let us pass it unanimously and hearten and cheer the great President of this country, who is bending every energy of mind and body, night and day, to the accomplishment of the complete and speedy triumph of the allied and American armies, upon terms of surrender from the Central Powers that will satisfy the hope and aspirations of the American people and bring an enduring peace to a stricken world."

The Socialist Attitude

In a fifteen-minute speech Representative London attempted to justify his announced position on the ground that the tenets of Socialism were opposed to war, and that its responsible leaders were pursuing such a course in accordance with this fundamental policy.

"As a Socialist I am pledged to vote against a declaration of war," said Mr. London. "In matters of war I am a teetotaler. I refuse to take the first intoxicating drink. The Socialists of the world oppose a declaration of war and oppose war until the last moment. Had there been a majority of Socialists in the countries of Europe in 1914 there would have been no war. If there were majorities of Socialists in the Parliaments of the contending nations today the war would be over tomorrow. It is my obligation to give expression to that sentiment, to represent that body of thought and that international code of ethics providing against a declaration of war, against a spreading of the horrors of it."

This was violently attacked by Representative Chandler, who asserted that the Socialists of Germany, Russia, France, and England each in turn had favored war. Mr. Chandler said:

"One hundred and forty years ago we were bled white and stood at death's

door. France, the beautiful among the nations, sent Rochambeau and Lafayette as ambassadors of freedom to our shores, sent us money and men, and enabled us to live. Today France is bled white and stands at death's door, attacked by Austria and Germany, and in self-respect it is our duty to send men and money to enable her to live against Austria and Germany.

"I say, knowing the full meaning of my words, that with this history with respect to France, with this debt of national gratitude hanging over us, if we, a modern republic, fabulously rich in men and money, should stand by and see the Imperial German Government and the Austrian Government give a death-blow to that brave and beautiful republic, our friend and benefactor, through all the ages yet to come we should not only deserve but would receive the scorn and contempt and the hatred and the execration of mankind."

The Feminine Member

Toward the close of the debate Miss Rankin tripped down the aisle while the galleries listened attentively, expecting another anti-war outburst from "the lady from Montana." Instead, she declared that the acceptance of the resolution was a mere technicality, and, in a voice clear and determined, said that she was prepared to vote for it.

"I still believe that war is a stupid and futile way of attempting to settle international difficulties," she said. "I believe that war can be avoided and will be avoided when the people, the men and women in America, as well as in Germany, have the controlling voice in their Governments. Today the special privileged interests are controlling the world.

"When the United States declared war on Germany it virtually declared war on Germany's allies. The vote that we are now to cast is not on the declaration of war. If it were I should vote against it. This is merely a vote on a technicality in the prosecution of the war already declared. I shall vote for this, as I voted for money and men."

Grappling With the Submarine Peril

Address by Sir Eric Geddes

First Lord of the British Admiralty

Sir Eric Geddes signalized his entrance into the duties of First Lord of the Admiralty by delivering in Parliament on Nov. 1, 1917, a noteworthy speech on the recent progress made by the British Navy against the enemy's U-boat warfare. A brief cabled summary of this address appeared in the December issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, but the whole speech is so important a statement of historic facts that all the essential portions are now presented in full.

SINCE the beginning of the war—and these are entirely new figures which I think will be interesting to the House—between 40 and 50 per cent. of the German submarines commissioned and operating in the North Sea, Atlantic and Arctic Oceans have been sunk. During the last quarter the enemy have lost as many submarines as they lost during the whole of last year, 1916. That is a later figure than the one given by the Prime Minister at the Albert Hall. He told the country that in this year—he was speaking a few weeks ago—we had already sunk twice as many as in the whole of 1916. The figure I am able to give is important because it shows that we are really making progress. The figure I give is that in one quarter, that is, roughly, a third of the time, we have sunk the equivalent of the whole of 1916.

As to the sinkings of British merchant tonnage by submarines the German official figures for August are 808,000 tons. But that figure represents all nationalities. The German figures are usually given for all nationalities, and then they turn round to ask, How can the British mercantile marine stand this? They actually sank very little more than a third of that amount of British tonnage and a little more than half of all nationalities. For September their official figures are 672,000 tons, that is they have gone down from 808,000 to 672,000, and I will tell the House later on how they explain that. They sank far less than a third of that amount of British tonnage and less than half that amount of all nationalities.

The Germans claim—and this is how

they account for the decrease in their mythical sinkings—that our tonnage is falling so low that there are not enough ships at sea to enable their submarine commanders to maintain their bag. They say the game is getting very scarce. That is the explanation given by two semi-official organs, the Cologne Gazette and the Frankfort Gazette, on the same day, Oct. 23, so obviously it was communicated to them. I would like to give the House the facts on that. In April last, which was absolutely the heaviest month of sinkings since the war began, we must assume, just because it was their best month, that our trade flowed in satisfactory volume for their submarines. They had no complaint that month. They did very well; they got a good bag. In September last, which is the month they explain away as unsatisfactory because there is not enough tonnage to sink, the overseas sailings of all ships, 1,600 tons and over, were 20 per cent. in numbers and 30 per cent. in tonnage higher than in April.

Long Arm of the Navy

So he has to find another and better explanation for his lack of success. I can supply that. The reason is that the long arm of the British Navy has reached down into the depths, and the harvest reaped by the submarines is poorer and the number of German submarines that do not return is increasing. Since April, the big month for British losses, they have steadily decreased, and latterly very markedly decreased. It has been an absolutely steady curve down to September. September was a most satisfactory month,

MAJOR GEN. WILLIAM C. GORGAS



A New Portrait of the Surgeon General of the United States Army.

(© Harris & Ewing.)

THE PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL'S STAFF



Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder (Fourth from the Left in the Front Row) and His Executive Staff, Who Are in Charge of the Selection of America's National Army.

(© Harris & Ewing.)

the best we have had since we began the intensive submarine warfare, and October is very slightly worse than September, very slightly, and is far better than any other month since the unrestricted submarine warfare began. I am not juggling with the figures—I mean far better. It is 30 per cent. lower than any other month, except September, and September was the best month. I have dwelt on the interchangeability of effort, showing how it is sometimes possible to achieve the same net result by greater efforts in other directions, such as the production of anti-submarine craft and appliances, instead of the production of merchant tonnage. The net reduction in tonnage in the last four months is today 30 per cent. less than was anticipated in an estimate prepared by me for the Cabinet early in July.

The total net reduction since the beginning of the war from all causes in British tonnage on the official register and applying it only to ships that are oceangoing, 1,600 tons and over, is 2,500,000 tons. That is the tonnage which we have lost—net—and that is 14 per cent. of the ships on the register in that class. That reduction has taken place during the period while our armies with their magnificent equipment were receiving absolute priority, and the great growth of our navy was simultaneously achieved, and achieved to the detriment of mercantile shipbuilding. Now that the submarine is, for the present at any rate—and I should like to lay emphasis on these words—doing less damage and the resources of the country are again being devoted to a far greater and increasing extent to the upbuilding of the mercantile marine, I hope and I look forward to the net results being still more favorable.

I have tried to really give a consecutive idea of how I read the submarine situation. I have given all the figures that I feel can safely be made public, because, although I am talking in this House, I am really talking in Germany as well. To summarize the submarine warfare as clearly as I can, therefore, I would put it thus: In spite of an increased number of ships passing through

the danger zone, our defensive measures have, during the past seven months, proved so efficacious that there has been a steady and very great reduction in the damage done by the enemy under-water craft. Meantime we are sinking enemy submarines to an increasing extent. Our offensive measures are improving and becoming more effective, and will still more considerably improve and multiply.

Germans Building U-Boats Faster

On the other hand, on the best information before us, I believe that the Germans are building submarines faster than they have hitherto been able to do, and that they have not yet attained their maximum strength. It appears to me, therefore, that in this submarine warfare, as elsewhere, it is becoming a test of determination, grit, and ingenuity between the two contending forces. * * * At present we are justified in feeling—I think so—that his attack on our trade is being held, and is being mastered, and we are justified in looking to the future with courage and determination, confident that he will fail.

There is one point that I would like to make which will, I think, interest the House, and I wish to give publicity to it. We, of course, analyze in every possible way submarine sinkings, and, although we may do, and are doing, a great deal by the use of science, by various kinds of weapons and appliances to defeat the submarine, there is one thing which is almost the most potent protection against submarines that exists. It is not an appliance; it is a gift of God given to men on the ships. It is their eyesight. It is the good lookout that is kept.

I will give figures which I think will interest the House, and will tell those outside how they can help the navy against the submarine. A good lookout kept by an experienced man covering a great many attacks by submarines has given us the following facts: That if a submarine is sighted by the lookout on a vessel, whether the vessel is armed or not, it is seven to three on the ship in favor of getting away; out of every ten attacks when the submarine is sighted by the ship seven of them fail, but of every ten attacks when the submarine is

not sighted eight ships go down. It is seven to three on the ship if the submarine is sighted and four to one against it if it is not.

The Enemy's Shipping Losses

At the outbreak of war Germany had about 5,000,000 tons of shipping. Today nearly half of it is sunk or in the hands of our allies and of ourselves. She has got a 50 per cent. reduction, and none of her merchant ships go to sea. We have got a 14 per cent. reduction. It is well, however, that the British public should be told what they are up against. We must not consider ourselves alone. We must consider the alliance as a whole. We must not be optimistic and say we can do all we like because submarine warfare is for the present, at any rate, going well with us. Some of our allies may be better or may be worse off in some particulars than we are. For example, while we have plenty of coal to be had for the mining, Italy and France have not, and it is essential that the greatest economy in food and in all our imports should be exercised in order that tonnage saved may be diverted to the vital needs of the Allies.

* * * It is only by the strictest economy at home with the maximum comfort for the workers that the submarine will be finally defeated. Further, there are great, and ever greater, calls upon the shipping of the world. The huge armies that our ally the United States is preparing have to be transported and maintained, and our French, Italian, Russian, and other allies require sea-borne help, and that help can only be given to the full extent which this country would wish if the nation is prepared strictly and rigorously to curtail its needs and preserve and develop its home resources and maintain its present and potential maritime strength.

Merchant Shipping Construction

Our present position in merchant shipping is an interesting phenomenon of the war. The fact shows how quickly our surplus resources can be wasted, and we can take courage in remembering that at the same time we have grown strong where we were weak. Some never

thought it was possible in the early months of the war to help the great host of our allies in France and the other theatres of war, but they are now equipped on a scale never dreamed of before. This effort was achieved in part at the cost of our mercantile marine, and also in part at the cost of our navy. If we had continued during the war with our merchant shipbuilding on its pre-war level we should have been between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 tons to the good, but expenditure of effort in one direction calls for restriction in another, and we were fortunate that we started well supplied.

The House will recollect that even so we are less than two and a half million tons down on the register of big ships. Might the country not justly take courage from the fact that in 1917, with our mercantile and munitions effort at the maximum, and with a call upon our manpower which reduced our available resources to the minimum, we shall have produced naval and mercantile tonnage to an extent almost equal to the best year ever recorded in our history, and in 1918 it will certainly be very much greater?

Output of Merchant Tonnage

The output of merchant tonnage for the first nine months of 1917 is 120 per cent. higher than in the corresponding period of last year, and is very considerably higher than the total output for the whole of 1915. Standard vessels have now been ordered, representing very nearly 1,000,000 gross tons of shipping. More than half of those are already under construction, and the remainder will be taken in hand as soon as vessels now on the stocks have been launched. A limited number of standard vessels completed are now in commission, but the whole of the yards suitable for building standard ships cannot yet be entirely devoted to this work, because the stocks are already occupied with other craft. But merchant shipbuilding must not be considered apart from merchant ship repairing. The same men and the same material are required for repairing ships as for building ships, and if we have a run of badly damaged ships brought into port it would, indeed,

be false economy to devote our resources to building a ship which might be available in five, six, or eight months' time, when, by devoting men and material to damaged vessels, we can have that tonnage afloat in a matter of weeks or months.

The Controller has been fortunate in obtaining the services and the heartiest co-operation and good-will of those who are at the head of our great ship-repairing and drydocking industry. There are today 235 drydocks of considerable size in the British Isles which can be devoted to merchant ship repairs. I exclude drydocks allotted to the Royal Navy. We have throughout made a revision of the docks both for building and repairs, so that each department has its own accommodation, and then, if one can help the other, we adjust it that way. These docks, now centrally controlled, have attained a remarkable figure of user—90 per cent. of their possible maximum of time. This is, indeed, a strikingly satisfactory figure, and, I am authoritatively informed, far better than peace-time commercial experience. Our monthly repairs of merchant ships is 1,100 completed—drydocked and afloat—and I am glad to say that there are practically no arrears of repairs. The need for these repairs is, of course, by no means caused by enemy action alone.

Naval Shipbuilding

In addition to merchant shipbuilding and merchant ship repairing, we have the building and repair of warships. It would not be wise to give any details of warship construction, except to say that the program of warship and auxiliary ship construction now in hand is infinitely larger than has ever been undertaken in the pre-war history of the country. I am sure it will be a source of satisfaction to the House to learn that, during the last 12 months, the output of royal naval and auxiliary vessels, measured in displacement, was between three and four times as much as the average annual output for the few years preceding the war. I would like in this connection to say that, in the dockyards, as in every branch of war activity, women are bearing their part, and are being, to

a considerable and an increasing extent, employed with great satisfaction to the management.

The growth of the fleet has put a considerable strain upon the resources of the royal dockyards and of the outside repairing establishments which throughout have given of their best in the maintenance of our forces. Three large and one small new dockyards have been opened since the beginning of the war, and the increase of work done in all dockyards has been most marked. During one month the number of war vessels completing repairs was nearly 1,000—that is in addition to the 1,100 merchant ships—and that was by no means an abnormal month. Since the beginning of the war 31,000 war vessels, including patrol craft and mine sweepers, have been docked or slipped, and these figures do not include repair work done for the vessels of our allies.

The arming of merchant vessels is proceeding, and it is hoped that before long all merchant craft will be effectively armed. But here again this House and the public will, I feel sure, wish to realize that we cannot judge one item by itself. We can only judge with a knowledge of all the factors of the case. Our available resources in all directions do not meet all the demands made upon them. The arming of merchant ships and patrol craft could have been completed earlier had there not been so great a demand for anti-aircraft guns. The armament could have been heavier had it not been necessary to devote a portion of the output of guns to other purposes. The adjustment of resources is a matter of great difficulty and can only be done with the utmost care by those who have a comprehensive and full knowledge of the facts. The difficulty exists today with all belligerents, but we have reason to believe that our enemies have a much greater need for these adjustments than have we and our allies.

Activities of British Navy

I will now proceed, as far as possible and as far as time may permit, to a broad general statement of the rôle and activities of the navy. The question is often asked whether the Admiralty is

not contenting itself with a concentration on the defensive rôle instead of adopting bold offensive measures. Of course, it takes two sides to make a battle, and the problem of coaxing an unwilling enemy to come out into the open and fight has always confronted the stronger naval power. What was true in the great naval wars of the past is still more true under modern conditions. Mine, submarine, and powerful shore artillery have all contributed to make the task of the offensive extremely difficult. The rôle of the British Navy today is, as it must be, both offensive and defensive. We defend our trade routes, and the figures which have recently been given by the Prime Minister, but which I venture to give again, show what the navy has done. The navy has transported across the sea to allied armies 13,000,000 men, 2,000,000 horses, 25,000,000 tons of explosives, 51,000,000 tons of fuel, 130,000,000 tons of food. Of the 30,000,000 men who have crossed and recrossed the sea only 2,700 have been lost by the action of the enemy. The navy has also maintained without serious interruption and with the co-operation and inestimable gallantry of the mercantile marine the sea-borne and munition supplies not only of these islands but of our allies.

Apart from the convoy of our trades and military and munitions traffic, however, I have sought for some clear way of demonstrating to the House and through the House to the country, that the rôle of the navy is in other ways an offensive one. The enemy, as the House knows, is based and remains behind powerful land defenses of which Heligoland is merely an outpost. I will give one comparative fact to show how the Grand Fleet differs in its rôle from the defensive part played by the High Seas Fleet.

Patrolling a Million Miles

I disclose no secret—or if it is a secret I disclose a fact which I should be glad to tell the enemy—when I say that the British fleet in its northern base lies behind no shore defenses, but relies on its own strength alone. There are those in this country, and possibly in this House, who do not appreciate the activi-

ties of his Majesty's navy in home waters, who think that it lies in its bases like the High Seas Fleet with the North Sea in between. I speak from the intimate knowledge I have of the day-to-day situation in the North Sea, and I can state with the fullest confidence to the House that the North Sea—140,000 square nautical miles—is swept day and night from north to south and east to west by the British Navy.

During a recent month the mileage steamed by his Majesty's battleships, cruisers, and destroyers amounted to 1,000,000 ship miles in home waters. In addition to this there is the ceaseless patrol of the naval auxiliary forces, amounting to well over 6,000,000 ship miles in home waters in the same month. Over and above this, we have the untiring vigilance by warships and all craft of his Majesty's navy in every ocean of the world. Time will not permit of my making more detailed reference to the work of the royal navy and auxiliary craft in the seven seas, on the Tigris, and elsewhere. Their arduous duties have been carried out with great gallantry and in a manner beyond reproach, and, as is the pride of his Majesty's navy, without a stain upon their honor chivalry, and humanity. As one example only of how thorough that work is I can state that during a recent month the blockading squadron performed in the North Atlantic and Arctic Oceans the almost incredible feat of intercepting and examining every single merchant ship trading with neutral countries. They missed not one. The nation's demands made upon the royal navy have been great, and have been met with such thoroughness and with so little fuss that the country has, I feel sure, hardly realized what the navy has accomplished.

Naval Airmen

The personnel of the fleet before the outbreak of war was 146,000; today it is 390,000. In this is included the Royal Naval Air Service, which has alone increased from 700 to 41,000. The duties of the Royal Naval Air Service are varied, of great value, and of absorbing interest. Its great efficiency and gallantry in France are occasionally brought

to public notice by reports of bombing expeditions and otherwise. But any statement on the navy would be incomplete without a tribute to the Royal Naval Air Service in operations over the sea. They are the terror of the submarine. During one month the aircraft patrol round the British coast alone is more than five times the circumference of the earth. I think it may interest the House and instruct the public if I give some indication of what the Royal Naval Air Service alone has done in bombing behind the enemy lines in France. During September alone 64 raids were carried out on dockyards, naval dépôts, enemy aerodromes, and other objects of naval and military importance in Flanders behind the enemy lines. No fewer than 2,736 bombs were dropped by the Royal Naval Air Service alone, totaling 85 tons of explosives. The figures for October are not yet completely tabulated, but are still greater. There is no doubt that these raids result in great material and moral damage, and on many occasions their effect is shown in the aerial photographs to be such as to hamper and restrict seriously the enemy naval, aerial, and military undertakings.

The submarine service of the royal navy would call for more time than I can at present ask the House to give me.

Their intricate patrol of the far waters of the North Sea is invaluable. The romance of one submarine hunting another is enthralling, were it permissible to give details of those exploits. We hear little of their doings, but their ceaseless work contributes largely to the practical immunity of our shores.

Before closing this statement of naval activities I would wish to mention the work of the mine sweepers and mine layers and of their gallant crews, largely recruited from our hardy fishermen. Both these duties may be offensive as well as defensive. Is it not an offensive measure to lay mines at night in the tortuous channels of the enemy mine fields, with the possibility of attack from his patrol craft or discovery and bombardment from his land guns? Similarly, is it not an offensive measure for the mine sweepers to go into the enemy mine fields, which are protected, to sweep a passage, as they have done, to enable their comrades of the submarine or light surface craft to follow in the next night? The late Prime Minister once said in a speech which he made to the fleet that naval operations are of necessity conducted in "the twilight." It is that very twilight which keeps the public, and, I regret to say, this House, in partial ignorance of their work.

U-Boat Sinkings—And U-Boats Sunk

OFFICIAL figures show that the number of British ships sunk by submarines increased somewhat in the last month. The following are the losses announced by the British Admiralty:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended Nov. 18.....	10	7	0
Week ended Nov. 25.....	14	7	0
Week ended Dec. 2.....	16	1	4
Week ended Dec. 9.....	14	7	0
Total for four weeks..	54	22	4
Total previous four weeks.	40	21	1

To these figures should be added French, Italian, American, and neutral vessels sunk. But there are no complete

returns as in the case of British ships, and apparently these losses are somewhere about the average. Up to Oct. 1, 1917, the number of Norwegian ships sunk was 660, representing 1,020,000 tons. With them were lost 713 men and seventeen more missing. One-third of Norway's merchant tonnage has thus been destroyed.

An interesting question was raised in the House of Lords on Nov. 22, when Lord Beresford called attention to the number of ships "missing without trace," and to the disclosure in the communication of Count von Luxburg, formerly German Minister to Argentina, of Germany's plans for the sinking of vessels in this manner. Lord Lytton,

Civil Lord of the Admiralty, in reply to Lord Beresford, said that in the three years ending with last October 122 vessels had been lost "without trace." The normal average in peace times was fifteen vessels yearly.

A new German barred zone was established on Nov. 22 around the Azores, "which have become in economic and military respects important hostile bases of Atlantic navigation." The extension of the German zone was announced from Berlin in an official memorandum, which said:

The hostile Governments are endeavoring by the intensification of the hunger blockade against neutral countries to force out to sea neutral cargo space, which is keeping in port, and to press it into their service. As hostile shipping and shipping sailing in hostile interest are being supplemented by violent measures, the German Government in its struggle against Great Britain's domination of violence, which tramples under foot all rights, especially those of smaller nations, finds itself obliged to extend the field of operation of its submarines.

The memorandum added that the extension principally consisted of the establishment of a barred zone around the Azores and "in closing a channel to Greece hitherto left open in the Mediterranean, as it has been utilized by the Venizelos Government, not so much for the supply of the Greek population with food-stuffs as for the transport of arms and ammunition."

Various indications have been given of the success of the Allies in sinking German submarines. Thomas B. Hohler, a member of the British Embassy staff at Washington, speaking in New York City on Nov. 27, said: "It may interest you to learn that I have been informed that between Nov. 1 and Nov. 15, this year, thirty-nine submarines have been sunk." No explanation of the methods which brought about an average destruction of better than two U-boats a day accompanied the announcement. Premier Lloyd George had previously stated that five enemy submarines had been sunk on one day, while reports received by the United States Government showed that on another day three submarines

had been destroyed by the allied naval forces.

A report was received on Dec. 3 at Newport, R. I., from a seaport in France that one of the newest type of German submarines, armed with two 6-inch guns and many torpedoes, had been taken by an American warship. The submarine had been sent out for a cruise of two months. Instead, it was kept out a month longer. Then, according to report, provisions gave out and the crew mutinied and hoisted a white flag. It was seen by a British warship, but ignored as a ruse. An American warship which saw the signal ran alongside. All the submarine's officers were found lashed to the deck, having been killed by the mutinied crew. The submarine was taken to a French port.

The capture of the crew of another German U-boat sunk by depth charges was told in an Associated Press dispatch, dated Nov. 26. The explosives had disabled the U-boat and forced it down, bumping along the bottom of the sea, when the commander, in order to lighten her, emptied the tanks. The U-boat responded and rose to the surface with such a rush that some of the Germans were thrown about and injured. The U-boat appeared on the surface within several hundred feet of an American destroyer. The submarine's hatch flew open, and the Germans scrambled out of the conning tower. They lined up along the deck with hands in the air, shouting "Kamerad!" The destroyer moved close up and heaved a line, which the Germans made fast. This was no sooner done than it became apparent that the crew had succeeded in opening the seacocks, for the submarine began to settle, at first slowly, then more rapidly. As she did so the Germans leaped into the water and swam toward the destroyer. Some of the American bluejackets jumped into the sea to rescue the injured. As the last German was lifted aboard the destroyer the hawser attached to the U-boat parted under the strain and the U-boat disappeared. When the destroyer reached her base the prisoners were almost wholly clad in American bluejacket outfits.

The Monstrous Submarine Piracy

By Hall Caine

[By Arrangement with The London Chronicle]

FOR thousands of years, in frail craft and strong, the sailors of the world have fought the sea and beaten it. But they have paid the price of their victory. The great deep holds the unknelt and uncoffined remains of millions of the vanquished. Through all the ages they have been the soldiers of the sea, and for the good of the world, its material and spiritual necessities, they have fallen in battle against the deadliest enemy of mankind.

That is according to the law of nature, and we bow our heads to it. "There is sorrow on the sea; it is never quiet." But when the wrecks of the ocean are not those of the elements in their blindness, but of man himself in his barbarity, the heart of humanity has to be surrounded by something more than oak and three-fold brass to bear it. The first sea battle between ship and ship must have seemed to be a sufficiently unnatural thing to those who reflected that the common foe of both was round about them. But there was at least a certain fierce grandeur about it, such as we now feel to belong to a battle in the air. And just as aerial fighting seems to sound the last note of chivalry in the clamorous discord of modern warfare, so does sea fighting seem to be a human struggle of brave man against brave man, with Nature, the great Neutral, standing by to swallow up the fallen. Drake and Hawkins and the rest of our wild sea rovers may have been pirates, but they fought like men. Not blood for blood's sake, not lust of mere destruction, not merciless massacre of vanquished enemies, but the glory of conquest, a certain pride in overcoming courageous adversaries, and showing them the honors due to brave if beaten foes—that was the spirit of the great seamen of the old days.

It is the spirit of all true sailors still, thank God, but our enemies in the present war have done their utmost to wipe out the first and highest and noblest tradi-

tions of the sea. They have condescended not merely to the morality of pirates, (which has a bold daring to it,) but to the ethics of sharks and sea garroters, which requires no courage and no strength. The last thing they wish to meet is an adversary that can hold his own with them. Because the submarine is necessarily a frail vessel that cannot bear an answering shot, they fall on their unwary foe from the cover of the waters as the footpad falls on the pedestrian from the shelter of a wall or tree. As a consequence, they sink without the danger of being sunk, and fight where they cannot be fought. One wonders what our mighty Drake, pirate as he may have been, would have said to seamen who took after this style the hazard of their lives at sea!

It would be useless to discuss the arguments on which our enemies justify their unrestricted submarine campaign, except to say that they are shallow, stupid, and illogical, and such as the most ruthless of their own statesmen—Bismarck himself—must have disclaimed. The only matter worth thinking of is the measure of the offense of it, and the first thing one sees is that it is a crime against nature. That ordinance of the Almighty whereby the earth, through all the workings of seed time and harvest, gives forth its fruits, is openly defied and outraged by a nation which orders the sinking of ships laden with food. To say that for reasons of revenge, to compel the withdrawal of a blockade, or for any other ends whatsoever, the sun shall shine and the rain shall rain in vain, and the products of the soil shall be utterly wasted, is blasphemy against nature and the God of nature.

The next thing one sees is that the submarine policy of our enemies is a crime against human necessity. At a time when, by reason of the war, the whole world is suffering from the want of food, to destroy food is a double in-

iquity, and to attempt to starve one large part of the human family in order that another and smaller part of it may not be starved, without renouncing its military purposes, is to claim the right of the minority to control the majority, the right of Germany to rule the world.

Next, we see that the submarine policy of our enemies is a crime against human life. Willfully to kill, without the necessity to kill, or the immediate danger of being killed, is murder. The fragility of the submarine does not excuse her sinking without warning. The laws of humanity are not subject to variation at the whim of mechanical infirmity. They are immutable.

Above all we see that the submarine

policy of our enemies is a crime against civilization. If it could succeed it would undo all the work the sailor has done throughout the ages in binding race to race, nation to nation, in furthering man's material progress and developing his spiritual brotherhood. Every ship is a hand-clasp between land and land. Therefore every ship destroyed leaves a link the less in the chain that unites man to man. Already America is thrice as far away from Europe as it was a year ago. If the ocean could be swept of ships at the will of any empire whatever, the world would henceforth be at the empire's mercy, dependent upon it for every form of sustenance, whether for the body or for the soul.

The Shipping Problem

THAT the shipping problem of the nations arrayed against the Teutonic Powers had been solved was the important statement made by Bainbridge Colby, the representative of the United States Shipping Board at the Paris Interallied Conference. "The stupendous building program of America," he said, "is the answer to the submarine." (The decisions in regard to shipping adopted at the conference are recorded elsewhere in this magazine.)

According to Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board, German submarines in the first ten months of unrestricted warfare sank over 900 British vessels of more than 3,000,000 tons dead weight. The greatest ship-building feat any nation has ever accomplished is that of Great Britain, in 1913, when 688 vessels, of 2,989,299 tons, were completed. Japan in 1914 built forty-three ships, of 192,993 tons. This was the biggest tonnage finished by any nation except Great Britain.

The United States, says Mr. Hurley, now has available for transatlantic service 582 ships, of a total of 3,721,806 tons, including former German and Austrian vessels and oil tankers. German and Austrian ships now operated by the Shipping Board number 105, and are of 688,960 tons. American citizens hold

eleven more of these ships, totaling 63,915 tons. Mr. Hurley showed that between Jan. 1 and June 1, 1917, American shipyards had built and launched eighty-seven ships, of a total tonnage of 503,922. Of this total, fifty-five vessels were of steel, 430,994 tons, while thirty-two were of wood, 72,928 tons.

The first official analysis, issued on Nov. 25, of the program which is being carried out by the Emergency Fleet Corporation of the United States Shipping Board, shows that contracts have been let for 884 new vessels, aggregating 4,724,300 deadweight tons; 426 vessels, of 3,029,508 tons, building on the ways have been requisitioned to hasten construction, and contracts for ninety-nine other vessels, of 610,000 tons, were pending. This program presents a grand total of 1,409 vessels of all types, aggregating 8,363,808 deadweight tons. Of the requisitioned vessels included in this schedule thirty-three, of 257,575 tons, have been completed and released. The total deadweight tonnage given represents approximately 6,000,000 gross. The Emergency Fleet Corporation, with the co-operation of the shipbuilders and of organized labor, expects to place all these vessels on the seas before the end of 1918.

The figures show that there are under contract no less than 278 vessels of 7,500

tons or more, classified as cargo steamers, of which seventy are designed especially for transports. Of the cargo vessels requisitioned 176 also are of 7,500 tons or over. Most of the vessels of 5,000 and 7,500 tons which have been contracted for are being built in new yards, and it is estimated that it will take five months to complete a vessel after the yards are in operation.

The construction of a great fleet of vessels, each of 8,800 tons or over, was one of the first steps advocated by Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board and Rear Admiral Capps. The theory was that these vessels could attain higher speed and be more effective against the submarines. Vessels for use as transports are being constructed with a new system of bulkheads which, it is believed, will make them "unsinkable." It has been stated that at least three hits would have to be made by torpedoes to cause a disaster, and under the present system of convoy such a feat by a submarine is looked upon as impossible.

Rear Admiral W. L. Capps resigned his position as General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation on Nov. 23 on the ground of failing health. It was stated, however, that there had been serious differences of opinion between Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board, and Admiral Capps, the latter holding that under the methods being pursued the 6,000,000 tons of vessels demanded by the Allies for 1918 could not be produced. As recorded, (see *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, December, 1917, Pages 427-8,) Charles A. Piez had already taken over a good deal of the work done by Admiral Capps.

The protracted discussion of the question of merchant-ship operation by the Navy Department and the Shipping Board was ended by the decision announced on Nov. 28 that all Government vessels on the transatlantic routes were to be officered and manned by Naval Reservists. This meant that all officers and crews in the European service would be under the Navy Department. Under the new plan of merchant-ship operation students in the Shipping Board navigation schools must enter the Naval Reserve

before beginning active service. Merchant shipmasters, and seamen also, must enter the Naval Reserve. While the officers and crews of merchant ships are subject to navy orders and discipline, they receive pay equivalent to that paid by private shipowners. The agreement with the Seamen's Union in regard to wages is being observed.

More than 100,000 officers and men, it is estimated, are needed to man the fleet of merchant vessels America will turn out by the end of 1918. It is estimated that 15,000 merchant-ship officers and seamen will be taken into the Naval Reserve Service. The navy has about 100,000 men in training available for manning the merchant vessels.

Imports Under Government Control

By a proclamation issued on Nov. 28, 1917, placing under license the import of many articles, President Wilson put into the hands of the War Trade Board a powerful weapon to be used against firms controlled by German capital.

Notable in the South American countries named in the proclamation was Venezuela, where German capital is in full command, and from which pro-German propaganda radiates in great volume. German-controlled firms in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and other countries also are made to feel the full force of America's power to control its commercial relations.

The proclamation takes in European as well as South American countries, thus making it possible for the Government to cut off commercial relations with firms in the northern neutral countries of Europe and in Spain if it sees fit. The weapon thus supplied adds greatly to the commercial power of the United States, putting it in the position during the war almost to direct the trade of the world.

One of the chief advantages of import control is that it gives the Government a larger measure of supervision over shipping. If tonnage vitally needed for war purposes is being used to transport to this country commodities regarded as nonessential the Government can decline to issue import licenses and thus divert the tonnage to essential trades.

America's First Blacklist

The War Trade Board published on Dec. 4 its first blacklist of German-controlled banks and industries in South America, Cuba, and Mexico. The list contained the names of more than 1,600 concerns with which American banks and industries are forbidden to deal except under license. Where imports are for firms that are controlled by German money they are to be seized by the Alien Property Custodian, sold, and the receipts used for the purchase of Liberty bonds, or in some other direction to aid in the war against Germany.

In the blacklist are included the great banks, manufactories, and public utilities of Argentina, representing the most powerful combination of German capital in Latin America. All shipments to the public utilities of Buenos Aires have been held up. The great German-controlled corporations which have been entirely dependent upon American coal have been forced to the extreme of burning oil and wood to keep power stations for electric railways and electric lighting systems in operation. A rough estimate of the capital involved in the industries and banks on the American blacklist place the total at \$3,000,000,000.

Alcohol and the War

AMONG the material benefits coming from the world war, a prominent place must be given to the large restriction of the use of alcoholic liquors by practically all the belligerents. A notable beginning was made by Nicholas II. in Russia. Two months before the war the Emperor had directed General Sukhomlinoff, then War Minister, to prohibit the use of alcohol by the soldiers, in the interest of the "strength, health, and psychic vigor of the army." Early in August, 1914, Nicholas II. sent an order to his Ministers practically prohibiting the use of vodka throughout the whole Russian Empire. "It is not meet," he said, "that the welfare of the Exchequer should be dependent upon the ruin of the spiritual and productive energies of numbers of my loyal subjects." The production and consumption of vodka instantly stopped almost completely. In September, 1914, the first month of full prohibition, only 102,714 kegs of vodka were consumed throughout Russia, as against 9,232,921 kegs in September, 1913. Since the revolution the ban on alcohol has not been as strictly enforced as before, but the masses of Russia still support the reform.

In England, King George, Lord Kitchener, Lloyd George, and the Archbishop of Canterbury set the example of total abstinence, though there has, up to the present, been no general measure of prohibition in England. Measures have been

taken, however, to restrict both distilling and brewing, while the proportion of alcohol in the liquor produced has been diminished. Nova Scotia appears to be the only part of the British Empire which followed Russia in a measure of complete prohibition.

In France, especially since the measures passed during the Summer of 1917, there has been a large degree of restriction, liquors testing over 18 degrees of alcohol being forbidden, though light wines are still largely used, a ration of wine being served to the French soldiers.

In the United States, both the ban on liquor for soldiers and the prohibition of distilling for the duration of the war are strong influences in the same direction. Under an order approved by President Wilson on Nov. 26, 1917, beer must not contain more than 3 per cent. of alcohol.

In the Central Empires Dr. Richard Froehlich of Vienna testifies that with the first mobilization throughout the whole German Empire the sale of all spirituous liquors in all railroad stations was absolutely prohibited, while the sending of spirits as "love-gifts" to soldiers was strictly forbidden. The same measures seem to have been taken in Austria-Hungary also. Turkey, as a Moslem country, always abstained from spirituous liquors, though many of the "Young Turks" treat this law of the Prophet as a dead letter.

Interallied Conference at Paris

Momentous War Council of Sixteen Nations and Official Report of Its Work Made Public at Its Adjournment

THE first plenary session of the Interallied Conference in Paris opened at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Nov. 29, 1917. The French Premier, M. Clemenceau, presided. It was the most important conference that the Allies had held, and was regarded by many as the most momentous council of nations thus far in history. Sixteen nations were represented by their Premiers or High Commissioners. The list of representatives was as follows:

France

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, Premier and Minister of War.

STEPHEN PICHON, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

LOUIS KLOTZ, Minister of Finance.

GEORGES LEYGUES, Minister of Marine.

ETIENNE CLEMENTEL, Minister of Commerce.

LOUIS LOUCHEUR, Minister of Munitions.

VICTOR BORET, Minister of Proliferations.

M. LEBRUN, Minister of Blockade and Invaded Region.

ANDRE TARDIEU, High Commissioner to the United States.

JULES CAMBON, General Secretary to the Foreign Office.

M. DE MARGERIE, Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Great Britain

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, Premier.

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Sir FRANCIS BERTIE, Ambassador to France.

Sir ERIC CAMPBELL GEDDES, First Lord of the Admiralty.

General Sir WILLIAM ROBERTSON, Chief of the Imperial Staff at Army Headquarters.

Admiral Sir JOHN JELLICOE, Chief of the Naval Staff.

Sir MAURICE HANKEY, Secretary to the Committee on Imperial Defense.

United States

WILLIAM GRAVES SHARP, Ambassador.

Colonel E. M. HOUSE, Chairman.

Admiral WILLIAM S. BENSON, Chief of Naval Operations.

General TASKER H. BLISS, Chief of Staff.

OSCAR T. CROSBY, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

VANCE McCORMICK, Chairman of the War Trade Board.

THOMAS NELSON PERKINS of the Priority Board.

Italy

VITTORIO E. ORLANDO, Premier and Minister of the Interior.

Baron SONNINO, Foreign Minister.

FRANCESCO S. NITTI, Minister of the Treasury.

Count BONIN-LONGARE, Ambassador.

Signor BIANCHI, Minister of Transports.

General ALFREDO DALLOLIO, Minister of Munitions.

Japan

Viscount CHINDA, Ambassador to Great Britain.

Belgium

Baron CHARLES DE BROQUEVILLE, Foreign Minister.

Baron DE GAIFFIER D'HESTROY, Minister to France.

General RUCQUOY, Chief of the General Staff.

Serbia

NIKOLA P. PACHITCH, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. M. R. VESNITCH.

Rumania

V. ANTONESCO, Minister.

General ILIESOU, Chief of the General Staff.

Greece

ELEUTHERIOS CONSTANTINE VENIZELOS, Premier and Minister of War.

ATHOS ROMANOS, Minister to France.

ALEXANDRE DIOMEDE, former Minister of Finance.

M. AGYROPOULOS, Governor of Macedonia.

Colonel FRANTZIS.

M. ROTTASSIS, Naval Attaché.

Portugal

Dr. AFFONSO COSTA, Premier and Minister of Finance.

AUGUSTO SOARES, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Montenegro

EUGENE POPOVITCH, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Brazil

ANTONIO OLYNTHÉ DE MAGALHAES, Minister at Paris.

Cuba

General CARLOS GARCIA Y VELEZ, Minister at London.

Russia

MATHIEU SEVASTOPOULO, Councillor of the embassy at Paris.

M. MAKLAKOFF, Ambassador to France, (by special invitation and unofficially, as he has not yet presented his letters.)

Siam

M. CHAROON, Minister at Paris.

China

HU WEI-TEH, Minister at Paris.

General TAMPT TSAI-LIEH, Vice Secretary of the General Staff of China.

Premier Clemenceau's Exhortation

In his opening address Premier Clemenceau indicated that the council had assembled for work, not words, by making his speech exceedingly brief. He said:

Gentlemen: In the name of the French Republic the honor of welcoming you falls upon me. In this greatest of wars it is the feeling of the supreme solidarity of peoples which unites us in this moment to win on the field of battle the right to a peace which shall be a true peace of humanity. It is for this we are here in this admirable reunion of hope and duty, well prepared to make every sacrifice demanded by an alliance which no intrigue and no weakening can ever impair. Our task is to translate into acts those lofty feelings whereby we are animated. Our order of the day is work. Let us work.

M. Pichon, the Foreign Minister, then outlined the questions to be examined and the method of work to be followed. The resolutions by the French representatives having been adopted without discussion, the conference divided into sections in which the various allied delegations were represented. These sections were Finances, Imports and Transportation, Armament, Munitions, Aviation, Food and Blockade. Each of these commissions was presided over by the French Minister whose department corresponded to the subject under consideration.

The conference divided into separate

committees to consider the various phases named. The results of these conferences were officially announced on Dec. 6 as follows:

The various committees constituted by the Interallied Conference dealt as a whole with the technical question of the conduct of the war, the details of which cannot be published. However, at the conclusion of their deliberations, the committees decided to publish the following resolutions:

Financial.—The Financial Section, meeting under the Presidency of Louis Klotz, French Minister of Finance, held numerous sittings, in the course of which the various financial questions interesting to the Allies were successively examined. At the end of its labors this section unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

"The delegates of the allied powers in the financial section consider it desirable, with a view to co-ordinating their efforts, to meet regularly in order to draw plans for the payment of liabilities and the settlement of loans and rates of exchange, and thus assure concerted action."

Oscar T. Crosby, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and M. Klotz told the section that, in their opinion, this regular meeting ought to be a permanent organization. Other resolutions were adopted to the effect that, although the dispositions manifested by all the delegates evidenced sentiments of the financial solidarity of the Allies, this solidarity ought to be affirmed in practice by the methodical co-ordination of efforts, which alone should determine the judicious utilization of the resources of the Allies and the best distribution of their strength.

Armament and Aviation Section.—The representatives of the allied nations examined the condition of their various war manufactures and considered practical means of avoiding all duplication and directing the effort of each nation to the production of the things for which it was best fitted. In matters of first importance, an interallied committee was formed for carrying out the common programs, and decisions were arrived at.

Sections of Imports, Maritime Transport, and Supplies.—The Allies, considering that the means of maritime transport at their disposal as well as the supplies at their command ought to be utilized in common for the conduct of the war, decided to create an interallied organization with a view to co-ordinating action in this direction to establishing the common program, constantly kept in mind, and enabling them, while utilizing their resources to the full, to restrict their imports in order to release as much ton-

nage as possible for the transport of American troops.

Blockade Section.—The Blockade Section examined, in the first place, the convention of the Allies with Switzerland regarding the questions of blockade. The draft of an arrangement between the United States and Switzerland was approved, and the United States will nominate delegates to participate in the deliberations of the interallied commission at Berne.

The section decided to make the dispositions necessary to enable the commission in regard to the food supply in Belgium and Northern France to accomplish its program as to provisions and transport. The section submitted to the conference a declaration to the effect that, the prolongation of the war having led to the consumption of products of all sorts out of proportion to production, it was evident that the available resources, whether in allied or neutral countries, were unequal to actual needs, and that it would be necessary to extend the general principles laid down by the American Government.

Work of Naval Council

Naval Section.—A conference was held at the Ministry of Marine in Paris Nov. 19. M. Leygues, Minister of Marine, presided. The conference comprised representatives of the naval powers. It was decided to create an interallied council in order to assure close contact and more complete co-operation between the navies of the Allies.

The mission of the council will be to watch over the general conduct of the war and assure co-ordination of effort on the sea. The council will make all suggestions necessary to assist the decisions of the Governments, and will hold itself cognizant of their execution. The members of the council will address to their respective Governments all reports they deem necessary on the subject.

The individual responsibility of the Headquarters Staff and the commanders at sea to their Governments concerning immediate operations, as well as the employment of strategical and tactical forces

placed under their command, will remain without change. The council will be composed of the Ministers of Marine of the nations represented and the Admiralty chiefs. As the meetings of the council will be held in Europe, the United States and Japan will be represented by officers appointed by their respective Governments.

The Interallied Naval Council will be provided with a special Secretariat, which will take charge of all documents, &c., and will meet as often as desirable under the Presidency of the Ministry of Marine of the country where the meetings take place. The different Ministers of Marine will be willing to furnish the council with every information of a nature that would require to be submitted to and examined by the Financial Section.

The Supreme War Council

The Supreme War Council of the Allies held its first session at Versailles on Dec. 1. It was attended by Premier Lloyd George and General Wilson for Great Britain, Colonel House and General Bliss for the United States, Premier Clemenceau and General Foch for France, and Premier Orlando and General Cadorna for Italy. The hotel in which the meeting was held was closely guarded by military, and even the official photographers of France and the United States were not allowed to enter the grounds. No statement of the proceedings was given out other than that they were harmonious and entirely satisfactory. On Dec. 6 it was announced that General Foch had been recalled to become personal adviser to Premier Clemenceau, and that Lieut. Gen. Maxime Weygand, recently promoted to General of Division, would serve in his place; he became a Major General in 1916 and a Lieutenant General in November, 1917; he had been closely associated with General Foch throughout the war.



The Taking of Jerusalem

Story of the Long Campaign of the British Egyptian Column
Which Resulted in the Capture of the Holy City

JERUSALEM, the Holy City, was taken by the British forces under General Sir Edmund Allenby on Dec. 10, 1917, and the victorious commander entered officially at noon on Dec. 11. The capture was announced in the House of Commons on Dec. 10 by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The news was received with deep satisfaction throughout the allied nations; solemn Te Deum masses were held in celebration at cathedrals in London, Paris, and other centres, and profound pleasure was expressed at the Vatican. Throughout the world the Zionist Jews celebrated the taking of the city as a final step toward fulfillment of the promise of the British Government—announced some weeks previously—that Palestine should be granted autonomy as a national Jewish State.

The official cabled announcement of the taking of the city was made Dec. 10 by General Allenby. The final attacks near the city were made Dec. 8, at the south and west. Welsh and home county troops, advancing from the direction of Bethlehem, drove back the enemy, and, passing Jerusalem on the east, established themselves on the Jerusalem-Jericho road. At the same time London infantry and dismounted yeomanry attacked the strong enemy positions west and north-west of Jerusalem, and placed themselves astride the Jerusalem-Shechem road. The city, being thus isolated, surrendered.

General Allenby's official report follows:

I entered the city officially at noon Dec. 11 with a few of my staff, the commanders of the French and Italian detachments, the heads of the political missions, and the Military Attachés of France, Italy, and America.

The procession was all afoot, and at Jaffa gate I was received by the guards representing England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Australia, New Zealand, India, France, and Italy. The population received me well.

Guards have been placed over the holy

places. My Military Governor is in contact with the acting custodians and the Latin and Greek representatives. The Governor has detailed an officer to supervise the holy places. The Mosque of Omar and the area around it have been placed under Moslem control, and a military cordon of Mohammedan officers and soldiers has been established around the mosque. Orders have been issued that no non-Moslem is to pass within the cordon without permission of the Military Governor and the Moslem in charge.

The telegram also stated that a proclamation in Arabic, Hebrew, English, French, Italian, Greek, and Russian had been posted in the citadel and on all the walls, proclaiming martial law and intimating that all the holy places would be maintained and protected according to the customs and beliefs of those to whose faith they were sacred. The proclamation reads:

Proclamation

To the Inhabitants of Jerusalem the Blessed and the People Dwelling in Its Vicinity:

The defeat inflicted upon the Turks by the troops under my command has resulted in the occupation of your city by my forces. I, therefore, here now proclaim it to be under martial law, under which form of administration it will remain so long as military considerations make necessary.

However, lest any of you be alarmed by reason of your experience at the hands of the enemy who has retired, I hereby inform you that it is my desire that every person should pursue his lawful business without fear of interruption.

Furthermore, since your city is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind and its soil has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrimages of multitudes of devout people of these three religions for many centuries, therefore, do I make it known to you that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment,



MAP OF BRITISH CAMPAIGN WHICH BEGAN IN EGYPT AND CULMINATED IN THE CAPTURE OF JAFFA AND JERUSALEM

pious bequest, or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form of the three religions will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faith they are sacred.

Guardians have been established at Bethlehem and on Rachel's Tomb. The tomb at Hebron has been placed under exclusive Moslem control.

The hereditary custodians at the gates of the Holy Sepulchre have been requested to take up their accustomed duties in remembrance of the magnanimous act of the Caliph Omar, who protected that church.

Story of the Campaign

The Palestine campaign was laid out by General Sir Archibald Murray, who in January, 1916, succeeded Sir John G. Maxwell as commander of the British forces in Egypt. The execution of his plans was intrusted to General Sir Edmund Allenby, who was transferred from the western front in France. When he reached Egypt the Turks had already been severely jolted by a series of blows received in the Sinai campaign. The attempt to seize the Suez Canal had proved a disastrous experience to a number of Turkish Generals and to at least one German commander, Colonel Kress von Kressenstein.

This officer had planned the advance of Djemel Pasha in the Spring of 1915 by three routes across the desert of the Sinai Peninsula. The objective of the main Turkish force was the Suez Canal at a point fifteen miles south of Ismailia. There a battle was fought in which British and French war vessels took part. The British troops included East Indians, Australians, New Zealanders, and British territorials and yeomanry. Their losses were insignificant, 115 killed and wounded, whereas the Turkish casualties were 900 killed or drowned in the canal and 2,000 wounded. Six hundred and fifty Turks were captured. The northern Ottoman army—its base was El Arish, on the Mediterranean—was put to flight in the neighborhood of Kantara, which is on the canal and thirty miles south of Port Said.

The southern Turkish army, operating by way of Nakhil, was never dangerous.

The British lost an opportunity to pursue and completely rout Djemel Pasha's well-equipped army, as that portion of the Sinai Peninsula (between Egypt proper and Syria) is a most difficult and dangerous country for a foreign army, being waterless in many parts and entirely barren of food.

General Murray's Work

When Sir Archibald Murray took over the Egyptian command he decided to follow Kitchener's tactics in the Sudan and build a railway along the Mediterranean coast route from Kantara, through Katia and El Arish, to Rafa. When he began to lay rails and water mains the Turks had garrisons at Katia, twenty miles from Kantara, and at El Arish, which was well on the way to Beersheba, the Turkish base. In Colonel Kress von Kressenstein, who assumed command of the Turkish forces, Murray had a much more formidable antagonist than Djemel Pasha. The Turco-German airplane reconnaissance was excellent. In raids and minor engagements the British suffered severely at first, but in a battle at Romani, between Katia and the coast, von Kressenstein's army of 18,000 men was decisively beaten, with casualties of 9,000, including 4,000 prisoners. Thus ended the "second invasion" of Egypt. The El Arish base was abandoned by the German commander, and he left in his motor car for Beersheba.

The fighting in this region was all practically in the open, and in this respect was entirely different from the battles in Europe.

General Allenby's Success

The new campaign of General Allenby began early in October, 1917, when he advanced on Beersheba. The story of the capture of that city and of Gaza and Jaffa is told elsewhere by W. T. Massey. The occupation of Jerusalem was a foregone conclusion, when Jaffa, its Mediterranean port, thirty-one miles westward, fell on Nov. 17.

The capture of Gaza, on the coast and fifty miles southwest of Jerusalem, was made after a nine-mile "drive." Gaza had a strong system of defenses and so had Beersheba, the base for the Turkish

GENERAL VIEW OF THE KREMLIN OF MOSCOW



The Famous Kremlin (or Citadel) of Moscow as It Appears from the Sofuskaya Quay. The Kremlin Was One of the Buildings Attacked During the Bolshevik Revolution.

CANADIAN ARTILLERYMEN AT WORK



A Gun Crew Loading One of the 15-inch Guns on the Canadian Front in France.
(Canadian Official Photograph from Western Newspaper Union.)

expedition against the Suez Canal in the Sinai Peninsula campaign, in which General Murray turned the tables on the Turks. Askalon was taken on Nov. 9. At that time General Allenby reckoned the Turkish casualties at 10,000, exclusive of "missing" or prisoners. Six days later the British seized the junction of the Beersheba-Damascus railway, from which ran a line to Jerusalem. The end of November saw Allenby closing in on that city from the north and west.

Already the British flag was flying over Ekron, Gederah, Wadi-el-Chanin, and other Zionist colonies. Jerusalem was supposed to have been strongly fortified by the Germans, but it has yielded, almost without a blow. In fact, the Turks made no very determined stand after losing Gaza. Left to their own devices, they failed to keep up their supply system.

Pushing on Toward Damascus

The British after taking Jerusalem showed clearly that they would take full advantage of the cool, dry weather which prevails in Palestine in the late Fall to

push their campaign before the Winter rains set in. On Dec. 12, two days after the surrender of Jerusalem, it was announced that the British line had been advanced northwest of that city and of the line between it and Jaffa, positions having been carried as far as the mouth of the Midieh. The next objective of the British appeared to be Damascus, about 140 miles to the north.

The British, under Lieut. Gen. W. R. Marshall, who succeeded General Maude in Mesopotamia, were reported early in December 150 miles northeast of Bagdad, almost within striking distance of Mosul, an important city on the line of the proposed Bagdad Railway. The Russians, on Oct. 5, were at Nereman, 50 miles north of Mosul, but rested there on account of the state of affairs in Russia. The occupation of Jerusalem and the Mediterranean ports near by, with the control of the Tigris, gives the British a great advantage in supply bases in Syria and Mesopotamia, at the same time threatening the dominion of the Turks and the influence of the Germans in all Asia Minor.

British Sovereigns at the Front

THE King and Queen of England visited the battle lines in France in the Summer of 1917, spending two weeks on the journey and traversing nearly all districts where warfare was in progress. Herbert Maxwell calls attention to the fact that no King and Queen of England had previously visited the seat of a war since 1304.

Queen Margaret accompanied King Edward I. to the siege of Stirling Castle. The King caused an oriel window to be built in his house in the town, whence the Queen and her ladies might witness the play of fourteen mighty siege engines upon the castle. Gunpowder was not employed in the war with Scotland till the campaign of Weardale in 1327, but these great machines, the latest masterpieces of military science for throwing stone balls and wildfire, had been brought around by sea to the Firth of

Forth, and King Edward took as keen personal interest in their performance as his Majesty King George V. shows in modern armament. The engines were all named as scrupulously as battleships—to wit, the Lincoln and the Seagrave, the Robinet and the Kingston, the Vicar and the Parson, the Berefrey, the Linlithgow, the Bothwell, the Prince's, the Gloucester, the Dovedale, the Tout-le-monde, and, newest and mightiest of all, the Loup-de-guerre, which did not arrive in time to be placed in position before Oliphant hoisted the white flag of surrender.

King Edward, however, being impatient to try the new engine, bade the garrison take cover while a shot was fired from it into the castle, (*tauntge il eit ferru ove le lup de guerre.*) So says Sir Thomas Gray (direct ancestor of the late Foreign Secretary) in his "Scalacronica."

The British Conquest of Palestine

Described by W. T. Massey

The British resumed active operations in Palestine in October, 1917, under General Sir Edmund Allenby, and made rapid progress. Beersheba, at the southern end, was taken on Oct. 31, Gaza on Nov. 7, Jaffa on Nov. 19, and on Dec. 10 it was officially announced that the British troops had taken Jerusalem. The subjoined descriptions of the capture of important strongholds in Palestine were written by W. T. Massey, the British war correspondent:

Beersheba, Oct. 31, 1917.

BY a rapid and well-delivered surprise blow, General Allenby's army has smashed the western end of the Turks' intrenched line in Southern Palestine and wrested one of the most ancient Biblical towns from the enemy. In the early moonlight hours of Oct. 31 Beersheba was occupied by Australian mounted troops and British infantry after a stern day-long fight, in which our troops displayed great endurance and courage, doing everything planned for them, and working out the Staff scheme as if by the clock. Although meeting with a strong resistance from the enemy in extremely strong positions, nothing went wrong, and the story of the day will add to the military glory of soldiers from English cities and shires and from Australia and New Zealand. The splendid British infantry made long night marches and attacked with such determination that they tore down wire entanglements with their hands, and just as the moon rose over the Judaea hills the Australian Horse charged mounted against strongly held trenches with bayonets on rifles, overwhelming the Turks, and galloping cheering into the town.

Our movements were all done by night. At dawn yesterday the cavalry were south of the town, and the infantry were facing the northern, western, and south-western defenses, which were cut in the range of hills hiding Beersheba from view. These intrenchments were elaborate and skillfully chosen, and generally were heavily protected by wire, while guns covered all approaches. The country we had to march over was in a bad condition. In the Spring it consists of

fertile rolling downs; now the sun has parched the desert, the slightest movement raising enormous clouds of dust. Only a few trees and cactus hedges between the sea and the gaunt Judaea hills relieve the picture of a land laid bare by war. Yet with these surroundings against us General Allenby was able to effect a surprise which the Turks considered impossible. The prisoners declare that all thought Beersheba could never be taken in a day, and that many believed the place to be impregnable.

Preliminary Cavalry Work

On Oct. 27 before our movement began there was a little affair in which British mounted troops acquitted themselves magnificently. A cavalry screen occupied the high ground five miles west of Abu Irgeig station, on the Jerusalem-Beersheba railway. Three thousand Turks, with twelve guns, moved against this position, with the intention of shelling the construction parties. Infantry were about to replace the cavalry, but before they could do so the Turks descended from Kauwakah and attacked the cavalry west of the Wadi Hanafish, a rough watercourse with many twisting tributaries in the torrent-torn country parallel to the Beersheba-Gaza road. One of our squadrons at Girheir held out all day with both flanks enveloped. Another, south of the line, faced by troops on three sides, put up a splendid fight, beating off two determined cavalry charges supported by gunfire, and only retiring after a third charge, keeping the enemy at bay for six hours. At least 200 Turks were accounted for; the enemy had the heart so taken out of him by this resistance that when the infantry arrived

the line was secured without difficulty, and we did not have to make a night attack, which might have cost many casualties.

This gallant fight was a fitting prelude for the operations against Beersheba. The troops had been well trained. Indeed, this force was never in such efficient condition. The infantry marched by night and remained as well hidden as possible in the daytime in the folds of the ground or in the river beds. The cavalry got well round to the southwest, and their position was doubtless seen by enemy airmen. On the night of Oct. 30-31, under a beautiful moon, our horsemen made a wide, rapid sweep round from the south to southeast, ready at dawn to rush up and cover the town from the east and get astride the Hebron road to prevent a retirement in that direction. The infantry were to attack the trenches on the southeast, but before that could be done Hill 1,070, about three miles to the south, had to be taken. This hill had been made into a very strong redoubt, commanding a wide stretch, but an extremely heavy fire was brought to bear against it, and the gallant infantry carried it with an irresistible rush within half an hour of the attack. There was a German machine-gun section on the hill, but prisoners admitted that every machine gun was knocked out by our fire. Our casualties in taking the hill were very small. We took eight officers and eighty men prisoners on this hill, while there were many killed and wounded.

Enemy Taken by Surprise

When this important outpost had been secured the infantry prepared to attack the system of trenches southwest of the Wadi Saba, from the Khalassa road to the Beersheba-Sheria railway, camel corps and other infantry making a holding attack north of the Wadi. There had been some rifle firing and shelling by the enemy just before dawn, and thereafter the guns north of the Wadi fired heavily on the troops moving across the open ground to the south until one of our batteries located them and silenced them for the remainder of the day. The advance against the southwestern trench

system was a great achievement. The Turks held on desperately, and time would not permit more than an hour's bombardment to cut the wire. The advance, too, was over exposed ground, and but for an extremely clever scheme the infantry must have sustained serious loss.

The day was remarkably still. Usually a strongish breeze blows for hours in the middle of the day, but a sluggish, oppressive air overhung the downs. During the morning the shells were tearing up so much earth that a dense sand pall hid the line of entanglements they were cutting. Our infantry made rushes across the open, heeding neither the enfilade fire of the guns nor the spasmodic machine-gun fire. In a few places the shells had broken down the wire, and into these the bombers dashed, while others tore down the wire from the iron supports with their hands and were in upon the Turks before they realized that resistance was futile.

This grand work was done by soldiers from English counties, many of them men who had prepared themselves for Great Britain's defense before the war burst upon the world. They showed inspiring courage and resource. This onslaught on the southwestern trenches only served to whet their appetite. Resting awhile, they crossed the rough, pebbly bed of the Wadi Saba to reduce the chain of holes and trenches on the western sides of Beersheba, which, strongly held, were even more formidable. Fighting for more than twelve hours had not lessened their determination, and, moving steadily and methodically on the same well-thought-out plan which had been so successful throughout the day, they proceeded to capture one length of defenses after another, until at 9:30 all the Beersheba stronghold was ours.

Australian Cavalry's Exploits

The cavalry work was equally meritorious. Many horsemen rode thirty miles before getting into action. They had two very difficult places to reduce during the day. The Australians in their widest sweep had to capture Sakaty, a high hill six miles northeast of Beersheba, dominating a wide district. With their usual élan these big Australians

stopped at nothing, and rounded up every Turk on the hill by 1 o'clock. Thereafter they proceeded across the Hebron road and the Wadi Itmy, and closed that exit from Beersheba.

Even more difficult was the taking of Tel-el-Saba, of 1,000 feet, three miles east of the town, which had been converted into a redoubt of great strength, and made almost unapproachable by the steep banks of the Wadi running alongside it on the south. But the New Zealanders and Australians carried it by half-past 3, and then turned their attention to the group of houses between the hill and the Hebron road held by a German machine-gun company. This felt the full weight of the colonial arm. It was getting dark, and anxiety was felt about water for the horses. Another Australian force settled the difficulty. They formed up against the eastern trenches, fixed their bayonets, and, charging line after line, went for the enemy. Wave followed wave, until long before the last line reached the trenches the machine-gun and rifle fire had withered away and told the tale of enemy dead. Dismounting at the first-line trenches, the Australians went on foot, overpowering all the Turks, and then, bringing forward again their brave chargers they remounted and galloped cheering into the town.

I was in Beersheba in the early hours of today. There was everywhere evidence of the Turks being taken completely by surprise. They had blown up the railway engine and burned the engine house, but the train was standing in the station and the warehouses, full of corn, were almost intact, though attempts had been made to fire them. A direct hit by a heavy gun on the bridge over the Wadi, north of the town, prevented the removal of rolling stock. The long stone bridge south of the town was intact, as are the new buildings in the high part of the town, which bear evidence of German construction. They are of stone, with red tiled roofs. The natives had left Beersheba several months ago, their quarters being poor.

The Capture of Gaza

Gaza, Nov. 7, 1917.

This Philistine stronghold has been cap-

tured, and the British Army is a long step nearer Jerusalem. This ancient city has been the scene of many desperate conflicts, but during the last week there have been more violent shocks here than there were in all the battles which have raged about its walls for 4,000 years. General Allenby's strategy made the fall of Gaza inevitable, though it is puzzling why the city was not the last part of the line to fall.

When Beersheba had been taken and the victories on the enemy's shrunk left made the capture of Gaza a certainty, the Turks hurriedly departed just when General Allenby began to launch the attack. The Turks had had enough of the artillery preparation; they had experienced nothing like it at Gallipoli.

To troops from the western counties and Indians was given the task of attacking along the ridge southeast of Gaza, terminating at Alimuntar or Samson's Hill, East Anglian and Home Counties men operating along the seashore where a few days ago, using bombs and bayonets, they cleared the enemy out of the first line trenches.

The opposition was weak, and only a few men remained in the trenches, the whole place becoming ours at daylight. The Scottish Territorials pushed on through the town for a considerable distance, and the North Indian Cavalry pursued the Turks nearly as far as the Wadi Hesi. At sunset the Turks, who had been holding Beit Hanun, four miles northeast of Gaza railway terminus—which has been damaged by fire from the warships—with three infantry divisions, were retiring rapidly, many crossing the Wadi Hesi, harassed continually by us.

Further east there are two enemy divisions at Mejadil opposed to the men from "Gallant Little Wales" and Home Counties troops, whose stubborn guarding of the right flank against big odds yesterday kept Khuweilfeh for us, and enabled the rapid advance to be made against Kauwukah and Tel-el-Sharia. These Welshmen magnificently avenged their losses in the second battle of Gaza. Aby Hareira was carried at daybreak by Irish troops, who went forward with

the bayonet into the trenches, though raked by machine-gun fire, and captured 100 prisoners and several guns.

Elaborate Turkish Defenses

General Allenby's strategy has saved many lives. Gaza, framed in a deep margin of field fortifications, was taken at a cost of few casualties; yet, if it had been defended with the tenacity which the Turks usually show, and we had had to assault it, the cost of victory would have been heavy. Rolling up the Turks on the left step by step with a large toll of prisoners and guns, gave us Gaza at a small expenditure of men.

The prisoners taken all thought Gaza to have been impregnable. One officer prisoner ridiculed the idea of capture. An immense amount of labor had been expended on the defenses. I saw many dugouts with a head cover of nine thick palm logs beneath sandbag tops, and winding stairs leading to a shelter a dozen feet below the ground. The shell craters all around the enemy lines show how wonderfully accurate our fire was, but if the Turks had held out the artillery preparation for a direct assault would have been much prolonged. Nothing which cunning suggested was omitted in the considerable efforts to make the dugouts comfortable, and the Turkish soldier must have regarded them as luxurious. The guns had played havoc with the thick cactus hedges which formed natural defenses around the south end of the town; still, these were in many places untouched, and a few machine guns would have held up battalions. With all these advantages remaining to him, the Turk had to go. He left some snipers behind, but they have all been rounded up now.

Gaza at close quarters is a disappointment. The picturesqueness of the red-topped roofs and colored walls as seen over the olive groves vanishes. Most of the houses had their roofs blown in; huge rents in the walls show the passage of the shells; the blackened carcasses of the dwellings tell how the Turks destroyed what they could not appropriate. The city has once more been a victim of war's devastation, this time by the hand of the defender.

The Taking of Jaffa

Jaffa, Nov. 19.

As we press forward, notwithstanding the resistance of the enemy, the indications grow that the Turks are continuing their preparations for a northeast march, not only on the front immediately facing Jaffa and Lydda, but further to the east, where our troops have made their weight felt. We are well over the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. North of the junction station the yeomanry got into the foothills and mountains of Judaea—ground very different from the plains over which they had charged to put so many Turks to the sword. We are now in a roadless country, with hills as rocky, bare, and inhospitable as those of County Clare. Welcome rains, which were much overdue, are now falling, and if they do nothing more than keep down the dust and lessen the fly pest they will be a grateful relief to the troops.

A number of the inhabitants of Jaffa left the town last March, but many remain. The Turks did not attempt to destroy the town, which is in good order. A few Europeans were in Jaffa when the Anzac troops entered. The harbor between the reef and the shore is capable of sheltering small craft, and affords a fair landing place. The convents and hospitals are undamaged. The German colony of Saronia, which is intact, is well within our lines, and I hear that its inhabitants are remaining.

The magnificent orchards to the east of the town have been somewhat thinned by the cutting down of orange trees for fuel. Further south whole plantations have been uprooted. On the road to Ramleh excellent buildings at Rishonle-zion, a Jewish agricultural colony, have been left unharmed by the retreating enemy.

General Allenby's Official Report

The official report of General Allenby on the operations in Palestine resulting in the capture of Beersheba and Gaza, up to Nov. 8, 1917, is as follows:

The attack on Beersheba was fixed for Oct. 31. Seven days before this date the railway was begun from our railhead at Shellal, [fourteen miles south of Gaza, on the Wadi Ghuzze,] toward Karm. [six miles southeast of Shellal, on the road to

Beersheba,] and a light line from Gamli [three and one-half miles south of Shellal] to El Buggar, [eight miles east of Gamli, on the Beersheba Road.] Detachments were developing water at Asluj, [sixteen miles south of Beersheba.]

On Oct. 27 the Turks made a strong reconnaissance from the direction of Kawukah [three miles southwest of Tell el Sheria] against Karm, employing two regiments of cavalry and 2,000 or 3,000 infantry. A London yeomanry brigade holding the outpost line covering railhead made a gallant fight against greatly superior numbers, enabling our infantry to get up in time, the Turkish attack being repulsed with great loss.

On the same day the bombardment of the Gaza defenses commenced, and on Oct. 30 British and French naval forces commenced to co-operate by firing on the Gaza defenses, and on the road and railway bridges and the railway junction at Dir Sineid, [eight miles north of Gaza.] The shooting was very accurate.

On the night of Oct. 30-31 General Allenby's forces were disposed as follows: Mounted troops at Asluj, Khalasa, and about Shellal. Infantry at Esani and on the Far-Beersheba road, the extreme left forming a defensive flank toward Abu Irgeig, [six miles from Beersheba, on the Beersheba-Gaza road.]

To the troops immediately before Gaza was attached a composite force, consisting of West Indian and Indian troops, with detachments from the French and Italian contingents.

On the night of Oct. 30 the mounted troops made a night march, and at daybreak on Oct. 31 had reached the northeast of Beersheba. Meanwhile the infantry, who had also made a night march, arrived at dawn on the 31st opposite the southwest defenses of Beersheba, between the Kalasa-Beersheba road and the Wadi Saba. At an early hour London troops and dismounted yeomanry, attacking with great dash, had gained the whole of the first-line defenses, while our mounted yeomanry on their right kept touch with the Australian and New Zealand mounted forces east and northeast of Beersheba.

Fighting lasted all day. In the evening the Turks still held trenches a mile east of the town. The 4th Australian Light Horse Regiment charged these trenches, which were 8 feet deep and 4 feet wide, and galloped over them. This ended all resistance.

On Nov. 1 infantry moved forward to Ain Kohle, (nine miles north of Beersheba,) and mounted troops pushed up the Hebron road to within four miles of Dhaheriye. While the water supply at Beersheba was being organized the remainder of our infantry moved into a position northwest of the town facing Ka-

wukah on a northeast-southwest line about Abu Irgeig.

On the morning of Nov. 2 Scottish and East Anglian troops captured Umbrella Hill, [some 500 yards due west of the Dir-el Belah-Gaza road,] and the whole of the Gaza first-line defenses thence to the sea, including Sheik Hassan. In this attack tanks co-operated with success.

There was no further important action until Nov. 6; the intervening time being occupied in bombardment and raids, and in the redistribution of troops.

On the morning of Nov. 6 our infantry, already mentioned as being at Ain Kohle, captured Khuwelifeh, [some two miles further to the north,] and in conjunction with mounted troops were heavily engaged in beating off repeated counterattacks made by at least two hostile divisions with the object of cutting us off from our water supply at Beersheba and thereby stopping our turning movement. Our troops, which included Welsh and English county regiments, behaved splendidly, and the Turkish casualties were enormous. Meanwhile, dismounted yeomanry and Irish and London infantry had advanced from their positions about Abu Irgeig, and before nightfall had taken the whole of the Kawukah and Rusdi systems of defense up to Abu Hareira. Tell el Sheria was also captured, and our right in this zone connected by mounted troops with our forces at Khuwelifeh. At nightfall the Turks were beaten and retreating, and mounted troops, supported by infantry, were sent north via Sheria to pursue them toward Jemmameh and Huj, [eleven and nine miles, respectively, east of Gaza.]

At midnight an attack was launched against the very strong works covering Gaza, which was captured with very little opposition, and infantry was pushed forward on the morning of the 7th toward the mouth of the Wadi Hesl, [nine miles north of Gaza.] Some Turks still held on in the Atawina position, [six to seven miles from Gaza, on the Beersheba road,] but by the morning of Nov. 8 these works were also in our possession. On this day (7th) Scottish infantry, after an exhausting march through the sand dunes, reached the mouth of the Wadi Hesl. Australian and New Zealand mounted troops, supported by Londoners, pushed forward from Sheria, meeting with opposition from strong rearguards, which was finally overcome by a gallant charge made by the Warwick and Worcester yeomanry. On our extreme right the troops were still opposed by 4,000 to 5,000 Turks.

At nightfall the general position was as follows: Our mounted troops held the Hebron road with infantry at Tell Khuwelifeh and mounted troops connecting up with our forces at Sheria. Other mounted

troops were on the line Jemmameh-Huj, while mounted troops from Gaza were in contact with strong bodies of the enemy about Beit Hanun, and our infantry had reached the mouth of the Wadi Hesi.

During the night and the morning of Nov. 8 good progress was made, and by 6 P. M. on this day our mounted troops had reached the upper course of the Wadi Hesi, north of Tel el Hesi, [five miles north of Jemmameh,] and had possession

of Huj, where stores of all sorts were on fire. A smart action was fought near Beit Hanun, where Indian Imperial Service Cavalry captured prisoners and a heavy howitzer, while the Scottish troops, now on the right bank of the Wadi Hesi, had captured Herbieh, [eight and one-half miles from Gaza,] and commanded the coastal railway.

Up to Nov. 11 the number of prisoners had reached 5,894, including 286 officers.

Jerusalem in 4,000 Years of War

By Charles Johnston

PERHAPS it is because of the parable of the New Jerusalem, the City of Everlasting Peace, that we think of the Holy City as framed in perpetual quietude, the shrine of many nations. But in reality Jerusalem is a fortress, more often contested, perhaps, than any city in the world, owing its very existence to the military strength of its situation. In the world war the Turks have sought to defend it and the British have taken it, not as a shrine, but as an outpost of Egypt, a strategical keystone in the fight for Asia Minor and the backlands from the Nile to the Euphrates.

A very ancient tradition, which Flavius Josephus accepts, tells that the hill fort was first chosen and strengthened by Melchizedek, the splendid priest-king to whom Abraham paid a share of his spoils in "the battle of the Kings," in the year which, by a striking coincidence of tradition, is held to be 1917 before our era, within a few generations of 4,000 years ago. But Jerusalem comes for the first time definitely into history nearly 500 years later, when the descendants of Abraham had grown to be a numerous and warlike nation, advancing from the southern desert to conquer the whole region on either side of the tremendous cleft of the River Jordan.

Throughout nearly the whole of the squared 400-mile coast of the Eastern Mediterranean, two mountain chains run parallel with the shore, the one some thirty miles from the sea, the other twenty miles nearer to the eastern

desert. The valley between the ridges, throughout its southern half, is cleft by a cañon, tremendously sheer and deep, through which the Jordan runs, for the most part hidden by the steepness of its inclosing cliffs, to the deep-set caldron of the Dead Sea, which the Arabs call "the Sea of Lot"; for the major part of the history and tradition of this region, like the sacredness of the Holy City itself, is common property for three religions.

A Natural Hill Fortress

The western ridge, whose summit is some thirty miles from the Mediterranean, is for the most part of porous limestone which, under the Spring rains, turns to vivid green embroidered with brilliant flowers; then, as the parched rock drinks up the moisture, turns to withered drab and the brown velvet aridity of Summer. Some fifteen miles due west of the chasm where the Jordan enters the Sea of Lot there is a jutting hill, flat-topped, with a sheer horseshoe ravine falling away from it to the east, the south, and the west, the east end of the horseshoe threaded by a clear streamlet flowing from the north, and later finding its way among brown hills to the Dead Sea. The hill, thus steeply guarded on three sides, was a natural fortress; a wall across the fourth side, the north, would make it secure; further walls, on the three sides already protected by the ravines, would make it almost impregnable. And so we find it the central fortress of the Canaanites, when the

hosts of Joshua began to invade the country from the east by way of the fords of the Jordan and "the city of palm trees"; a fort so strong that it maintained its independence among the conquering invaders for five long centuries; "as for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day."

The hill fortress, therefore, of the Canaanites, strong in its guarding ravines and walls, held its own under its martial chieftains through the whole period of the Judges and throughout the long reign of Saul. And after Saul had fallen on Mount Gilboa, and David, son of Jesse, was King in his stead, the royal city of Judah was Hebron, a score of miles to the south, half way to the desert frontier at Beersheba.

Captured by David

During the seven years of his stay at Hebron, David had been at war with the family of Saul in an undecided contest for the kingship. He overthrew and slew the last of Saul's sons, putting an end to the feud and opening the way for a union of the two armed forces. This made possible a concerted attack on the strong Canaanite fortress. The hill within the horseshoe ravine was, at that time, split by a ravine running southward, which has since been filled up. It seems that the spur on the east side of this lesser ravine, between it and the far deeper ravine of the streamlet of Kidron, was the site of the Canaanite fort. It had a perennial water supply, drawn from a "gusher," or intermittent spring, and there was a conduit or tunnel leading this water within the fortress to a rock cistern, later called "the Pool of Siloam." Across the neck of the spur, on the north, was a dike: parallel walls filled in with earth, called the Millo, from an Assyrian root, meaning "to fill in"; this block across the neck of the spur, with the sheer ravine on the three other sides (east, south, and west) falling at some points nearly 500 feet, made the strength of the fort of Zion, and the Canaanites boasted that it was so strong that the lame and the halt could defend it. But

David's Captain, Joab, leading a small band of chosen warriors up through the conduit or tunnel of the water supply to the Pool of Siloam, in the heart of the fortress, succeeded in capturing it; David transferred his capital to the fortress of Zion, and reigned there for thirty-three years.

David, aided by his friend and ally, Hiram, King of Tyre, then built a tabernacle on the Rock of Zion, largely of cedar wood from Lebanon; he built also a royal house for himself, with a foundation of limestone and with great beams of cedar, and he greatly strengthened both the rim wall of the spur and the Millo, the filled-in barricade across its neck. He planned a much larger Temple, gathering stone blocks and marble to build it and gold for its adornment.

Strengthened by Solomon

This, the first Temple, was carried out by his still more famous son, who chose as its site a level space of rock somewhat further north along the spur which was called Mount Moriah. Probably Solomon built a level platform round this central rock with retaining walls. He further extended the walls, adding a new barrier wall on the north at the vulnerable point of this otherwise impregnable fortress. The Temple, if, as is almost certain, it had the same outlines as the two later editions on the same site, was an oblong building with the main entrance facing the sunrise, the Holy of Holies being at the western end, the great altar near the middle.

The interior of the Temple was decorated with Oriental splendor: "he overlaid it within with pure gold. And the greater house he ceiled with fir tree, which he overlaid with fine gold, and set thereon palm trees and chains. And he garnished the house with precious stones for beauty: and the gold was gold of Parvaim. * * * And in the most holy house he made two cherubim of image work, and overlaid them with gold. * * * And he made ten candlesticks of gold. * * * And he made an hundred basins of gold. * * * And the flowers, and the lamps, and the

"tongs made he of gold, and that perfect gold. * * *

This enormous treasure was a very alluring booty. And, when the old feud between the northern and the southern tribes, which had been closed by David's decisive victory, broke out again between Rehoboam, Solomon's son, and his rival Jeroboam, the Egyptian King, called Shishak in the Hebrew Chronicles, and identified with Seschonchis I. of the twenty-second dynasty, took advantage of the national strife and weakness to raid the hill fortress; he "took away the treasures of the House of the Lord, and the treasures of the King's house; he took all: he carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon had made, instead of which King Rehoboam made shields of brass."

Close of First Epoch

This closes the first epoch of the mountain stronghold above the horseshoe valley. The Temple and palace, diminished in splendor, with the city gradually extending northward and westward over the almost level hilltop, remained the capital of the descendants of David for four centuries. They reigned and died and were gathered to their fathers, buried in rock-hewn tombs in the steep side of the ravine.

These four centuries were not a time of unbroken peace. There was the long feud between the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah centred about the strong hill fortress; and, some 150 years after Solomon's death, the King of Israel "came to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the Gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, four hundred cubits," that is, 200 yards, "and he took all the gold and silver that were found in the House of the Lord, and in the treasures of the King's house, and returned to Samaria."

If, as seems likely, the Gate of Ephraim was in the north wall of the city, then Jehoash of Samaria, like nearly all the later assailants of the Holy City, avoided the defenses of the horseshoe ravine and struck at the vulnerable northern side, breaching the wall with battering rams.

The Babylonian Captivity

This was about the year 825 B. C. There was further fighting, but the great disaster came in 588: "in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, which is the nineteenth year of King Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, came Nebuzar-adan, Captain of the Guard, a servant of the King of Babylon, unto Jerusalem: and he burnt the House of the Lord, and the King's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house burnt he with fire. And all the army of the Chaldees, that were with the Captain of the Guard, brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about * * * the remnant of the multitude did Nebuzar-adan the Captain carry away. But the Captain of the Guard left of the poor of the land to be vinedressers and husbandmen. * * *

This is the great Captivity, which has given birth to so much tragic poetry, like the immortal lament:

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows. * * *

To that Babylonian Captivity of fifty years belong parts of the prophecies of Jeremiah and the events of the Book of Daniel, culminating in "the handwriting on the wall," announcing the destruction of Belshazzar; the delivery of the kingdom to the Medes and Persians.

Restoration Under Cyrus

With the reign of Cyrus the Persian came the restoration of Jerusalem, two elements of which stand out: the restoration of the Temple and the rebuilding of the broken wall. The Book of Ezra relates the rising of the Temple from its ashes, the memories of old men who had seen Solomon's Temple furnishing the details for this new edition of the Temple under Zerubbabel.

Similarly, the Book of Nehemiah, in a stirring personal narrative, tells of the rebuilding of the wall. This was about the year 445 B. C., bringing us to the threshold of the epoch in which the assailants of Jerusalem are no longer Egypt and Assyria, but Greece and Rome.

We have, so far, spoken of assaults

against the fortress of Jerusalem. A word now as to its defenses. As early as the year 810 B. C. "Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning of the wall, and fortified them. * * *

"And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by cunning men, to be on the towers and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones withal." It is a noteworthy fact that, throughout the three millenniums of its military history, practically the same weapons were used both to attack and to defend Jerusalem. The Holy City has never been attacked by firearms; the only artillery used against it was of the character described in the eighth century before our era. We come, therefore, to the period when the fate of Jerusalem turns from the east and the south to the north and west.

Conquered by Alexander

In the year 334 B. C., Alexander of Macedon led his army across the Hellespont into Asia, won the battles of Granicus and Issus and marched southward toward Jerusalem. A dramatic story is told of his coming. As Alexander stood on the heights to the north of the city he saw, with wonder, the North Gate flung open and the High Priest, clad in purple and scarlet, with a mitre on his head and bearing the name of Jehovah on his breast, came forth to meet the conqueror. Behind him followed priests in fine linen robes, and a multitude of people dressed in white, and they all moved slowly up the hill toward him. Alexander went down to meet them, and saluted the High Priest with great reverence, taking him by the hand and entering peacefully with him into the Temple. Thus did Alexander of Macedon, like King Cyrus before him, become protector of the Holy City.

But what the King had spared, one of his Generals destroyed after Alexander's death. Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, occupied Judaea in the year 323 and, seizing Jerusalem by strategy on the Sabbath day, garrisoned the city with Egyptian troops and annexed it to Egypt in 320.

A century and a quarter later the star of the Ptolemys paled before the house of another of Alexander's Generals.

Antiochus the Great defeated Ptolemy IV.; Jerusalem sided with the victor and helped him to drive the Egyptian garrison out. Antiochus did much to restore and maintain the Temple. This was in 198 B. C.; but in the year 170 Antiochus Epiphanes, aided by a Hellenizing faction within the city, seized Jerusalem, broke down the walls, and erected an altar in the Temple, on which he sacrificed swine as a deliberate act of desecration. The day of this impious act, the 25th of the month Kislev, has been remembered as a day of mourning.

Under Judas Maccabaeus

Antiochus, though he broke down the outer walls, strengthened the inner fortress called the Akra, or citadel, and left a strong garrison in it; so that when the splendid national revival began, under Judas Maccabaeus, in 165 B. C., though the city was recaptured, the Akra held out. The great court of the Temple was grass-grown and desolate. It was now restored, a new altar was built, and the sacred lamps were relighted, thus establishing the Festival of Lights. Judas Maccabaeus also repaired the walls.

The garrison in the Akra sent an appeal for help, and Antiochus Eupator came to relieve them, having thirty-two elephants in his army. Eleazer, brother of Judas Maccabaeus, was crushed to death by one of them. On the death of Judas Maccabaeus, his brothers, Jonathan and Simon, built a wall completely shutting in the Akra, which Simon finally captured and destroyed, cutting off the hilltop, so that the site of the Temple remained the highest point on the eastern ridge over the Kidron ravine. The Akra was a short distance south of the Temple, on a boss of rock which Simon cut away. John Hyrcanus, Simon's son, built the strong tower named Baris on the north of the Temple to protect the vulnerable northern side of the city.

Captured by the Romans

The Romans were now to cast their shadow over Jerusalem, a shadow which grew darker until the great destruction. In the year 63 B. C., Pompey, command-

ing the Roman armies in the East, marched from Damascus to Jericho and, coming up from the deep cañon of the Jordan, attacked the more modern part of Jerusalem on the western ridge. The eastern city, containing the Temple, and defended by the great tower Baris, held out. Pompey then began the construction of siege works with huge catapults and battering rams, and filled in the moat before Baris, finally capturing both the tower and the Temple. But, having established the Roman power over Jerusalem, Pompey behaved magnanimously; he took none of the treasures of the Temple, but encouraged the Jews to purify it and continue the sacrifices; he recognized Hyrcanus as High Priest.

When Julius Caesar marched through Syria on his way to Egypt, Antipater joined him at Askalon with a force of men, won his favor, and gained permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. What is called the Second Wall was built, to take in a new suburb on the north, the only direction in which the city could expand, because of the sheer ravines on the three other sides. From Cassius, Antipater obtained the post of Governor of Galilee for his second son, afterward Herod the Great. Marc Antony gave his support to Herod, but the Parthians aided his rival, Antigonius, in the capture of Jerusalem, which was once more plundered. But Augustus restored Herod to power; Herod attacked and recaptured Jerusalem by making a breach in the fort which guarded the Temple. He rebuilt the fortifications, adding the strong tower Antonia as a citadel, and restored the Temple on the same site and with much the same form as the great Temple of Solomon. In Herod's reign Jerusalem reached the zenith of wealth and magnificence.

Jerusalem Destroyed by Titus

His great-grandson, Herod Agrippa, coming to power in 53 A. D., built the Third Wall, taking in a further extension of the city to the north. Flavius Josephus has described the Holy City in great detail, as it was at this time, on the eve of its destruction. Josephus also fully describes the fatal siege, begun by Titus, Vespasian's son, who, in

the Spring of the year 70, brought an army of 40,000 Romans and 20,000 auxiliaries to reassert the power of the Caesars over Jerusalem. Josephus says:

The City of Jerusalem could not possibly have been taken if the Third Wall had been finished in the same manner as it was begun; as it was constructed with stones 30 feet long and 15 feet broad, which could not have been easily undermined by any iron tools or shaken by any engines. * * * And now the earth-works were finished, and the Romans brought up their engines; and some of the seditious, already despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall; others hid themselves in the underground passages, though many stood their ground and defended themselves against those that brought up the battering rams. But the Romans overcome them by their numbers and strength, and, what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were already quite dejected and worn out. Now, as soon as part of the wall was battered down and some of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering rams, those that manned the wall fled. * * * Thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have got by their engines; for three of the towers were too strong for any siege engines whatever. * ~ *

The Romans, being now masters of the walls, placed their standards upon the towers, and made joyful acclamation for the victory they had gained. * * * Rushing into the streets of the city with swords drawn, they slew those whom they met without mercy, and set fire to the houses into which the Jews had fled and burnt every soul in them. They ran every one through whom they met, and blocked up the streets with dead bodies, and made the whole city run with blood, to such a degree, indeed, that the fire of many of the burning houses was quenched with these men's blood. They left off slaying at evening, but the fire greatly prevailed in the night. And the day, when it dawned, found all Jerusalem burning.

This calamity overtook the Holy City on Aug. 12, in the year 70 A. D. Under Hadrian, the walls were rebuilt, but the unsuccessful revolt of Bar-cochebas in the year 132, brought destruction again upon Jerusalem, which was transformed into a Roman city with the title Aelia Capitolina; a temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus was on the site of Solomon's Temple.

When, under Constantine the Great,

Christianity became the religion of the empire, a new day of prosperity dawned for Jerusalem. The Empress Eudocia rebuilt the walls in the year 460 and, in the following century, Justinian built a beautifully adorned church, no trace of which now remains. But the time was at hand when the destiny of Jerusalem was to turn once more from West to East, from Greece and Rome to Persia and Egypt.

Sacked by the Persians

The capture of Jerusalem by Chosroes, King of Persia, in the year 614, is described by Antiochus Strategos, whose narrative has been preserved only in a Georgian version. We shall briefly quote the English translation:

The Persians beleaguered the entire city, and surrounded it for the combat. * * * When the Greeks (of the Eastern Empire) saw the numbers of the Persian host which was encamped around Jerusalem they fled with one accord, put to flight by the Persians. * * *

The beginning of the struggle of the Persians with the Christians of Jerusalem was on April 15, in the fourth year of the Emperor Heraclius. They spent twenty days in the struggle. And they shot from their ballistas with such violence that on the twenty-first day they made a breach in the city wall. Thereupon the evil foemen entered the city in great fury, like infuriated wild beasts and angry serpents. The men who defended the city wall fled and hid themselves in caverns, fosses, and cisterns in order to save themselves, and the people in crowds fled to the churches and the altars, and there they destroyed them. * * * The Persians respected none, neither male nor female, neither young nor old, neither child nor infant, neither priest nor monk, neither virgin now widow. * * *

Jerusalem Under the Moslems

In the year 637, close on thirteen centuries ago, the Caliph Omar brought Jerusalem under the power of the Moslems, capturing the city after a four months' siege. He showed himself tolerant and generous toward the inhabitants. Omar built a wooden mosque on the site of Solomon's Temple. Its place was taken, in the year 688, by the lovely mosque—"the Blue Mosque," as Pierre Loti calls it, "half of pale turquoise and half of vivid lapis lazuli"—which stands there today. It was built by Abd al

Malik; its true title is "The Dome of the Rock," though it is generally spoken of as the Mosque of Omar.

In 1076 the Turks captured Jerusalem from the Arabs, and forbade the Christian pilgrimages which had hitherto been allowed. This led to the great armed pilgrimage, called the First Crusade, when Godfrey and Tancred captured Jerusalem in July 1099. William of Malmesbury thus tells the story:

It was now the seventh day of June, nor were the besiegers apprehensive of wanting food or drink for themselves, as the harvest was on the ground and the grapes were ripe on the vines. * * * The fortress defending the city on the west and strengthened nearly half way up by courses of squared stones soldered with lead, repels every fear of invaders when guarded by a small party within. As they saw, therefore, that the city was difficult to carry, on account of the steep precipices, the strength of the walls, and the fierceness of the enemy, (Turks,) they ordered engines to be constructed.

Taken by Crusaders

These engines were of two sorts: "Sows," as they were called, which rooted under the walls, seeking to undermine them; and skeleton towers of timber, equal in height to the walls, which served the purpose of scaling ladders. The Crusaders had also slings, bows, and crossbows, an armament not greatly differing from that of the eighth century before our era.

The Franks (Crusaders) threw faggots flaming with oil on a tower adjoining the wall, which, blazing by the action of the wind, first seized the timber and then the stones, and drove off the garrison. Moreover, the beams which the Turks had left hanging down from the walls in order that, being forcibly drawn back, they might, by their recoil, batter the (attacking) tower in pieces, in case it should advance too near, were by the Franks dragged to them by cutting away the ropes, and being placed from the engine (wooden tower) to the wall, and covered with hurdles, they formed a bridge of communication from the ramparts to the (wooden) tower. Thus, what the infidels had contrived for their defense became the means of their destruction; for the enemy, dismayed by the smoking masses of flame and by the courage of our soldiers, began to give way. These, advancing on the wall, and thence into the city, manifested the excess of their joy by the strenuousness of their exertions. * * * There was no place of

refuge for the Turks, so indiscriminately did the insatiable rage of the victors sweep away both the suppliant and the resisting.

As Tasso wrote, about the year 1575, translated by Edward Fairfax some two decades later:

Thus conquer'd Godfrey; and as yet the sun
Div'd not in silver waves his golden wain,
But daylight serv'd him to the fortress won
With his victorious host to turn again:
His bloody coat he put not off, but run
To the high temple with his noble train,
And there hung up his arms, and there he bows
His knees, there pray'd, and there performed his vows.

Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, July 15, 1099. Thus was founded the short-lived Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the first of two breaks in the centuries of Moslem domination.

Retaken by Saladin

The chivalrous Saladin (Salah ed Din, "the Honour of the Faith") retook Jerusalem in the Autumn of 1187. Approaching the Holy City, he made this appeal to the defenders: "I believe that Jerusalem is the House of God, as you also believe, and I will not willingly lay siege to the House of God or put it to the assault." He asked them, therefore, to give up the city and retire. But they prepared to defend Jerusalem. On Sunday, Sept. 20, 1187, Saladin, says the historian of the Saracens, took up a position on the west side of the city. He was amazed to see the battlements packed with countless defenders; the great towers built by Tancred and the tower traditionally, though wrongly, called the Tower of David, commanded his batteries, and frequent sallies of the Christians drove back his engineers. The sun in the eyes of the Saracens hindered their attacks.

After five days the attack was transferred to the west side, where the walls were weaker, and Saladin's standard was raised on the Mount of Olives. Sappers pushed forward under cover, while cavalry prevented sallies; arrows, stones, and Greek fire covered the advance of

the sappers. It was impossible for the defenders to maintain themselves on the walls, for, as a Moslem writer quaintly says, "our arrows served as toothpicks to the teeth of the battlements." And the wall was finally breached. On Oct. 2, Jerusalem surrendered; it was, by a historic coincidence, the anniversary of the Prophet's dream of a journey from Jerusalem to heaven which makes Jerusalem a sacred city for Islam. Saladin, victorious, treated the vanquished with splendid generosity; "no ill-usage of the Christians was ever heard of."

Richard Coeur de Lion

Four years later, Richard I. of England, "Coeur de Lion," after capturing Askalon, tried to recover Jerusalem, which he saw afar off, but thought too great a fortress for his small force to capture. Richard fell ill of typhus and reluctantly gave up his expedition against the Holy City. While he lay ill, a Moslem writer says, King Richard "did not cease to send messages to the Sultan (Saladin) to procure fruit and snow, for during the whole course of his illness he had a great longing for pears and peaches. The Sultan never failed to supply them."

Saladin rebuilt the walls. A generation later Frederick II. gained possession of Jerusalem by negotiation, and it remained in his possession—the second interlude in the Moslem tenure—for the next fifteen years, when it once more fell under the sway of Islam, under the Kharizmians, and later under Egypt.

In 1517 Selim I., the Sultan of Turkey, broke the power of Egypt in a great battle close to Cairo, and the sacred trophies of Islam, as well as the possession of the Holy City, were transferred from Egyptian to Turkish lords. Since then, for just four centuries, Jerusalem has been tributary to Constantinople. The walls were once again rebuilt by Selim's son, Suleiman the Magnificent; these are the walls which guard Jerusalem today.

The capture of Jerusalem by the British on Dec. 10, 1917, marked the end, with two brief interludes, of almost thirteen centuries of Mohammedan domination of the city.

Germany's Political Situation

Opening Speeches of Chancellor von Hertling and Foreign Secretary Kühlmann in the Reichstag

The German Reichstag on Nov. 29, 1917, passed a new war credit of 15,000,000,000 marks; it was announced that the German people had subscribed up to the end of November an aggregate of 73,000,000,000 marks, which at normal rates is equivalent to \$18,250,000,000. The occasion was marked by the first public utterance of the new Chancellor, Count Georg F. von Hertling. Through the courtesy of the State Department at Washington, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE is enabled to present a fuller report of the Chancellor's speech than appeared in the press dispatches.

COUNT HERTLING adverted briefly to his former Parliamentary activity and stated that he had responded to the call of the Emperor from a purely patriotic spirit, and hoped that he could count on the co-operation and confidence of the Reichstag in the same spirit. He then discussed the favorable military situation on all fronts, stating that the Flanders front was firm as a rock, and that the English and French attacks had been in vain. The great victory in Italy had made it possible to relieve the western front. The English troops operating in Palestine had some initial successes, which, however, were without influence on the general situation. The fleet had given new proof of its efficiency in the Baltic operations and in the successful repulse of the English fleet in the German bight. The submarine war was proceeding systematically with its irresistible effects. It was the only successful weapon in the economic war forced upon Germany by England, for it was delivering a heart blow to the most dangerous enemy. The impressment of neutral tonnage would not help the enemy, as the submarines could always sink more vessels than could possibly be built. The proof was convincing that the submarine war would attain the object set before it.

Concedes Limited Reforms

After words of thanks to the army and to the people at home, the Chancellor said that new credits would be asked, which he hoped the Reichstag would vote without delay. He said that the

war had awakened a greater interest in the institutions of the State, and it had been asked whether they were standing the test of war, or whether they should be replaced with new institutions. In this question it was important to make a proper choice and carry out with a firm hand the policy chosen. It was important not to be misguided by phrases or lavishly to imitate foreign institutions, but to do what was responsive to the real needs of German public life, as well as to the German spirit and the German nature. No changes could be made in the fundamentals of the Constitution, which had grown with the German people; but the Government would lend a willing ear to any suggestions for changes within the framework of the Constitution. The social policy, in which Germany had taken the lead in the world, would be continued and extended. A bill for chambers of labor would be introduced, and certain restrictions of the right of the association would be removed. The Prussian Reform bills were an instance of broad-minded initiative on the part of the Crown in the greatest of the German States.

Regarding the censorship, the Chancellor said that, while he approved of freedom of speech as long as this did not conflict with the interests of the country, he thought that the censorship in Germany was more liberal than in enemy countries. Abuses had been pointed out, which would be remedied, and any just complaints would be considered; and he hoped that in time, with good-will on both sides, conditions could be improved.

The Chancellor then appealed to the

parties to bury the hatchet, stating that the enemy had placed their hopes in an imminent internal collapse, although they knew nothing of Germany's internal conditions of Parliamentary life or the liberty-loving basis of her associations. The enemy had taken isolated events as symptoms of the beginning of a collapse, and it was the duty of the parties to destroy this legend by co-operating closely with the Government and showing that only one thought prevails in Germany, the thought of patriotic duty, and that only one will pervades the whole people, the will to hold out to the end.

"We are approaching the end of a year that has been full of far-reaching and decisive events in many theatres of the war," he said. "I am proud and thankful to say that the arms of Germany and her allies have been successful on almost every occasion and everywhere."

He said that the Flanders battle had continued almost without interruption since July, that the British Army was superior in numbers, and that several French divisions had taken part in the fight. Notwithstanding the loss of some villages and farms, the German front there remained unshaken, he asserted, and the British were as far as ever from their object of reaching the Flemish coast to destroy German U-boat bases. He continued:

"Recognizing the failure of their attacks in Flanders, the British are now seeking near Cambrai a decisive result. The hope which Great Britain placed upon the wholesale use of tanks has not been fulfilled. They lie destroyed on the battlefield by successful German counter-measures. The initial British success was parried by the entrance of our reserves.

"The French also have had local successes northeast of Soissons and before Verdun, but every strategical exploitation of these has been prevented by the German Army command.

"Every one remembers the events in the east which led to the conquest of Riga and Jacobstadt.

Asserts Italian Booty Is Great

"The glorious advance of the armies of the Central Powers in Italy holds the world in suspense even today. Over-

whelmingly difficult tasks have been accomplished there by the fighting strength of the German and Austro-Hungarian troops in their surprisingly rapid attack and penetration of rough mountain territory. Italy's army has lost a considerable part of its forces and at least half of its total war material. It also has lost stretches of land which provided it with rich supplies. It has not yet been possible to collect all the booty, calculated in money value at thousands of millions of marks, which has fallen into our hands.

"Further, the succession of our victories from the Isonzo to the Piave is an effective relief to our own western front. In the same way these victories also make themselves felt in Macedonia, as the enemy now appears to be giving up voluntarily the results of the slight successes which he obtained west of Lake Ochrida.

"From the Sinai Peninsula the British are operating against the Turkish troops in Palestine and have been able to achieve certain initial successes there. These, however, have no influence on the general war situation from a military point of view. In the theatre of war in Asia Minor and in Irak the situation is unchanged."

Puts Hope in the U-Boats

After asserting that the German war fleet had thoroughly fulfilled the hopes and expectations placed in it, the Chancellor continued:

"The high seas fleet, whose constant activity has often been veiled from the public view, deserves the thanks of the country. It has, since its glorious day off the Skagerrak, lately shown anew, after a long interval, in the capture of the islands of Oesel, Dagö, and Moon in typical co-operation with the army, and in its lately successful fight in the German bight in the North Sea against a considerable superiority of forces, its constant readiness for battle. As a support and reserve it stands behind our submarine boats, it protects their places of support and opens out a way for them into the open sea.

"Submarine warfare against merchant ships exercises systematically its powerful and inevitable effect. It was and is

the only thoroughgoing means for carrying on against the superior power of our adversaries the economic war forced upon us. It directs itself against enemy tonnage and those voyaging in the enemy's service.

"If our adversaries have sought for some time to fill the thinned-out ranks of their merchant fleets with neutral ships which they have forcibly impressed into their service by a hunger blockade and other oppressive means, this procedure cannot be continued at will, and will soon reach its limit. Even by the most hurried building of new ships in the yards of our adversaries, the number of ships sunk will continually exceed the tonnage of those newly built.

"All observations give us unmistakable proof that the submarine war against merchant ships will reach the aim intended for it.

Germany's Allies and Russia

"I have taken over from my highly honored predecessors in office a precious heritage, namely, to cherish our friendship with Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. Our alliances with these three States were concluded on different dates, but their aim is common—the realization of national ideals, the safeguarding of our territorial possessions, and the warding off of enemy attacks. The pre-eminent nature of this aim has steeled our resolution in the long and bloody struggle, and will sustain us until the end is in sight.

"Our faithful allies, to whom we have been drawn in defense of our most sacred possessions and in combination with whom deeds of incomparable greatness have been performed on the battlefields and at home, have my gratitude and admiration."

Count Hertling referred to the fact that the Russian Government had sent from Tsarskoe Selo a wireless communication, signed by Trotzky and Lenine, addressed to the Governments and peoples of the belligerent countries, proposing that negotiations for a truce and a general peace be opened at an early date, and said:

"I do not hesitate to declare that in the proposals of the Russian Government, so far as is at present known, de-

batable principles on which the opening of negotiations may be based may be recognized and that I am ready to enter into such so soon as the Russian Government sends representatives having full powers for this purpose. I hope and wish that these efforts may soon take definite shape and bring us peace. We shall follow the further development of affairs of the sorely tried Russian people with sincere concern. May it soon be granted a return to orderly conditions. We desire nothing more than to return to the old neighborly relations, especially in the economic field.

Poland and Lithuania

"As regards the countries of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, which were formerly under the sovereignty of the Czar, we consider that the people living in those countries have the right to determine their own fate. We expect that they will adopt the system of government best suited to their conditions and culture.

"For the rest, matters are too nebulous. The reports disseminated in the press recently to the effect that a definite agreement had been reached on one point were premature. Our attitude toward Italy, France, and England is a different one. Since we took the ground of the Pope's note of Aug. 1 in our reply to the Pope's proposal, the foolish talk of the necessity of the destruction of German military power as a menace to the peace of the world was deprived of all foundation. On the contrary, it became evident where the militarism fatal to peace must really be sought. Sonnino expressly rejected the idea of general disarmament in his speech of Oct. 26. His reason for this is significant. It is that standing armies cannot be dispensed with in view of internal dangers. Clemenceau goes so far in his cynicism as to exclude Germany and Austria-Hungary from the peaceful society of nations where right is to take the place of might. Lloyd George frankly says that destruction of German trade is the object of the war, and that the war must be continued until this object is achieved.

"The publication of secret treaties by

the Russian Government shows the world clearly where the lust of conquest, falsely ascribed to us, is really to be found. From the first day of the war our aim was the defense of the Fatherland, the integrity of its territory, the freedom and independence of its economic life. Thus we were able to greet the Pope's peace proposal, and the spirit in which our reply to the Pope was conceived is still alive today; but our enemies must realize that that reply does not constitute a license for the criminal prolongation of the war. The enemy alone bears the responsibility for the continuation of the terrible slaughter, the devastation of the products of civilization, which cannot be replaced, and will have to bear the consequences. Sonnino in

particular must bear this in mind; and the other Italian leaders, also, by not accepting the Pope's hand of peace, are to blame for their terrible catastrophe. The peoples of Italy and France should take this as a warning.

"For us there is but one watchword: Watch and wait, hold out and endure. We trust in God, we trust in the army and its leaders, the very mention of whose names provokes storms of enthusiasm; we trust in our heroic fighters, our heroic colonial troops in East Africa; we trust in the moral strength of our people. If the field and home armies stand together the victory will be ours. I know that you will help to this end, and, therefore, I ask you once more for your confidence."

Address of the German Foreign Secretary

Dr. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, delivered an address on Nov. 30 at a sitting of the Reichstag Main Committee, the chief declarations in which are given herewith:

"Our eyes at the present moment are turned toward the east. Russia has set the world ablaze. The gang of bureaucrats and sycophants, rotten to the core, overruling the weak and misguided though probably well-meaning autocrat, surreptitiously brought about the mobilization of that country, which was the actual and immediate cause of the gigantic catastrophe which befell the world.

"Now, however, Russia has swept aside the culprits, and she is laboring to find through an armistice and peace an opportunity for her internal reconstruction. I need not supplement the clear words in which the Chancellor yesterday stated the attitude of the German Government toward these aims. Here again our policy will adhere to the principle of firm but moderate statesmanship based upon facts.

Approves Petrograd Principles

"The principles hitherto announced to the world by the present rulers in Petrograd appear to be entirely acceptable as a basis for reorganization of affairs in

the east—a reorganization which, while fully taking into account the right of nations to determine their own destinies, is calculated permanently to safeguard the essential interests of the two great neighboring nations, Germany and Russia.

"I am profoundly satisfied that we shall be able to pursue this course in full agreement with our allies and, I take it, also with the almost unanimous moral support of the representatives of the German people here assembled—a fact which will give our action necessary weight. * * *

"In Germany the great words spoken by the Emperor at the outset of the war have during the war borne fruit, and have developed relations between the people and the Crown which have on the basis of the most sincere and mutual confidence forever more been rendered freer and more active, and, therefore, stronger.

"In Germany the Government is carrying out the program laid down by the Chancellor yesterday, not giving way under party pressure, but rather proceeding with clear perception of historical necessity. The development has been actually opposite that of England and France, where freedom of thought and freedom of speech have been sup-

pressed, partly by violent and brutal measures. In these countries, which had been democracies, things are tending more and more toward absolute dictatorship.

"In France, actuated by the dogged desire to continue the war, which finds its mainstay in President Poincaré, Clemenceau has been called to power as the last card in the game. At the same time that in Germany the Chancellor is making the Government program a matter of detailed discussion with the various parties, in France the newspapers devoted to Premier Clemenceau are praising him for having constituted his Cabinet entirely without consulting Parliament, in an absolutely dictatorial manner, and as one of the first functions of the Government the ruthless suppression of pacifist efforts is announced.

"In England the development which has now occurred in France took place some time ago. The party for war to the end brought Lloyd George to the fore. He was invested with powers under which, disregarding the provisions so dear to the British Constitution, he was made de facto dictator."

"Dictators" Leading the Allies

The Foreign Secretary said Lloyd George probably had not quite come up to the expectations of his friends, but that, inasmuch as there seemed to be no one to surpass him in the determination to carry on the war, unless Lord Northcliffe should be resorted to, "we may probably for some time to come see the western democracies, under the leadership of their dictators, discussing in full harmony questions regarding the command of the allied forces."

Contending that British statesmen were astoundingly ignorant of Germany, Dr. von Kühlmann said by way of illustration that Lord Robert Cecil had pinned down the British Government to the story of utilization by the Germans of the bodies of the dead, and had declared that the reported plan to institute polygamy in Germany was characteristic of German views and institutions.

The Foreign Secretary then told his hearers it had been said Germany had shown great reserve on account of the

fact that she had a fraudulent design, and that once German astuteness had succeeded in bringing together her adversaries at the conference table she would come out with impossible claims, reckoning that the people, being tired of war, and prepared for far-reaching sacrifices, would not give their statesmen the support necessary to refute German demands. On this account, it had been said, it would be necessary for Germany's enemies to continue the fight until Germany was forced to make a detailed statement of her terms.

Allied "Policy of Violence"

"If our adversaries are anxious to know what our aims are," he continued, "this matter is very simple indeed. There is a sufficient number of ways at their disposal. History has not furnished a single example of any great diplomatic assembly purporting to settle international affairs ever having been convened without previously having informed itself as to the intentions of the parties concerned."

Germany, said Dr. von Kühlmann, welcomed the clearing of the situation as regards the western powers, "under pressure of our recent successes." He added:

"Those in favor of war to the extreme have come out into the open, demanding victory and nothing but victory. How they intend to use this victory is shown by the secret documents published by the Russian Government. * * * Today it is certain that the Pope's message is receiving no response from the western powers, and that France and England are resolved to rely only on violence. Therefore the German people will stand up and be prepared to beat force with force until the dawn of the better and more humane understanding which is beginning to appear in the eastern sky shall arise in the nations of the west, which are as yet filled with greed for money and power."

Electoral Reform in Prussia

The Electoral Reform bill for Prussia was introduced in the lower house of the Prussian Diet on Dec. 6. In urging the passage of the bill, the Chancellor said:

"The duty is laid upon me to fulfill the royal pledge solemnly and repeatedly given, and I will exert all my strength to carry out my duty, and I do so from full conviction.

"I recognize that the proposals signify a turning point in the history of Prussia. This will evoke in wide circles painful feelings and serious objections, but the task of true statesmanship is to take innovations in hand courageously when the people's need for development requires them.

"It is my deepest conviction that this need has now arisen. The present electoral system is obsolete, and you will do the Fatherland a very great service if you assent to the proposals. The bill regulating the upper house aims at bringing the House in closer touch with the national life of Prussia, which is no longer the agrarian State of the fifties."

The Prussian Minister of the Interior, Dr. Drews, supported the bill.

Ernst von Heydebrand, Conservative leader, said he believed Count von Hert-

ling had been guided by patriotic motives in accepting the Premiership of Prussia. He added:

"We would have preferred to see a Prussian as Premier, although I can understand that Chancellor von Hertling got in touch with political personalities before accepting this office. In the appointment of Count von Hertling the constitutional principle that the Emperor should appoint Ministers in accordance with his own judgment was passed over. Ministers should not be one-sided servants of a majority. Their position is impaired when their appointment is not due solely to the confidence of the Crown.

"The course pursued is on the direct road to a Parliamentary system, which does not mean happiness for Prussia. We cannot co-operate with such developments.

"Peace must not be concluded by weakening our frontiers, but on the basis of military successes and sacrifices, according to German interests."

Rebuilding French Cities

THE City of Noyon, France, has been "adopted" by the citizens of Washington, D. C., who will undertake its reconstruction, and the City of Soissons has similarly been adopted by Detroit. The restoration of other French towns is being taken in charge by generous individuals. Maucourt, near Ham, which suffered to an extreme degree, has been adopted by Countess de Chabannes la Pallice. She has erected temporary barracks in which the inhabitants will live until their homes can be rebuilt. Then she will refurnish the homes with similar furniture and utensils either carried away or destroyed by the Germans.

On one side of the principal street of Noyon Baron de Rothschild has opened a

warehouse and stocked it at his own expense with all the articles the war-stricken inhabitants are likely to need. On the opposite side of the same street two American ladies have opened a warehouse and stocked it with pretty much the same lines of necessities.

One of the problems involved in the recultivation of the French soil is that of the unexploded grenades and shells which now lie everywhere beneath the surface. A single hand grenade struck by a plow or harrow is sufficient to kill the horses and farmer as well as to destroy the machinery. One which exploded recently underneath a steam plow in the vicinity of Noyon completely destroyed the machine.



Germany's African Colonies All Lost

Conquest of a Wilderness Empire

A GENERATION ago the most splendid books of adventure were the narratives of exploration and travel in equatorial Africa, books like the works of Speke and Grant, Sir Samuel Baker's "Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia," "The Victoria Nyanza," and "Ismailia," and Henry M. Stanley's "How I Found Livingstone" and "In Darkest Africa." The daring of the explorers, the brilliant exotic coloring of the scenes, the hunting of elephants, lions, rhinoceroses, the wars and slave raids of the blacks, made a fascinating chapter of romance.

One may compare it with the group of narratives recording the first gropings of Spanish adventurers through the southern half of the future United States, the perilous journeyings of Ponce de Leon, of Narvaez, of Coronado. And from the comparison one may draw the conclusion that, just as the then untraveled wilderness has become the thickly populated and highly developed region from Florida to California, a region already rich in history, so the jungles and foothills of the Congo and Kilimanjaro may presently become highly civilized and thickly populated States, closely knit with the life of other nations, and writing brilliant pages of history.

Africa is today "the land of a miraculous future," just as 400 years ago, the vast tract between Ponce de Leon's fountain of youth and Coronado's golden strand was a mystery-shrouded wilderness, hiding a magical promise of things to come.

A generation ago Bismarck conceived for Germany, then sated, as he said, with European conquest, a great colonial empire that would give the Germans a world standing comparable to that of England. By a striking coincidence, at just the same time vanquished France entered on a great colonial period, untrumpeted, unadvertised, and both in the extent of her colonies, her humane dealing with native races, and the success of

her colonial administration France did far better than Germany.

Besides the safety and well-being of the natives, a reason why Germany should, in his view, be excluded from Africa was stated by General Jan Christian Smuts. "East Africa," he said, "is enormously valuable and productive. The Germans spent millions in developing it, and the mere suggestion that any part of it should be returned to Germany is preposterous. The native population has stood magnificently by us, and I shudder to think what would happen if any part of the territory were given back to Germany. All the African colonies would be aghast at the mere idea."

But General Smuts holds another consideration to be even more vital and decisive. "We are all aware," he said, "of the great German plan before the war, which no doubt is still in the background of many minds, of creating a great Central African Empire, which would embrace not only the Kameruns and East Africa, but also Portuguese territory and the Congo—an enormous area with a very large population, in which it would be possible to train one of the most powerful armies the world has ever seen. We were not aware of the military value of the natives until this war opened our eyes. It will be for statesmen of the future to ask whether they are going to allow a state of affairs like that to become a menace, not only to Africa, but to Europe itself. I hope one of the results of this war will be some convention or arrangement among the nations interested in Central Africa by which the military training of the natives in that area will be absolutely forbidden. If that is not done, I fear I can see armies trained, which, if properly led and equipped by whites, might prove a danger to civilization itself."

The East African territory, from which the last German forces have now been

driven, is of immense area, nearly equal to the combined extent of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires in Europe, and possesses a coast line of about 620 miles. As compared with the regions which afterward became the United States, this East African area has a fairly dense population of about 8,000,000 natives, mostly of tribes of mixed Bantu race. Near the coast are forests of mangrove, cocoa palm, and tamarind; in the higher regions, cotton tree, sycamore, banyan, and other trees grow. In the coast lands there are plantations of cocoa palms, coffee, vanilla, tobacco, caoutchouc, cocoa, sugar, tea, cotton, cardamon, and cinchona, from

which quinine is prepared. Fibre plants are also successfully cultivated, and there are some 1,000,000 head of cattle and 6,000,000 sheep and goats within the territory.

Minerals known to exist are coal, iron, lead, copper, mica, and salt. Agates, topaz, moonstones, and garnets are found in large quantities.

The probable continuation of the Cape-to-Cairo Railroad through this region would add vastly to the potentialities for the rapid development of this very rich region, while this railroad will be supplemented by the excellent steamboats that already ply on the Nile as far south as Gondokoro.

German East Africa Conquered

It was announced officially on Dec. 3, 1917, that East Africa had been completely cleared of Germans. The press dispatch was as follows:

Telegraphing under date of Dec. 1, General Vandeventer, (commander of the military forces in East Africa,) has reported that reconnoissances have definitely established that German East Africa is completely cleared of the enemy. Thus the whole of the German overseas possessions have passed into our hands and those of our Belgian allies. Only a small German force now remains in being. This has taken refuge in adjoining Portuguese territory, and measures are being taken to deal with it.

The conquest of East Africa deprived Germany of her largest colonial possession. Its area—about 384,170 square miles—is almost double that of Germany. It lies on the East Coast of Africa, and the contiguous States are Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo, Portuguese East Africa, and British East Africa. German colonization began with an expedition sent out by the newly organized German Colonization Society in 1884, which secured treaty rights over the territories of Useguha, Nguru, Usagara, and Ukami. Owing to the tremendous British influence in this part of the world, the German movement was at first carried on in secret. The German East Africa Company came into existence in 1885, and in that and the following year extended German dominions along the coast from So-

maliland to the mouth of the Rovuma, skipping the British territory around the mouth of the Mombasa. In 1886 an Anglo-German agreement fixed the northern boundary of the German colony; the southern was fixed the next year. In 1888 the Sultan of Zanzibar ceded his possessions on the mainland (reduced already to a narrow strip along the coast) for an annual rental. This agreement was frustrated in practice, however, by an outbreak among the Coast Arabs; Germany lacked sufficient forces in the colony to put down the rebels, and they speedily made themselves masters of all but two of the seacoast towns. Early in 1889 the company applied for aid to the Government of Germany, received the assistance of a military force, and put down the rebellion within the year. The Sultan of Zanzibar gave up all claim to his mainland possessions for the sum of \$952,000, and on Jan. 1, 1891, the colony came definitely under the control of the German Government. Native uprisings in 1905 were followed by investigation and reform of the treatment of the natives. The forces of Great Britain and Germany have been fighting in German East Africa since immediately after the outbreak of war.

Other Colonies Germany Lost

Germany's other colonies were lost as follows:

Togoland, captured by a Franco-British



MAP SHOWING GERMANY'S LOST COLONIES IN AFRICA

force Aug. 26, 1914; area, 33,700 square miles. In 1914 estimated revenue \$875,000 and expenditures \$1,045,000. In 1913 imports were valued at 10,600,000 marks and exports at 9,100,000 marks.

German Samoa, captured by a New Zealand expedition Aug. 30, 1914; area, 1,000 square miles, (Savali and Upolu.) In 1914 estimated revenue \$2,975,000 and expenditures \$3,450,000. In 1913 imports valued at 5,700,000 marks and exports at 5,300,000 marks.

German New Guinea, consisting of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, (70,000 square miles;) Bismarck Archipelago, (20,000 square miles,) captured by an Australian expedition Sept. 11, 1914. Imports 5,872,000 marks and exports 5,041,000.

Caroline, Solomon, Marshall Islands,

captured by the Japanese Oct. 7, 1914; area, 10,500 square miles. Revenue estimated at \$525,000 and expenditures at \$957,500.

Kiao-Chau, surrendered to a Japanese and British force, former taking precedence, Nov. 7, 1914; area, 200 square miles. Revenue for 1914 estimated at 8,060,000 marks and expenditures at 18,410,000. In 1912 imports valued at 121,254,000 marks and exports at 79,640,000.

German Southwest Africa was captured by General Botha with the Union of South Africa troops, July 9, 1915; area, 322,450 square miles. In 1914, estimated revenue, \$5,875,000, and expenditure, \$10,085,000. In 1913, imports valued at 43,400,000 marks, and exports at 70,300,000 marks.

The Kamerun was completely occupied

by a Franco-British force Feb. 18, 1916; area, 300,000 square miles. In 1914, estimated revenue, \$2,827,500, and expenditure, \$4,315,000. In 1913, imports valued at 34,000,000 marks, and exports at 29,100,000 marks.

Forces in East Africa

No German foreign dependency, not even German Southwest Africa, has revealed such a thorough preparation for the great war as German East Africa. Although the white force consisted of only three regiments, there had been organized, armed, and drilled a native Arab and negro force of 50,000 under white officers. Over 100 Krupp 77-millimeter fieldpieces had been imported, together with several hundred machine guns and quantities of barbed wire, engineering implements, and munitions of all sorts. Finally, a great wireless station had been erected in the Kilimanjaro, which, via the station at Togoland, on the other side of the continent, could communicate with Berlin.

So elaborate had been the German preparation that the Allies could do little during the first year of the war. With the conquest of German Southwest Africa completed, however, the army of the Union of South Africa was released, and preparations were made to reduce the vast territory by investing its most populous and civilized regions, which resulted in its conquest.

Latest Official Report

The latest official report which preceded the conquest of the territory was issued by the British War Office on Sept. 26, 1917, and was as follows:

As a result of our operations in East Africa the enemy forces remaining in the field were, at the beginning of September, distributed in three principal groups: (1) In and to the north of the Mbemkuru Valley, [which is in the southeast midway between Kilwa and the Portuguese frontier;] (2) in the Lukeledi Valley to the southwest of Lindi, [and about fifty miles south of the Mbemkuru River;] (3) based

on Mahenge, [midway between Lake Nyasa and the coast.] In addition, there were more or less important detachments in subsidiary areas. Groups 1 and 2, of about equal strength, comprised rather more than half the total German forces, including detachments.

On Sept. 19 our advance from the direction of Kiliwa [which is 140 miles south of Dares-Salaam] was resumed, and on that day the enemy was driven from his advanced positions covering the waterholes at Mihambia, (forty-two miles south by west from Kilwa, and twenty-one miles north of the principal passage over the Mbemkuru River at Nakiku and Natshihu.) Further pressure by our columns at this point resulted in the evacuation of Mihambia by the enemy after a stubborn resistance, and a retreat of seven and one-half miles to Mpingo.

Simultaneously, our other columns moved to the attack of a larger German group strongly established at Ndessa, (fourteen and one-half miles southwest of Mihambia.)

On Sept. 21 the enemy was compelled to evacuate Ndessa by the threat of our enveloping movement. On Sept. 23 the entire enemy force was falling back to the Mbemkuru, pursued by our main columns, when it found its line of retreat barred in the vicinity of Mawereyne (twelve and one-half miles south of Ndessa) by our Nigerian infantry. After severe fighting, the enemy, having lost heavily, dispersed in small parties, which beat a hasty retreat to the river.

In this area, almost waterless at present, and covered with dense bush, our movements have been hampered by the necessity of cutting roads through the tropical vegetation and driving the enemy from the few waterholes.

In the western area our columns from the south and southwest are engaged with enemy detachments at Mponda's, (on the Luwegu River, fifty-three miles south of Mahenge,) and to the northeast of the Ligamba Hills, (thirty-three miles southwest of Mahenge,) while Belgian forces are approaching Mahenge, and the communications from Mahenge toward Mngangira and Liwale, from the north. [These places are, respectively, sixty and 120 miles southeast of Mahenge.]

In each of these quarters the enemy is being pressed, and appreciable losses are being inflicted on his troops.



Treachery of the Greek King and Queen

Astonishing Proofs of the Attempts of Constantine and His Wife to Betray Greece

THE Greek authorities on Dec. 9, 1917, decided to sequester the property of two former Greek Premiers, Stephanos Skouloudis and Spyridon Lambros, to be held as a guarantee against any damages they may be ordered to pay when they are tried on a charge of attempting to foment a revolt in favor of former King Constantine.

Early in November a number of telegrams that were exchanged between King Constantine and Queen Sophia and the Kaiser were unearthed. These telegrams were in a cipher code unknown to the Foreign Office, although they were sent under its seal. The key was discovered later, and the telegrams were found to reveal in clearest terms the hostility of King Constantine and his spouse toward the Entente, shedding a sinister light on their secret plottings throughout the years in which they were posing as injured neutrals.

Those sent in 1915 refer chiefly to a loan of 40,000,000 marks (\$10,000,000) granted by Germany to Greece at King Constantine's personal request. The main point of interest in connection with this is King Constantine's suggestion that this loan might be effected through some German bank in New York, which suggestion it was found impossible to carry out owing to the vigilance of the American control of gold movements. Early in 1916 the Greek King and Queen began to press their imperial relative to institute an energetic German campaign on the Balkan front.

Then came the Rupel affair, and the German and Bulgarian Ministers hastened to give King Constantine soothing assurances regarding the integrity and territorial sovereignty of Greece. The allied ultimatum of June 21 threw Queen

Sophia into the deepest dejection at her brother's failure to interpose his invincible battalions. In August, King Constantine anxiously inquired the reason of the concentration of large Austro-German forces on the Rumanian frontiers. Evidently he was hoping against hope that this might be the prelude to energetic German action against General Sarraill's army, but he was told in reply that this concentration was a mere precaution against possible Rumanian participation in the war.

Occupation of Kavalla

Shortly afterward King Constantine was informed that an advance against General Sarraill's army had been decided upon by the German General Staff under purely German leadership. This took the form of the occupation of Kavalla and the capture of a Greek Army corps, together with huge supplies of Greek arms and munitions, but King Constantine was again quieted by renewed German assurances that they would ultimately be restored. Later the Kaiser urged his brother-in-law to organize guerrilla bands in Western Macedonia to threaten General Sarraill's left flank, and Major Falkenhausen, the late German Military Attaché at Athens, was sent from Berlin to Progradetz, on Lake Ochrida, to co-operate with the movements of these Greek guerrillas and supply them with money and munitions.

Then came the bloody events in Athens on Dec. 1, which Queen Sophia, in a long telegram to the Kaiser, described as a splendid victory over four great powers. At the same time she hastened to ask when the German and Bulgarian forces in Macedonia would be sufficiently reinforced to undertake an offensive against the Allies. The Kaiser replied, urging King Constantine to draw the sword im-

mediately against General Sarraïl. But already the Entente's blockade of Greece had made the royal couple realize the impossibility of declaring open war upon the Entente, and the Queen hastened to inform her brother that Greece had neither food nor munitions to enable her to hazard such an adventure, and again implored him to hasten to the assistance of Greece, which had made such immense sacrifices for his cause. To this the Kaiser returned a point-blank refusal.

Nevertheless, his suggestion as to the organization of guerrilla bands was complied with. A number of army officers, including the King's Master of the Horse, were intrusted with the task, and various measures were taken to secure better communication between Athens and Berlin across Macedonia.

The "Infamous Swine" Telegram

Meanwhile the Allies served on the Greek Government their ultimatum of Dec. 31, and on Jan. 10, 1917, demanded its acceptance within forty-eight hours. Queen Sophia vainly spent the ten days' interval in imploring her brother to hasten to the relief of the Greek royalist cause. The Crown Council at Athens was obliged to accept the ultimatum unconditionally, whereupon Queen Sophia vented her rage in a telegram to the Kaiser calling the Allies "infamous swine."

The telegram is on record officially as follows:

Jan. 10, 1917.—M. Zolocostas telegraphed to the Greek Minister in Berne: "I beg you to retransmit the following telegram to the Greek Minister in Berlin. For the Kaiser from Queen Sophia: 'I thank you for your telegram, but we are without sufficient food for the duration of such an undertaking, and the shortage of ammunition and many other things compel us unfortunately to abstain from such offensive action. You can realize my position. How I suffer. Thank you warmly for your very welcome words. May the infamous swine receive the punishment they deserve. I embrace you heartily. Your exiled and unhappy sister, who hopes for better times. (Signed) SOPHIA.'"

Another telegram on the same day gives an illuminating explanation:

Jan. 10, 1917.—M. Zolocostas telegraphed to the Greek Minister in Berne: Please

retransmit to our Minister in Berlin: "Please communicate the following dispatch from the Queen to the Kaiser, and also inform M. and G. of its contents: 'I am grateful and happy for having at any rate spoken today on the telephone to von Falkenhäusen at Larissa, as well as for having received direct news of you. I was afraid the ultimatum would have to be accepted. We were obliged to accept it, although we desired to enter the war on the side of Germany on account of the political advantages, in order to rid ourselves of our bitter enemies, and to respond to the sympathy already shown by the Greek people for the cause of Germany, but we lacked provisions and sufficient munitions for the duration of the campaign. In particular we lacked heavy artillery necessary to force the fortified positions prepared by the enemy in the passes to the north of Thessaly. Finally, the immediate menace to the capital and to our only means of communication by the British forces reported to be at Malta for the expedition against Greece obliged us to our great regret to abandon this project. * * * (Signed) SOPHIA.'"

Planned to Destroy Guns

Other telegrams of the same period furnish further proofs of the determined pro-German intentions of the Greek rulers:

Jan. 5, 1917.—M. Theotokis telegraphing to F. F. F.: "I inform you that the Entente Powers, in spite of our acceptance of the ultimatum, the whole time count on the surrender of our artillery and war material. As the German General Staff attaches great importance to the non-execution of this demand, I wish to know whether Greece would be prepared to destroy her artillery and material. Should the answer be in the affirmative, the Imperial Government undertakes to compensate us. The General Staff, in the event of our acceptance of the proposition, begs us to forward through your Majesty a detailed inventory of artillery and other material to be destroyed, and consequently to be replaced. It is indispensable that the King should send a short reply regarding the dispatch of an army corps. Do your utmost to see that this telegram arrives as soon as possible.

"THEOTOKIS."

Dec. 26, 1916.—M. Zolocostas to the Minister at Berne, for transmission to the Greek Minister at Berlin: "I beg you to transmit the following telegram, translating it into German, to his Majesty the Emperor, and to inform M. and F. * * *

"The Allies are still supporting and inciting the insurgents to seize those parts of the kingdom which, because of their proximity to the sea, we are unable to defend.

By means of a very strict blockade they have occupied the Cyclades by force, and are endeavoring to incite the people against us. The plan which you recommend would be perhaps possible if General Sarrail, attacked by you, was forced to retreat, in which case his left wing would penetrate the districts occupied by us. At present the distance is too great. The line of our communications would be too exposed, and our means as regards provisions and munitions would be insufficient for a prolonged struggle. If possible a decisive and prompt attack on your part would afford an opportunity for intervention, and would deliver us from a horrible situation.

(Signed) " ' SOPHIA. ' "

Constantine to Hindenburg

On Jan. 6, 1917, M. Zolcostas, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, telegraphed to the Greek Minister in Berne: "Please retransmit to the Greek Minister in Berlin: Please inform Hindenburg that the request for information as to the military situation on Dec. 8 was only received by courier on Jan. 4. * * * The close blockade, in spite of the admirable fortitude of the people, has begun to have painful results, since deaths from starvation are already reported to have occurred at certain places. Greece, isolated by this pressure on the part of the Entente, finds herself under the unavoidable necessity of transporting a large part of her army to the Peloponnesus. The forces now in Continental Greece are capable of providing on mobilization four divisions of three regiments each, with an independent brigade in the east and two divisions in Epirus, with a very small force of artillery. Of the four divisions in Eastern Greece, two at least are necessary for the defense of the capital and the eastern coast. Two and a half divisions, with hardly any artillery, may be available for service in Thessaly and Western Macedonia. The transport of the two divisions by way of Epirus to Eastern Greece would be very difficult. On account of the blockade there is a very inadequate supply of provisions, an absolute dearth of petrol, and little coal.

"The present situation must be seriously considered, as it is probable that a declaration of war might come before mobilization could be effected. Probably the Entente desire to involve Greece in immediate war so as to destroy her before the German occupation could be begun. Already Greece is faced with a fresh Entente note demanding her complete disarmament. The transport of the whole of the artillery and war material to the Peloponnesus is being maintained by the pressure of the blockade.

"The Government and the people are resisting with constancy, enduring all

sorts of privations, but the situation is growing worse from day to day. It is urgent that we should be informed if a German attack on the Macedonian front is contemplated, and when it is likely to begin. (Signed) CONSTANTINE.

Secret Wireless Station

"A wireless station, initials R. S. P., has been installed near Kalembaka, in Thessaly. Please thank M. Theotokis from Sophie. Where is Falkenhausen? We have not yet received his news."

Jan. 21, 1916.—M. Theotokis telegraphs to King Constantine: "I have the honor to inform your Majesty that General Falkenhausen tells me that action might be taken against the Entente troops on the following conditions: Our troops guarding the frontier will retire on the whole length of the frontier, from the Prespa to the place where the frontier touches Nestos on the northeast. Our (?) army corps will re-form at four points no further from this town than 20 kilometers, (12½ miles.) All our other troops will retire beyond the Ekaterini line as far as south of the Prespa. Greece promises not to permit or suffer landings by Entente troops either in the gulf or in Ekaterini Bay. If need be, she will stop such landing by force. The King of Greece pledges his word to the German Emperor that in no circumstances shall any soldier or native be employed by the Royal Government for hostile action against the German troops or their allies. Greece consents to the use of the Drama-Seres railway by Germany and her allies. The Chief of the General Staff begs your Majesty to be good enough to send a reply as soon as possible."

Treachery of Long Standing

The intrigue began in 1915, as the following proves:

Dec. 2, 1915.—M. Theotokis [the Greek Minister] telegraphs from Berlin: "The German Government is ready as a beginning to advance 40,000,000, but the opening of a credit at the Swiss banks which you ask for is impossible, as the German Government has no accounts in Switzerland, and is afraid of compromising Greece and Switzerland. A credit account has been opened with Messrs. B. L. Rosenberg."

On Dec. 10, 1916, M. Theotokis telegraphs: "Let von Falkenhausen await at Berlin the decision which will be taken at Athens. In case it is neutrality he will proceed to Podgradetz; in case of rupture with the Entente he will go by airplane to Larissa. In any case, it is of the greatest importance to develop as quickly as possible the question of Caravitis's bands and matters relative thereto. Pray inform me

with all speed what assistance in the way of munitions, money, and provisions you would want. The object of Caravitis should be to cut the railway from Monastir to Saloniki, and harass Sarrail's rear. One should not lose sight of the fact that even this unofficial action by the bands will powerfully help Greece when the time for negotiations comes to put forward large territorial claims which, naturally, can be larger in case action is taken than in case of mere neutrality. Falkenhause is awaiting instructions, upon which he will act immediately."

On Dec. 2, 1916, M. Zolocostas, the Greek Foreign Minister, telegraphed to the Greek Minister at Berne: "Please send the following message to the Minister in Berlin for General von Falkenhause: 'Owing to the continuance of the blockade there is only bread left for a few days longer, and other foodstuffs are also growing scarce. The idea of war against the Entente is now out of the question. Negotiations are proceeding on the note. I consider the game lost. If the attack is not made immediately it will be too late.

(Signed) " 'SOPHIA.' "

A Year's Work at Saloniki

Story of Postponed Offensive

LIEUT. GEN. G. F. MILNE, commander of the British Saloniki force, made an official report in the form of a dispatch published Nov. 15, 1917. The dispatch, which is here summarized, covers the period Oct. 9, 1916, to Oct. 1, 1917. General Milne was acting under the supreme direction of General Sarrail, Commander in Chief of the allied forces in Macedonia.

Since Nov. 20, 1916, the British troops have held that part of the front covering Saloniki and extending from the mouth of the Struma by Lake Doiran to the Vardar—a distance of approximately ninety miles. On the Struma sector the line was gradually pushed forward, the Dublin Fusiliers capturing practically the whole garrison of three villages. But at the beginning of last Summer, in view of the unhealthful character of the low-lying area, the British troops were withdrawn to the foothills on the right bank of the river, all the bridgeheads being retained and the evacuated area daily patrolled.

On the Doiran-Vardar sector minor operations were undertaken last Winter with the purpose of harassing the enemy, who are strongly interested in mountainous country. Toward the end of February, 1917, General Milne received instructions from General Sarrail to be ready to begin offensive operations in the first week of April, and in preparation a corps was pushed forward in March on the high ridge between Lake Doiran and the Vardar. By April 8 Gen-

eral Milne's preparations were complete, but General Sarrail found it necessary to postpone the offensive until the 24th, when the British infantry entered the hostile trenches along the whole front attacked. The fighting was of a most stubborn character, the Devonshire, Berkshire, and Manchester Regiments and the Shropshire Light Infantry being specially named for their dash, tenacity, and determination.

Preparations had begun to take advantage of the commanding positions gained on the ridge when General Milne learned that "owing to climatic and other reasons" the operations by the allied troops on the right bank of the Vardar and near Monastir had had to be postponed. General Milne was next told that May 8 had been fixed for the recommencement of the allied advance. Accordingly, an assault was made by the British troops on the enemy positions between Lake Doiran and the "Petit Couronné" Hill. In the face of great opposition the troops made progress, though against repeated counterattacks all the points gained could not be held. By May 20 the new line was consolidated. A further advance was in progress when on May 24 General Milne received definite instructions from General Sarrail that offensive operations were to cease all along the front. Since that date there has been, apparently, no essential change in the situation on the Doiran-Vardar sector.

General Milne draws attention to the

great improvements effected in means of communication, in spite of an exceptionally wet Winter, and states that the supply of the troops has proceeded satisfactorily. The wastage among animals was exceptionally low. General Milne writes:

With the advent of the cold weather malaria abated rapidly, and the sick rate remained low during the Winter. Preparations for the next Summer in the form of anti-malarial work were, however, steadily pursued, drainage of swamps and canalization of streams

were extended, and the personnel for technical work extended; but what proved of almost greater importance was the instruction of all ranks in the value of field sanitation and the prevention of disease in the field. The results have been most satisfactory, and, while giving full credit to the various ranks of the medical services and to the devoted band of nursing sisters, I consider that the great diminution in disease in this army, as compared with last Summer, is due chiefly to the fact that the value of preventive measures is fully realized by all ranks, and that the whole army has profited by the experience of last year.

"Nostra Guerra": Italy's War Aims

By Thomas G. Frothingham

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IN May, 1915, Italy declared war—against Austria-Hungary alone—and frankly began to fight Italy's own war. This attempt to conquer the Trentino and Trieste, "Nostra Guerra," was the result of a popular uprising of the Italian people to seize the opportunity to win Italia Irredenta and to realize Italy's dream of a renewed control of the Mediterranean.

For sixty years there had grown in the Italian mind the idea of "unredeemed Italy." By this is meant the outlying territories with Italian inhabitants, which the newly united Italy has longed to make a part of its country. The strong grasp of this "Irredentist" ideal upon the Italian people is hard to realize unless one considers the unusual conditions which brought into being the present Italian Nation.

Though inhabited largely by persons of Italian descent, these provinces never were a part of the Italian Nation, because until the middle of the nineteenth century there was no such thing as Italy, in the sense of an Italian Nation. The Italian States and cities before their union were small, disrupted communities, which fought fiercely with one another and gave themselves up to be ruled by neighboring powers.

Like the Greeks, the Italians followed their natural trend from living on the

shores of the Mediterranean, and they became enterprising colonists and skillful seamen. With the waning of the Greek Empire, Italian shipping actually controlled the trade of the Mediterranean and Italian seamen became the most enterprising navigators in the world. Columbus was only one of a host of such Italian mariners.

The great ocean routes had not been developed, and, outside of their own trade, the Italians became the common carriers of the world. The Italian ports were also the great clearing houses of the other nations. Consequently for many centuries Italy was the world's centre of the arts and sciences. In Italy these reached a height of development never before attained, and Italy became the recognized source of all such knowledge. Besides this the capital and centralized control of the powerful mediaeval Roman Catholic Church was in Italy. Yet in spite of all these advantages the Italians did not unite into a nation.

Era of Warring Cities

Venice and Genoa, with the commerce of the world at their command, fought one another to exhaustion. All Italy was divided into factions of small States and cities, and their history is one of continual wars against one another. The

five great powers of Italy were Milan, Venice, Florence, Naples, and the Papal States. To these should be added Piedmont and Savoy, ruled over by the house of Savoy, which eventually became the foundation for a united Italy. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the epoch of Italy's splendor and great opportunity, these conditions of strife continued, and there was the added humiliation of invasion and domination of the disunited Italian communities by the neighboring powers. These States, in contrast to Italy, had been welded into nations. As the great ocean routes of trade were developed the Italian States declined rapidly, with no national unity to face new conditions, and in the eighteenth century the Italians were for the most part ruled by Hapsburg and Bourbon Princes, Austria dominating in the north and having the greatest influence throughout Italy.

The first creating impulse for a free and united Italy came from the French Revolution and the invasion of Napoleon's armies against the Austrians. Savoy was at once made a French province; but Napoleon, as a part of his operations against the Austrians, fostered Italian independence, (Cisalpine Republic, 1797, &c.,) and the seed was planted which was destined to produce the Italian Nation.

The reactionary Congress of Vienna reduced the Italian States to their former dependent condition, but Piedmont and Savoy (this last restored by the treaties of 1815) were left powerful by the addition of Sardinia, (substituted for Sicily in 1817.) The name of this kingdom became Sardinia, and, with the statesmanship of the great Cavour, Sardinia supplied the element of strength necessary to make successful the idealistic movement of "Young Italy" for unity and freedom, which sprang up in the years of revived liberal thought in Europe, leading to 1848.*

The Unification of Italy

The romantic history of the unification of Italy under King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia is well known. This was com-

pleted in 1872.† Savoy had again become a French province in 1860, on account of the great assistance given by Napoleon III. against Austria. Venice had been taken from Austria, after the Italian alliance with Prussia in the successful war of 1866, and Italy's boundaries had become those existing at the outbreak of the present war.

It is necessary to review this union of utterly discordant States to understand "Irredentism," which has had such a great influence on the conduct of Italy in the war. Centuries of enmities had been overcome by idealists, whose thoughts had been quickened by the French Revolution and by its revival in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. United Italy as a nation was the concrete result of the idealistic thought of Young Italy. With this great achievement before their eyes, is it strange that there survived in the minds of Italians the idealists' longing to complete the union of all territories with Italian inhabitants?

In the sixties the Irredentists were a secret society. Afterward they remained an important influence in Italian thought. At times this element was stronger than all others, but at all times its propaganda swayed the people to a great degree. Allied with irredentism is another aspiration of the Italians—their desire for Italian colonies, and the revival of Italian control of the Mediterranean.

War Aims of Irredentists

Italy had longed for Tunis as a colony, and it was the occupation of this city by the French (1881) which finally alienated the Italians from France and drove Italy into the Triple Alliance, (1882.) Italy's unfortunate attempts in Abyssinia gave her colonial ambitions a severe setback. But the war with Turkey (1911) gave the Italians occupation of Tripoli and a hold upon some of the islands of the Aegean Sea. Italy's desire for influence in Albania also became an issue, and here again there was friction with Austria-Hungary, which increased the resentment, always dormant in the Italians, against Austria as the possessor of

*Mazzini, Balbo, Gilberty, &c.

†Rome capital of Italy, 1872.

"unredeemed" Italian provinces. All this had greatly increased the influence of the Irredentists in the recent years before the present war.

From the point of view of benefit to Italy it is hard to see any advantage that would have been gained by the acquisition of Trieste and the littoral of the Adriatic. One great economic drawback with which Italy has contended is the condition of too many ports for the hinterland behind them. This will be understood at once, when the peculiar shape of Italy on the map is remembered. The sound basis for the commercial prosperity of a port is a natural situation which makes it a point of entrance and distribution for a large and prosperous territory, and also the egress of the trade of these communities. These conditions cannot exist for the many Italian ports, because they are scattered along the shores of a narrow peninsula. Colonies are a real economic need for Italy, but it is hard to see any benefit from adding other ports and other narrow strips of coastline.

But irredentism was not founded on economics. It was the product of a group of idealists, and it had become the symbol of the unsatisfied longings of the Italians for the revival of their past glories. Consequently, from the breaking out of the war, the Italians watched the contest with the growing conviction that at last had come their opportunity to wrest the Trentino and Trieste from Austrian rule and to accomplish their ambitions on the Mediterranean.

Early in the war Italy had notified her Teutonic allies that the Triple Alliance was defensive only, and that she refused to join them in the war. But military preparations, necessary in her situation, naturally increased the enthusiasm of the Italian people, and finally, in spite of the strongest German influence, the popular demand grew so overpowering that all opposition was swept aside. With great outbursts of popular enthusiasm, Italy declared war, but it was against Austria alone—"nostra guerra," the war of irredentism.

Following the demand of the people, the Italian armies were dedicated to the

task of conquering the Trentino and Trieste. There was no attempt to co-ordinate with the Entente Allies. Italy was not one of the allies against Germany, neither was she at war with Germany. Austria was her enemy, and the Trentino and Trieste her objectives. As is well known, her campaigns in these provinces encountered formidable natural obstacles. Mountains difficult to climb in times of peace had to be surmounted by Italian artillery and supplies. The result was that the effect upon the war of Italy's entrance was very small—only

be measured by the number of Austrians employed in keeping the Italian armies in check.

The Italian assaults were not even dangerous enough to relieve the pressure on the Russian armies, which were at this time (May-September, 1915) being smashed to pieces by the fearful Hindenburg drive of the Austro-German armies. It is evident that, hampered by the difficult country, the Italians did not draw away important Austrian forces until after the fall of Warsaw—too late to help the Russian armies, and too late to prevent the downfall of Serbia. On Italy's part her campaign of conquest was practically without result in 1915.

At the opening of the campaigns of 1916 the Russians had been so fearfully cut up in the year 1915 that their armies could not take the field in the early Spring, and this released strong Austrian forces for use against Italy. These Austrian armies were driving back the Italians into Italy when a renewed offensive of the Russians (June, 1916) made necessary the withdrawal of Austrian troops from the Italian campaign to meet the Russian attacks.

In 1916, after the pressure of the Austrians had been withdrawn to cope with the Russians, the Italians won their great victory of the war, the capture of Gorizia. This caused exultation throughout Italy, and all the projects of the Italians revived. A feverish offensive followed in 1917, applauded by the enthusiastic nation, and there is no question of the fact that Italian ambitions leaped far.

An Italian army had been sent into Albania to assure Italian domination of

that country. The Russian revolution had ended Russia's desire for Constantinople, and the possibilities of Italy's triumph seemed endless in the eyes of her people, who had magnified Cadorna's successes into great victories, the precursors of still greater to come.

Cadorna's Sudden Reverse

This castle of dreams was shattered by the same thunderbolt that has been hurled so many times by Hindenburg, always a complete surprise to the victim. The conditions of 1916 were repeated. The Russian armies' refusal to fight had released Teutonic troops for use against the Italians, and these forces were massed in a sudden attack upon the Italian General. There had been no provision against anything of the kind, no "positions previously prepared." The Italians were driven out of their lines, and lost their conquests of two and a half years in as many weeks, with 250,000 prisoners and 2,000 guns. Not only this, but the drive continued far into Venetia.

The first reports of these overwhelming reverses implied demoralization of the Italian armies from socialistic propaganda, but on Nov. 23 there appeared in the French Premier Clemenceau's paper, *L'Homme Libre*, an article, which may almost be considered official, evidently intended to give the real Italian military situation to the French people.

The following is quoted from this article:

Let us consider the military aspect of the Italian situation. To begin with, the principal error of the Italian high command—alone sufficient to bring about the catastrophe—was the faulty disposition of its armies. The Second Army, after crossing the Isonzo, was drawn up facing northward on the high mountains of Mzli, Monte Nero, and Vrich, without having reached the crests, which were still in possession of the enemy. The Third Army, on the other hand, had conquered the crests and held Cucco, Monte Santo, and Vodice. It faced eastward and had advanced across the Bainsizza Plateau toward Laibach. But between these two armies the Austrians still held a whole sector which formed from Tolmino to Santa Lucia a kind of outpost separating the Italian forces.

Military critics had already drawn attention to the danger of this situation and pointed out that the strategic arrange-

ments of both Italian armies might be thrown into confusion by the enemy if the latter, holding the intermediate high ground, should decide to attack on both sides with sufficient forces. That is precisely what happened when the Germans were able to transfer part of their troops from Russia to the Italian Alps.

Errors Due to Blind Optimism

The second error: Behind these armies, drawn up in so perilous a position, there were at least reserves ready in case of a surprise. In May, 1916, in the course of the Austrian offensive in the Trentino, General Cadorna had profited by a moment of respite to constitute the Fifth Army a reserve. It was the intervention of this force at the critical moment that forced the enemy to retreat. For reasons that we are unable to understand, this Fifth Army was dissolved one fine day: Not that man power was wanting; it was and still is plentiful in Italy. The reserves of man power were numerous enough to furnish other armies as well. But the Italian Generalissimo has always seemed unwilling to keep them near the front. So, when need came, they could not intervene, and thus the rout of the Second Army, followed by the beating up and precipitate retreat of the Third, carried everything away.

This error is connected with several others, all of which are to be explained by blind confidence in the solidity of the conquests made. Otherwise, what excuse is there for the mistake of massing all the main supply depots at so short a distance from the front, between Isonzo and the Tagliamento? To take the case of wheat alone: More than 300,000 tons thus fell into the hands of the famished enemy.

How, too, are we to excuse the complete lack of intrenchments, in view of a possible retreat, and the fact that not a single road of retreat was prepared, or a single bridge—beyond five old ones—thrown across the Tagliamento? The congestion produced almost from the outset by the enormous mass of men and material on the river banks, all trying to cross at the same moment, cost the Italian Army almost as dearly as the sudden loss of all its supply sources which had to be left to the enemy.

In this awful reversal of fortune Italy called upon the Entente Allies for help. Great Britain and France responded, and an agreement for "unity of control" was made. In thus joining Great Britain and France, Italy became for the first time one of the Entente Allies. "Nostra Guerra" of Irredentism was ended, and the British, French, and Italian armies are now being operated in co-ordination.

Life in France in Wartime

The Diary of a War Worker

By Anna Milo Upjohn

The accompanying record is a true narrative of facts as developed in Paris by an American woman who was a visiting inspector for the Fraternité Américaine. It covers the wintry days preceding the Spring of 1917, and vividly portrays the heroic courage with which the women of France must face the Winter of 1917-18.

WHEN I landed in England, late in February, 1917, I expected to feel a thrill of battle. On the contrary I was conscious of something compelling but altogether different—something which at first baffled analysis. Strange as it may seem, this grew into a realization that the predominant feeling in England is one of peace; perhaps I should say of harmony, for it is a wonderful concert of purpose and activity. And then, by degrees, there came to me another stupendous thing, the feeling of the empire!

It had always been just "dear old England," England and the provinces. Now there are no provinces. It is one mighty whole, the British Empire indissolubly welded in the crucible of the war.

In the canteens the words "Provinces" and "Territorials" were avoided. The men were the "Overseas forces," the noble and equal contingents of the empire. From New Zealand and Australia, from India and Canada and South Africa, the troops came in to take their places beside the dear plain Tommies, the splendid Highlanders and the fiery Irish regiments. And among them all prevailed the same moral unity, the unshakable purpose of victory! And this spirit is not confined to the army. High and low, the nation marches to one tune without friction, without lagging, without doubt. The spirit is like that of a crusade without its fanaticism. A hymn of hate could not strike root in England. It would be hissed down as something too base to live. But no more could a movement for peace without victory obtain.

What if two cranks did bleat feebly of peace in a South Kensington gathering? The audience, disdaining to lay hands on

them, rushed the platform, raising the roof with "Britannia Rules the Waves." And so, in spite of much frank criticism and often denunciation of ways and means by the newspapers, the purpose is one and without shadow of turning. A splendid sense of personal responsibility permeates every class of society, and this sympathetic working together cannot but bring about a reciprocal understanding which will endure after the war.

The Spirit of London

And London, steeped in unprecedented fog, with unlighted streets, without martial music or bells or even striking clocks, never seemed so attractive. Life moved on with unwonted activity and with a spirit of cheerful confidence. Tradesmen were doing a rattling business, there were few unemployed, drunkenness and beggary were conspicuously absent from the streets. The commodities in demand, however, are not quite those of normal times—nor is the buying public the same. There, as here, those things which pertain to the bodily comfort or nourishing of the men at the front or of the prisoners in Germany are sold in enormous quantities. "What does it matter about us if he has enough out there?" is an utterance often heard. "Out there" may mean France or Egypt or Mesopotamia, or, alas! Germany.

Among the upper classes it is considered bad form and unpatriotic to dress extravagantly during wartime. But those to whom war has brought unaccustomed money are using it freely. The munition workers, who, perhaps, have never before had the spending of a shilling, are intoxicated with the opportunity which their weekly salaries of three

JAFFA, THE PORT OF JERUSALEM



This Ancient Port of Palestine Is Now in the Hands of the British
Army, Which Invaded the Holy Land from Egypt.

(© International Film Service.)

THE KING'S POOL AT HEBRON



Hebron, Where David Hanged the Murderers of Saul's Sons, Is One of the Points Taken by the British in Their Advance in Palestine.

(© Underwood & Underwood.)

or four pounds afford them. On the whole, however, the tone of the people is sober.

Nothing could be finer than the way in which the working-class woman has taken up one by one the tasks of men, thus liberating them for the front. Everywhere one sees them in neat, dark uniforms, as conductors on the omnibuses, as drivers of motor trucks or cabs, as elevator operators and subway officials. In the country they till the soil and drive cattle to market. In the munition and war supply works and canteens titled ladies and factory girls work side by side. All over England these women, with their grave eyes and firm chins, are literally equipping and maintaining the army in the field. And the men are cognizant of their splendid co-operation. With the thousands of overseas forces swarming through London, in addition to the English Tommies, not once did I see a discourteous or familiar act toward a woman serving in any capacity, either with or without a uniform.

Paris in March, 1917

When I came to Paris, early in March, 1917, the coal crisis was at its height. At Rouen the shipments sent from England were frozen fast in the river, and the jutting elbow of St. Mihiel, still held by the Germans, prevented the passage of a thousand laden péniches from the other direction. The cold was intense.

I am visiting for the *Fraternité Américaine* among the fatherless children of France, the children of the plain soldiers who have already made the supreme sacrifice. They lived in the poorer quarters of Paris, these heroes of France, for they were mostly workingmen and artisans. And their widows and children live where they left them, for during the moratorium the families of the mobilized men are not obliged to pay rent so long as they do not change their domicile.

My part is to find out the health and general condition of the children, whether the mothers have work and of what nature, and to give some account of their surroundings. In the morning I start out with a list of names and addresses and a plan of Paris. From then until 5 or 6 in the evening, when I am

not struggling through wind-beaten streets or climbing interminable stairs, I am burrowing underground in the labyrinth of the Metro. And the cold continues, dark, sinister, mordant, with black, low-hanging clouds and stinging winds.

How War Widows Live

My first visit was in the Rue Vercingétorix. I think I chose to begin there because the name was so ancient, and warlike, and Gallic. But at the very outset I met with the rebuff which has proved the most frequent: Mme. A. left home for work at 7 in the morning, not returning until 7 at night; consequently, Sunday was the only day on which she might be seen. The next call was in a narrow street in the same quarter. The house looked clean, the concierge was pleasant, but Mme. B. had just gone to return the work which she had finished and would not be back before noon. The third address was at some distance and difficult to find. There was no concierge to inquire of, the house was dark, evil-smelling, and moribund. In the adjoining shop I learned that Mme. D. lived on the third floor right. Mounting a terrifying staircase I thundered on the specified door. The response was silence and repeated silence.

As I was descending in a mood to demolish the rattletrap building I met Mme. D. on the stairs coming up, a plucky, grimy little woman, with about a quart of charcoal in a paper bag and some scraps of food in a package. I went back with her. Opening the door, she apologized for the disorder, saying that she had been delivering bread in a pushcart since daybreak.

It was partly because of the opportunity which this job offered of earning 14 francs (\$2.80 nominally) a week that the three youngest children had been taken by sympathizing friends into the country. But the total lack of coal was also a potent reason for sending them away. Marcel, the oldest of the four, a boy of 9, had stayed with her because he was in school. But he had been seized with grip, and was now under the care of the parochial fathers. Of course, for herself it did not matter. All

she needed was a little charcoal to make a cup of coffee, but with the children it was different. She was the first war widow I had met, but she struck at once that note of indomitable courage which meets me on every threshold.

A Shattered Household

Her gratitude for the adoption of the three youngest children was intense. The kind letters alone without the money would have given her the courage to face life, she declared. And besides the regular quarterly payment of 45 francs, (\$9,) there had come a gift of 30 francs, (\$6,) at Christmas time. With this she had bought some clothes, and now whenever little Juliette puts on her new dress she dances with delight, singing, "My Godfather sent me this, my nice Godfather in America."

I looked around the cold, forlorn room. It was dirty, of course. The absence of hot water wars against cleanliness. But the ceiling was criss-crossed with lines on which the children's washed-out garments were hung, and the curtains were fresh. Those curtains and the big brass bed, the red and white checked tablecloth and blue glass vases on the chimney-shelf, helped me to mentally rehabilitate the shattered little ménage. It had been poor, but not poverty-stricken, and it had been warm and full of hope and the chatter of children.

Quite shaken by my first interview, I worked my way back through the storm to the home of Mme. B. She had returned and was seated at a sewing machine making cheap aprons for a department store. It was a very different interior from the one I had just left, except that here, too, there was no fire. But it was scrupulously clean, and the carved chairs were ranged primly around the table. At one end of the room hung a mirror, and on one side of it a widow's bonnet; on the other, the blue casque of the French infantry.

Brave Mothers in Want

Mme. B. was a quiet, middle-aged person, with an illuminating expression, which made her plain face beautiful. The little boy of 3, she told me, had been sent to relatives in the Jura, where firewood

and milk are abundant. The other child, a girl of 14, was in school. It was her mother's hope that she might be able to take a course in a business school, but with the rising prices of food she feared it would be necessary for her to find work of some kind after the closing of the Spring term. It was more the sad, gentle smile than the eyes dim from weeping which told me the story of a sorrow without words. Suddenly I felt small and humiliated. How fatuous to suppose that there was any comfort which one could offer for a loss like this!

And yet—there was the child's life to equip for the future. That in itself would glorify the mother's broken life. And hard cash would do it. Perhaps a hundred dollars. A hundred dollars and a child's future weighing in the balance—and the world so rich! Could it be possible?

The morning was gone. I had seen two mothers, but so far not a single war orphan! I found my first one that afternoon. He lay on his back in his little crib fast asleep. His cheeks were the color of wild roses. His fair, silky hair stood straight up from his forehead, and his arms were thrown wide, giving an impression of energy, even while he slept. His mother could not resist taking him up to let me see the beauty of his eyes. He at once buried his face in her neck and refused to look at me. But when he was put on his feet to show that he could not only stand, but take a few steps alone, he could not resist a side-long upward glance to see if I were duly impressed with the great achievement. * * *

Women Battling for France

That Paris should have lost its smartness was to be expected, and to a superficial eye the city seems to have suffered little else from the two and a half years of war. People go about doing the ordinary things of life in a matter-of-fact manner, which makes the war zone seem remote. It was when I began to come in contact with individual lives that I found myself face to face with it as I had not been before.

For need, cold, suspense, and agonized effort are war, as surely as the more

obvious drama of the battlefield. And the sequence of each cannon cast, each regiment equipped, each battleship manned, is the closing of this creamery, or that factory, the neglect of a little farm in La Creuse, the cessation of the Breton fisheries.

Everywhere the accustomed occupations and sources of supply are cut off, while the demand remains the same. It is like a fertile tract of country shaken by an earthquake, all its little streams and springs turned from their courses, rendering its meadows and gardens arid.

There is a stoical patience about the Parisian, but do not mistake it for resignation! Under a calm exterior he hides a fierce resolve, an unshakable endurance. There is but one thing to do—fight! But one thing to be—brave! And the women are battling for the life of France as intrepidly as the men at the front. They, too, have gone “up the line,” but their line is the queue on the icy sidewalk. Not a day of this terrible month that I have not seen them standing by fifty and a hundred waiting outside a locality of distribution for the ten kilos of coal which each is allowed to buy, and which each must carry home herself, as there is no delivery.

Wrapped in thick woolen shawls, blue with cold, pinched, plucky, but chatting vociferously, she often waits four, six, even eight hours in the storm only to be told that the supply has given out and that there is no more coal to be had that day.

Terrible Need of Coal

Perhaps the most thrilling sight is the passing of deep-bodied carts heaped with coal destined for the munitions or public buildings, drawn by great Normandy horses slipping and straining over the wet cobbles. If they go down the coal may be sold on the spot in small quantities. A rumor of the possibility runs like wildfire through the quarter. A crowd gathers. Mute and tense they watch the shaggy hoofs and steaming flanks as the horses recover themselves and pass on. Or a great lorry manned by soldiers and bringing coal from Rouen comes dashing into view. As by magic the street is filled with panting women and boys strug-

gling to get near the source of distribution. The soldiers clear a space, unload the coal, a line is formed and the dealing out begins. And this is as much the order of the day as when I first came.

The cold is relentless, the Seine still unnavigable.

I know Englishwomen who are voluntarily going without fires in order that we in France may have more coal and that the munitions may not be hampered. And England is sending two million tons a month. But it falls far short of what is needed, and is small compensation for the mines of France, which the Huns hold in the north. Besides, the river failing, it is difficult to transport the coal in quantity to the centres where it is most needed.

The French are good to their poor, and especially so now in wartime. Each necessitous family is given 50 kilos (110 pounds) of coal a month. It is not enough for warmth, but at least it goes far toward the cooking, and in most cases it can be supplemented by the purchase of ten kilos at a time at some local coal-yard.

The Secours National is largely responsible for the organizing of this relief. It buys the coal from the mines, and by arranging for its distribution from the Mayor's office obviates the expense of the middleman.

Endless Struggle for Fuel

I know you are saying at home, “A coal famine in Paris! Poor things! Isn't that the limit!” and you look at the pictures in the Sunday papers and shudder. The sympathy is real, but only half comprehending. In order to understand, it is necessary to live through the pinch of this terrible Winter with them. The struggle to get the coal in the first place is such a bitter one, with its hours of waiting in the intense cold often before daylight. As the supply never meets the demand, it is only the early comer who is sure of getting the precious commodity. And after it has been bought it must be carried home, perhaps a long distance, up many flights of stairs.

If a woman goes out to work by the day she must leave her children in bed and then hurry back to get their break-

fast and make them ready for school or for the crèche if they are under the age of 4. If she works in the munitions from 7 to 7 it is the grandmother who must take her place. And this happens more often than you would suppose.

The other day I was climbing to the top of a tenement house when I saw a heaving, distorted figure above me leaning against the railing.

Alarmed, I hurried up, to find a little old woman with a ten-kilo sack of coal under her shawl. She did not dare put it down, for she had it well balanced on her hip. It was almost noon, and she had been out since before 8. Her grandchildren were waiting at home for their dinner. I carried the coal the rest of the way up, and it was no light load.

The Case of Mme. F.

With Mme. F. it was not so much the coal which failed as the stove. I will tell you about it.

It was a bitter day in a month in which every day had been bitter. I picked my way over the frozen stream of drainage (in storm rubbers) and climbed the rickety stairs with misgivings.

As I was about to knock, the door was opened and a broomful of soot flung out. A black-browed woman stared me stonily in the eye. I was conscious of having arrived at the wrong moment.

In a last effort to vitalize the decrepit stove, Mme. F. had taken down the old pipe and put up a new one. The expense and the experiment had been futile. There was no draft. The room was wretched; cold, damp, with blotched wall paper, the result of a leaking roof. Dabs of soot lay on the floor. The uncooked dinner of potatoes waited for the water which would not boil. Two disheveled children stood mutely by, subdued by the crisis. In the next room a little girl of 3 fretted and tossed with fever.

Something in Mme. F.'s attitude suggested the she-wolf protecting her young. The women of the French Revolution suddenly became a reality to me. I felt that it was a mockery to have my hands in a muff. Hearing that Mme. F. had sent for the doctor provided by the city for that ward, I left, promising to come again.

Impelled by anxiety I hurried back the

next morning, fearing that I might find a very sick baby. There was the same sullen fire, the same desperate struggle to cook a little food. Lucie, wrapped in an old cape, lay across her mother's knees in a stupor. The doctor had not come. Mme. F. had just sent for another one whom she would have to pay, but in whom she had confidence.

Unfortunately, it was Sunday, but I promised that a new cook stove should be delivered the next day. Mme. F. gave me a blank stare of incredulity. The price of stoves had more than doubled during the year, she explained.

One Woman's Tragedy

Nevertheless, with absolute assurance, I promised her the stove. She could not know that at that moment the flood of gratitude in my heart for the small fund for special emergencies which had been given me to use was as great as hers. But she softened, and, suddenly, without preliminary, her tragedy was laid before me. Her husband had been mobilized at once and killed early in the war. Judging from his photograph, he was a kindly, honest young fellow. He was a mason by trade, earning good wages. They had put nothing by; that had been impossible with the little growing family, but they had had enough, and had lived happily.

The father adored his children. On holidays he would gather the three into his arms and carry them off for an outing. "Oh, yes, he was a brave garçon and bon!" The tears stood in the mother's eyes, but they did not fall. Instead, she squared her jaw and looked down at the quiet little form in her arms. As she talked I saw that she was younger than I had at first supposed. In reality she is only 28, a peasant woman from La Creuse, with warm temperament and rich coloring, crisp black hair, dark eyes, and a tint of pomegranate in her cheeks. She grew up on a farm, and loves the soil and cattle, and is out of place in her sordid city surroundings.

If during the moratorium the tenant is not obliged to pay rent, neither is the landlord obliged to make repairs; and so the house, which is shockingly old and dirty, has gone steadily down.

Relief That Came in Time

The next morning I had to go back for the measurement of the stovepipe, which I had forgotten. The doctor had been there, had charged 5 francs, and ordered medicines; had also pronounced the baby threatened with pneumonia, and had ordered her to be kept warm!

I set out at once, accompanied by a strong ally in the person of another peasant woman from La Creuse, brown and sparkling. Together we ransacked the hardware stores of Clichy until we found a small stove of a model approved by her. To insure immediate delivery I packed it into a taxi, and the beaming woman rode off triumphant, her arms around it. Toward the end of the week I went back to learn results.

Lucie was sitting up in bed, crowned with paper flowers, the other children romping around her. The outer room was scrubbed almost beyond recognition. A pot of hot water stood on the stove, and the mother was about to wash her children. She even contemplated changing the sheets. I had not expected anything so extreme, and could not disguise my delight.

Mme. F. was incoherent in her happiness, waving her arms over her head and shouting at me in her effort to make clear her meaning to my foreign and therefore somewhat obtuse intelligence.

It was not the stove alone which caused her transport. The lady who had adopted Lucia had left the sum of 50 francs with the *Fraternité* to be kept for an emergency. On learning her straits at the office, the money had been forwarded to Mme. F., and with it she had bought coal and medicines. And there was something left. Oh, the joy of having something beyond the exigency of the moment!

I wish every tale had the same old-fashioned story-book ending.

A Mother and Baby

There is one mother and her baby whom I dare not think of as night comes on. I have been told not to worry about her—that I am judging her situation by my own standards, not hers. It may be, yet though I know this is not the first season that Mme. P. has slept under a

leaking roof, I cannot believe she likes it, or even that it is good for her.

The year before the war she and her husband bought a small wine shop in the Rue des Pyrénées. Into it they put their hopes for the future and—Madame's dot! In spite of that the place was heavily mortgaged. But the husband, a great, rollicking fellow, who made a joke of obstacles, drew customers, and by the end of the first year they had paid for the zinc-topped counter, the glasses and other furnishings.

There were two babies then, instead of one, with but a year between them. The war came.

An atom in the gray-blue wave of infantry, the father marched toward the Marne with the rest. But to the stupefaction of the poor little wife it was her man, the solid backing of her life, who was made the target of the German cannon, while millions of men still lived in France!

Because he had left her in the little room behind the shop, and because there was no rent to pay, that is where she stayed, withdrawing like a small, wary animal into her lair with her young.

She is a little woman with nut-brown face, wide, bewildered eyes, and tiny hands. But the chin and mouth are obstinate, and now she is consciously standing with her back to the wall awaiting the end of the war, when decisions will have to be made. In the meantime the business has come to an abrupt close. The wooden shutters are up, and from the street the place looks abandoned.

It was with great reluctance that Mme. P. admitted me at all. A dull flush of resentment mounted to the roots of her hair, the resentment of the shamed housewife against the untimely intruder. I understood and felt guilty of an indelicacy as I stepped into the twilight of the empty shop with its boarded windows.

The floor was of cement, and the place, without means of heating, was as cold as the street from which I came. Except for the bar and a baby carriage it was devoid of furniture. The room behind, which to Mr. P. meant "home," is no bigger than a large closet. It has one window high up, and through that struggled a murky light bringing into relief

the poor cramped household goods. There, in the unspeakable gloom, was an adorable baby dabbling in a basin of water. He had branded his face with his dirty little hands before beginning to wash them, but nothing could conceal his beauty. Hair in wild light curls, mischievous brown eyes, rounded cheeks touched with color, and a trick of pushing out his upper lip in a soft little pout, a remnant of his recent nursing days. Too shy to respond to advances, he smiled knowingly when the conversation turned on him.

The older of the two children had died at the beginning of the Winter. When I heard it I felt that a morsel of France had been definitely lost to the enemy. For these children are France!

In spite of the odds against him, Raymond is a splendid little fellow, sturdy and full of play, the type of small child

I find most frequently among the working people of France. Their vitality is extraordinary and their intelligence marked.

On my second visit Raymond had lost his shyness, was ready to make a hobby horse of my umbrella, and to play hide and seek around the counter. His mother, passionately devoted to him, is tortured by the fear that she may not be able to rescue for him the thousand francs already sunk in the business. It seems to have been a shortsighted venture, for the building is, as Mme. P. expressed it, "caduque." Moreover, across the way there is a rival establishment, also the property of a fallen soldier, but left in the hands of a shrewd father-in-law. There the black-haired, firm-bosomed widow draws the corks to the agonized envy of Mme. P.

It is like a story by Daudet.

How the Channel Ports Were Saved

Crisis of the First Battle of Ypres

The third anniversary of the first battle of Ypres was commemorated on Oct. 31, 1917, by the Paris Daily Mail, which recalled this heroic performance of British troops in the crucial hour of the battle:

IF it is ever permissible to speculate shudderingly on what might have been if certain events had or had not happened, it is clearly justifiable to declare that at 2 o'clock on Oct. 31, 1914, the fate of Europe was decided. It was the crucial hour of that heroic day. It is the hinge upon which the future history of the world turns.

Today we celebrate the triumphal but bloody anniversary of the first battle of Ypres. We have lived through vivid, valorous months and years, we have watched battle after battle, terrible, intense, full-fraught with significance; and we have not even yet, in the vortex of events, realized how supreme was the crisis through which we passed three years ago, and how frightfully our fate trembled in the balance. There should be, in those who understand the peril of that great afternoon, a spirit of profound

thanksgiving, incandescent in the glow of mighty memories.

As in all the big moments of history, it was an accident, a providence if you will, that turned the faltering scale. Lord French, Sir Douglas Haig, and General Gough, in earnest, anxious consultation in the château at Ypres, had taken all their dispositions, had done all that the high command could do. They could only trust in the traditional bravery of the British soldier to stay the overwhelming German masses—a mere 150,000 men against a million. They were tired, perturbed, but borne up by unconquerable faith, and their brains were as alert as ever. The Yser was in the rear of the thin British line. Retreat threatened irreparable disaster. If the line broke the Germans would roll up the Allies, would menace Paris more desperately than before, and, above all, the

Channel ports would be laid bare. Messengers followed each other in hot haste, the telephone brought its burden of news from all parts of the field, and the Generals must have felt the icy breath of fear touch their ardent faith.

The Miracle of a Man

For the line did break. The day was lost. Disaster had arrived. Against such odds, what could mortal man do? The gallant General Lomax was wounded at Gheluvelt, and the 1st Division recoiled, shattered. The breach was made. The whole front must give. The reserves? There were no reserves. Every man was fighting, and men were falling everywhere. Gheluvelt was, then, the grave of civilization.

But then a wonderful thing happened. Destiny changed its face. There occurred, as so often in the annals of our empire, at the exact second when the clock of doom was about to strike, the Miracle of a Man. That man was Brig. Gen. Charles FitzClarence, whose name cannot be too highly honored. Alas! that he perished splendidly at the head of his men a few days later. He had shown himself many times to be a soldier of mettle. Thrice he had earned the V. C. in beleaguered Mafeking. He was as skillful as he was courageous, a soldier with the true genius of a soldier. In the press and confusion of the moment he saw in a flash the débâcle that was imminent. The 2d Worcesters were there. They were not under his command. But what mattered ceremony in such a moment? He gave his orders to Major Hankey, and the Worcesters flew forward to the rescue. It was not a question of hours. A minute more or less would have made all the difference. The Worcesters came up in time. The 1st Division rallied. Gheluvelt was retaken. The line was repaired. The day was retrieved. The Channel ports were saved. Liberty lived again in a civilized world.

The Dash for the Sea

For consider the problem which had faced Field Marshal French in those latter doubtful days of October. The Germans, foiled in their sweep on Paris, had begun their dash to the sea. Their

object was plain; their military strategy was simple, bold, and apparently conclusive. If the Marne had destroyed their first plan, their second was even greater. If they swung down on the northern coast of France—and what could stop them?—they would dominate the Channel and cut off the prospect of further British reinforcements. Think of the course the war would have pursued without the Channel ports in allied hands. How many millions of men and of shells have since passed safely across that narrow strip of sea? With that door to France barred, the task of Britain would have been immeasurably harder. But without looking far into the future, Germany might reasonably expect to outflank the Allies, to deal a decisive blow which would end the war, to possess (in the alternative) a jumping-off place from which to invade England.

The Germans rushed west; the Allies pushed northward to interpose a barrier against this flood of armed barbarians. Joffre thrust out his forces to La Bassée, leaving Lord French and his troops in the centre. But French, with the sure knowledge that the place of the British regiments was on the left flank, nearest the coast, a post of danger, a post of honor, and a post of vital importance to Great Britain since the control of the Channel was essential to the glorious little island with the glorious little army, came to an understanding with the French commander and distributed his men accordingly beyond La Bassée.

The position toward the end of the month was roughly as follows: Sir Horace Smith Dorrien and the 2d Corps were fighting and incurring enormous losses between La Bassée and Aubers; Sir William Pulteney was with the 3d Corps east of Armentières to the Bois Grenier, (French cavalry filling up the gap;) Sir Edmund Allenby and the Cavalry Corps were on the left, on the eastern side of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge; while to the north lay the 4th Corps, (which included the 7th Division and the 3d Cavalry Division,) under Sir Henry Rawlinson, panting after its efforts in covering the retreat of the Belgians from Antwerp and in at-

tempting to take the bridge at Menin, on the Lys.

Haig in the Storm Centre

There remained Sir Douglas Haig and the 1st Corps, who came up from the Aisne on Oct. 19, and were on the Belgian frontier. The question for Lord French was how to employ them. To strengthen his hard-pressed troops, already too extended? Or to fill up the empty sector between General Rawlinson and the Belgian Army, then on the Yser?

The dilemma was dreadful; the risk in either event was huge. The British commander did not shrink from the danger. Coolly, deliberately, he took his desperate decision to defend at all costs the unprotected portion of the line. Haig planted himself from Zonnebeke to St. Julien, and from St. Julien to Bixchoote, and the epic period of the first battle of Ypres began. British bat-

talions "disappeared." Two thousand three hundred men and forty-four officers were left of the 7th Division, which a few days earlier numbered 12,000 men and 400 officers. But if the losses were terrific the performances of the little band against crushing forces were prodigious.

The climax of the furious battle was reached on Oct. 31, and the culminating hour was that between 2 o'clock and 3 o'clock. It was then that the German hordes seemed for a moment to have triumphed, it was then that the stroke of genius of General Fitz Clarence sent the right men to the right point at the right time. The peril passed; the line steadied; and thereafter all the declamation of the Kaiser, all the assaults of the Prussian Guards, could not shake the deathless army that fought its greatest fight on the Flanders battlefield for the keys of France and of England.

The Cannon's Deceptive Voice

By Charles Nordmann

This curious bit of scientific lore relating to the high velocity projectiles of the twentieth century battlefield is by a member of the Paris *Matin* staff, and has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE formidable battle of Flanders awakens mute and shuddering echoes in our inmost thoughts. But besides these vibrations of the soul it creates other sounds, and these, transmitted through the air and the earth, are heard as far away as 180 miles. This is a new proof that the present war can be heard better than it can be seen, for human deeds cannot be seen at such distances.

But even he who is in the midst of the combat hears it better than he sees it; separated, hidden, masked, the combatants and their engines of war are invisible, while, on the contrary, the thunder of the explosions and shots, the whistling of the shells and bullets, all this encounters no obstacles and penetrates to one's ears even in the deepest underground shelters. * * * The soldier in action, therefore, apparently can trust

his ears much more than his eyes. But the ear itself often fails to tell the truth, and among the disconcerting errors which it causes there are several very curious ones, caused by what we call the "crack" of the bullet or shell.

Often one hears a cannon or rifle shot on the right when investigation shows that the weapon was fired on the left or in front. This produces frequent and often fatal errors, against which reconnaissance and scouting parties in the service should take every precaution. The phenomenon is due to the fact that the sound caused by the firing of the gun travels in the air at the rate of 330 meters a second, while the bullet or shell, if it comes out of a long-barreled gun, has a much greater speed as it leaves the muzzle. Just as the prow of a ship creates two straight and diverging furrows in the water, which travel to right

and left as fast as the point travels with the prow of the ship, so these projectiles, in their impact on the air, produce an acoustic furrow that travels at first much faster than 330 meters a second. When this furrow or wave strikes the ear, we hear an intense cracking sound which we mistake for that of the gun. The ear naturally reports the origin of the sound as being in the direction from which the acoustic wave has come, and this is usually not at all the direction of the gun. The illusion is increased by the fact that the "crack" is much louder than the report of the gun itself, and that the latter is often not heard at all. If it is perceived, one hears—without counting the noise made by the projectile when it strikes—two successive sounds—the crack of the passing bullet or shell, then the report of the gun. It follows that when one hears a shot fired one can by no means be sure that the gun is where it seems to be.

These facts have curious and almost incredible consequences. For example, when I was situated in advance of a battery of long artillery pieces in the Wovre district, it happened several times that I

heard a cannon shot, and, a barely appreciable time afterward, the word "Fire!" which had been pronounced before. The word had traveled at a speed of 330 meters, while the crack of the shell was going much faster, like the shell itself, so that it overtook and passed the waves of the word "Fire!" and reached my ear ahead of them.

If one places one's self in advance of a "75" that is firing its shells at an initial velocity of 529 meters, the shell travels much faster than the sound of the gun, and one hears two successive sounds—the "crack" and then the firing. The interval that separates them is at the maximum of about one second if the observer stands 2,200 meters in advance of the cannon. Beyond that point the speed of the shell grows less than that of the sound from the gun, and the interval diminishes. At 4,700 meters the sound waves have caught up with the shell, and beyond that point only one sound is heard.

As the crack of the projectile and the sound of the gun are so much alike, one is often deceived, not only in the direction but in the number of shots fired.

German War Losses and the Surplus of Women

The Danish Society for the Study of Social Consequences of the War has issued a monograph in which the loss of population for France and Germany is computed as follows:

	France.	Germany.
Total loss of population	2,200,000	3,700,000

Taking the full three years of war—August, 1914, to August, 1917—the investigators calculate that the aggregate loss of life in Germany amounted, in round figures, to 3,700,000, arrived at as follows:

Increase of mortality with persons older than one year.....	1,436,000
Decrease of infantile mortality..	225,000
Increase of total mortality.....	1,211,000
Decrease of birth rate.....	2,482,000
Total loss of population.....	3,693,000

Thus, while under normal conditions the population of Germany within the last three years should have increased from 67,800,000 to about 70,200,000, owing

to the war it will have decreased to about 66,500,000.

Yet these simple figures do not give any real picture of the importance of the loss sustained. Far more important than the decrease of population is the complete confusion in the age-group distribution of the population and the fundamental disarrangement in the numerical proportion of the sexes. According to conditions previous to the war there should be about 32,800,000 males and 33,700,000 females. In reality, however, there will be about 32,100,000 males and 34,400,000 females. After three years of war the proportion of men to women will be about 1,000 to 1,100. As regards the population of marriageable age, the preponderance of women will be much greater, since the calculation takes no account of the number of disabled men. In short, millions of women, after the war, will find no possibility of marrying.

Intense Activities Behind the Lines

A Pen Picture of the Seething Life in France
That Supplies the Allied Armies' Needs

By Arthur S. Riggs

Correspondent of The New York Times

AT present three broad bands or zones of communication lead to the fighting fronts: The French, which radiates like a fan to all the fronts from Paris; the American, which sweeps a broad band across country, from the mouth of a great southern river, crosses Paris and passes on to a point on the French front, and the British, which begins on the English coast, darts across the Channel in one double daylight steamship line efficiently guarded by innumerable destroyers and cruisers, trawlers and mine-sweepers, and, on reaching the northwestern coast of France, sweeps north and east through Belgium and France to the bloody swales around Nieuport, Ypres, Arras, and the other focal points of the assailing lines in that region.

Where Britons Rule in France

At present the British hold the line in Belgium at Nieuport, on those dingy sand dunes which rise like a series of natural trench parapets and outworks, on which observation posts do their best to catch sight of the German airplanes and Zeppelins and guard the flanks of the army. From Nieuport the British lines reach Furnes, to the southeast. There the Belgians, who have concentrated their shattered forces, man the trenches to a point below Ramscappelle, almost opposite Dixmude, where the French lines begin, and continue until they join the British not far from Ypres. The British, or rather the imperial forces, as they are known collectively, reach on down from this point to below Arras, and the French hold all the rest of the line.

Thus the British line is divided at Furnes, with the Belgian wedge thrust into it there. From Furnes, back to

Calais and south along the lovely coastal hills of France, England is supreme. Sweating Tommies are continually remaking the roads, with all the methodical thoroughness characteristic of British procedure, and leaving behind them a monument worthy of their toil. Along this main road, over which all the ammunition, troops, quartermaster, commissariat, hospital, and other supplies must pass, to say nothing of the guns, big and little, the traffic is incessant and enormous. New York's Fifth Avenue at Forty-second Street at 4 o'clock in the afternoon is the only comparison possible. And, notwithstanding the rumbling of motor lorries, the flying motor cars, the occasional regimental train of horse-drawn caissons or wagons, the dog-drawn machine guns of the Belgians—both armies have to use this road, which further complicates matters and tempers—the snorting steam road rollers, and the inevitable French and Belgian farm wagons which never get out of the way when they can help it, Tommy Atkins calmly pre-empt one-half the road and proceeds to tear it to pieces and rebuild it.

Staff officers fly by at sixty miles an hour and drench him with showers of mud or choke him with dust. He wipes his eyes clear, swears vigorously, and goes at it again; a regimental train rumbles slowly along and holds up his work for five or perhaps ten minutes, and he leans on his shovel or pick or cornbroom and waits like the philosopher he is.

Wonderful Canal Traffic

In the canal along side dainty-looking little French monitors, with one very persuasive-looking gun, glide noiselessly by under their own steam—craft that float wherever there is a heavy dew, and back up the troops with their havoc-

making bass voices. Great French canal-boats, almost awash with coal; timber, food, ammunition, hospital supplies, and all the paraphernalia of modern warfare, trail past at a snail pace in tow of trim tugs. British canalboats, too, much cleaner of line than the French, with curving stems and well-shaped counters and sterns, built of steel every one, and populated by Tommies in khaki, snail past with a Sergeant at the wheel, smoking his pipe and looking vastly comfortable in his unusual surroundings. And here and there a tremendous scow of British build, equipped with a monstrous chain dredge, idles at the bank waiting for a call to deepen or widen the shallow canal; or a flock of Tommies, stripped down for action, repair a wooden barge, build a new hospital boat, or erect something of temporary value on the further bank. Everywhere, on the road and in the canal, activity is ceaseless during the daylight hours.

But when night comes Fritz begins his work, and the constructive work ceases, for along that section of the road and canal closest to the actual front the shells fall with devastating frequency, and always there is the consciousness of that monster gun somewhere behind everything else, which throws a 380-millimeter shell, nearly five feet long and ten or twelve inches thick, a distance of thirty-eight kilometers—a mere trifle of something over twenty-three miles!

Scenes in Dunkirk

Then comes Dunkirk, still full of helpless women and children, plastered over with signs instructing the inhabitants which way to run for shelter in case of bombardment, and bustling with cheery activities, notwithstanding that every night it is almost impossible to sleep because of the heavy firing from both British and German guns. Houses and public buildings alike are pockmarked with shrapnel, partly blown to bits by the explosion of aerial torpedoes and bombs, and racked by the shells that drop in to keep the population and garrison on their toes. Along the shore, half a mile nearer the German lines, the plage, or watering place, of Malo-les-Bains manifests a typical activity, with its bathing

and flirtations and idling on the broad, sunny beach. The "movie" Casino lost a door recently, and most of its end, as a result of one high explosive bomb which an aviator aimed at the railroad station; but the crowd files in just the same to see the latest film, with a gay disregard for possible dangers, and never a thought of the sullen British guns close by or the circling airplanes that do "stunts" as if to amuse the crowd with their flying circus.

Behind Dunkirk is Calais, the focus of the activities that have their beginning in London. Here, at least, one can sleep at night; though here, too, the rumble of the guns is always evident, and house and store, public building and hotel, bear the marks of terrific maltreatment. Nobody seems to care.

Hospitals and Cemeteries

Near Calais begin the saddest of all the sights behind the front—the hospital camps and cemeteries. In America we know, in a vague sort of way, that thousands and even millions of men are killed in a war such as this. But the figures are abstract to us as yet; and it is not until one runs unexpectedly into a little British cemetery that the hideous truth strikes home. Packed into a space of about half an acre were hundreds upon hundreds of graves. At the head of each was a small, unpainted, numbered wooden cross. That was all; no mounds, no monuments, no flummery; just dead men buried in a foreign land, with numbers above them; crowded together as close as sailors in their hammocks at sea, each with his legal six feet by two of earth, and nothing more. A simple little fence surrounded this ghastly, hallowed field, and not far distant men were working placidly along the railroad, others were out walking with pretty girls, who laughed and talked as gayly as if that field were not there. On a field within eyeshot some officers with golf sticks were out for an afternoon's sport. Behind all rolled the hazy Channel blue, blobbed here and there with the misty bulk of destroyer or trawler. A group of German prisoners worked leisurely at their appointed task under the guard of half a dozen soldiers. They were sturdy,

healthy, contented-looking villains, patched and ragged though they were, and with a tinge of the insolent clinging about them still, as if, for all their satisfaction at being well out of the fighting, they considered themselves the superiors of their generous captors.

Treatment of German Prisoners

It has been argued again and again in the British press, and repeated in some quarters in France, that the treatment given by both French and British authorities to these prisoners of war is too generous. It is costly, indeed, and the prisoners do not deserve it. Men who have committed the hideous crimes of the Germans deserve nothing but hard labor and sufficient food to keep them healthy, without luxuries or any tenderness. But their deserts and their actual treatment are two vastly different things, and the vilest baby butcher among them is handled with the magnanimity of a foe who is as merciful as he is honest. And that policy is not altogether one of sentiment or pride. It is the expression of true manhood; neither British nor French could do anything else and remain what they are, chivalrous races.

But the treatment of the prisoners is an excellent policy from a purely political point of view. It is an education for these men who from their babyhood have been taught to despise the French as alcohol-sodden braggarts and the British as bloodthirsty pirates trying to ruin the "Vaterland." Prisoners now, these ex-soldiers are learning the true characters of their captors.

Southward from the first-line British trenches run the hospitals, from the mere dressing stations to the big convalescent and permanent camps. They stretch along the coast for miles south from Calais and extend into the interior as far as Etaples. Wooden huts, like the ready-to-set-up houses advertised by the mail-order firms at home, big tents and little ones, regular houses and operating theatres, storerooms and outbuildings of every color and size and shape imaginable. Wounded men lie in beds or in comfortable chairs outside, taking the sun and the sweet salt air; competent-looking nurses and Women's Auxiliary Corps

helpers flit here and there in their trim uniforms, and most of the camps wear a very cheery appearance.

Most notable is the expression on the faces of even those men who have been hard hit. Here one is minus a foot or an arm; another is growing a new face, thanks to the skill of the surgeons; beside him is a mere shadow of a man who has suffered the agonies of being badly gassed. All of them wear a look of utter content, of living in the peaceful moment. It is the same look one sees upon the faces of the blind who have been blind from birth; that entire lack of self-consciousness, that placid acceptance of the moment which compensates somewhat for sight.

The Busiest Channel Port

In ———, where the British troops first land in France, one person in every fifty in before-the-war times was an Englishman, and the port did a tremendous business in perishable commodities with the cross-Channel British seaports. Today the ancient city is transformed completely. The best hotel is the headquarters of the British Red Cross, all the other hostels are chock full of British uniforms; stern-looking military policemen regulate traffic with all the sangfroid of the London "Bobby," and keep a watchful eye on the passing soldiery, and the streets are jammed as they never were before. The long, narrow harbor, hardly more than a slim estuary through which the ebullient tides rush at racehorse speed, is congested beyond belief with what seems at first sight a hopeless tangle of fishing smacks and passenger liners, war craft, troopships, and "cargo boats," all painted a wartime gray, and all disgorging or engulfing unimaginable quantities of men and supplies, cannon and munitions. The wharves are mountains of boxes and crates and barrels, bearing the British broad arrow of his Majesty's services, and day and night the loading and unloading goes on without a break.

Into all this orderly disorder I walked unnoticed and studied what was going on. About me the normal traffic flowed in an uninterrupted stream, whose pace was perhaps heightened a little over

normal times. But beyond, on the wharves and along the high-sided stone quays where I did not care to intrude too far for my own peace of mind, normal traffic had given place entirely to the business of war. Yet where and how was all this vast material transported? It was there, and it was coming in every day in an unceasing stream of gigantic magnitude. The wharves could not hold more than a day's or perhaps two days' cargoes. British efficiency and thoroughness were taking care of it in a silent, methodical, unemotional system that got it out of the way and up to the front without dislocating the usual business of the town to any appreciable degree. I doubt that Fritz at his best could handle such a vast problem with so little friction and so much celerity.

Piles of American Goods

Two other Channel ports also receive tremendous inflodings of men and things, but the principal port is here, and when one considers that Great Britain is maintaining an army of millions, and supplying them with everything from gauze bandages and pots of jam and pickles to 15-inch naval guns and ammunition without stint, all through three small seaports of which this is the chief—British civilians as well as military come into France here, which adds to the difficulties—the wonder is that the work can be done at all, much more that it can and does go on without a hitch.

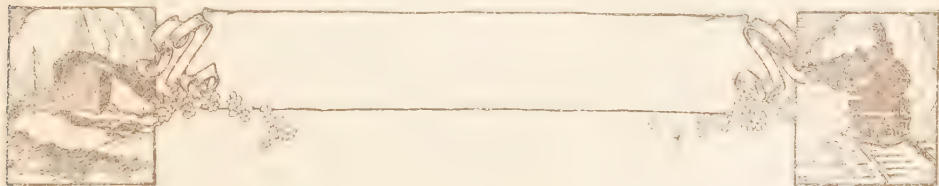
The narrow, tortuous streets of the city are as crowded as lower Broadway except at night, when all lights are extinguished and the city hides its head under its weary wing, while the flying death hovers noisily overhead, in night-long patrolling, to ward off the enemy planes.

The shops are full of foreign goods. English signs are everywhere, and in

many a window one recognizes all sorts of American goods, often marked in bold letters "British made" to deceive careless British purchasers who do not, perhaps, look very closely at the trade-marks. Tools from Bridgeport, canned meats and delicacies from Chicago and Kansas City, cheap jewelry from Newark, N. J., shoes and other leather goods from Massachusetts, packets of a famous brand of oatmeal, carefully labeled as being suitable for gruel; photographic supplies, chemicals and cameras from Rochester, pocketknives from Toledo, chewing gum and eyeglasses, whisky, and electric batteries for hand lamps, THE NEW YORK TIMES and other newspapers are jumbled together along the Grande Rue and other streets in a hodge-podge. Three years ago the staid old city of — would have gasped at such irregularity. Now it piles Pelion upon Ossa and cries for more. * * *

A High Explosive Bomb

One night near the Belgian front while I was at dinner with my Belgian hosts Fritz sent over an aviator who aimed a 275-pound bomb full of H. E. (the abbreviation common for "high explosive") at the railroad station, missed it by a quarter of a mile, and hit a train full of "permissionaires"—soldiers who have received leave and are departing from the active zone for some big city in the rear. In this case it chanced that the men were Belgian infantry and artillery soldiers going to London and Paris on a ten-day leave. The bomb struck in the middle of a car jammed with men, killed twenty-two of them instantly and wounded thirty-seven more, of whom twenty-eight died the next morning. When we reached the spot next day the wrecked car—there was nothing much left of it but the two ends—had been disposed of, the hole in the roadbed almost filled, and the track relaid.



Marvels of the New War Surgery

"Re-educating" the Wounded

WONDERFUL work in the restoration of disabled soldiers continues in all the warring countries. Lieut. Col. Sir

Robert Jones, a British surgeon, lecturing before the Royal Institute of Public Health in London, said that it was essential to retain the economic manpower of the nation instead of being flooded with helpless cripples after the war. Orthopedic surgeons had been faced with new problems, for in the early days of the war they were without experience of the injuries inflicted by high explosives and the septic influence of the highly manured soil of France. Limbs that looked so hopeless as apparently to be fitted only for amputation had to be reconstructed and caused to perform their functions by new methods. Most gunshot wounds were poisoned, and at the front, where the object of the surgeons was to save life, they were hampered in regard to the functioning of muscles. But the shortened limbs that came from them to the orthopedic centres were not only restored to their proper length, but the incidence of body weight was carefully adjusted in relation to the fracture. The patients were retained until the joints became supple, and in six months they left the hospitals with joints as nearly normal as art could make them.

A piece of shin bone was perhaps removed and placed in the arm, massage and electricity were employed, nerves were reunited, and muscles were transplanted and re-educated. Young surgeons planned new routes for tendons, and all the treatment was directed to the patient's resumption of his ordinary calling, which, in some cases, required the mobility rather than the strength of a limb. A remarkable operation was the removal of a finger from a good hand to replace a thumb on the other, and in due course it had moved just in the same way as the original thumb. Cripples in

the old sense would, Sir Robert Jones said, cease to exist. Seventy-five per cent. of the cases at the orthopedic centres had been restored to the army.

Canada's Re-educative Methods

Canada has developed a system of re-educating soldiers which is producing noteworthy results along the same lines as those laid down in England and France. Disabled soldiers are received at Quebec and are classified medically. Those whose military usefulness has been ended are distributed to their home districts and receive at once a furlough of one to two weeks to visit their families. At the end of his furlough the soldier returns to the convalescent centre of his home district. This is a hospital, hotel, recreation house, and school rolled into one. The great feature of the convalescent centre is the shops and the classes. These the men attend voluntarily and eagerly. Some of them take a six months' commercial course, including bookkeeping, shorthand and typewriting, and they may continue this course if they desire beyond the half year. Many men of another group study for civil service examinations that will lead to jobs in the postal and revenue services. They will be preferred in appointments to such places. Woodworking, both carpentry and furniture making; draftsmanship, gardening, poultry raising are some of the other things taught.

Choosing a New Vocation

After a time men are discharged from the convalescent centre and from the army. But those whose disabilities debar them from resuming their former employments may have further training, and this is where re-education really begins. Each man has to choose his new vocation for himself. His further training is without cost to himself and he and his family continue to receive compensation payments from the Government. So far as possible the men are

steered into the study of trades in which wage standards are high, employment steady and the demand for labor constantly increasing. Machine shop practice, gasoline engine operation, (stationary or tractor,) automobile mechanics, (operation and repair,) electric power station practice, railroad or commercial telegraphy, surveying, architectural drafting, some forms of manufacturing, the work of sanitary inspectors, chemistry, motion-picture projection, public school teaching, and farming are some of the trades for which Canadian soldiers are fitted by re-education. They are sent to schools, factories, and fields to get their training.

Plans of General Gorgas

Turning now to America's plans for dealing with wounded soldiers, we find that Major Gen. William C. Gorgas, Surgeon General of the army, has a complete plan to put into operation. From the time the soldier is wounded at the fighting front until his return to civil life the Government intends to stand by his side in an effort to prevent deformity from wounds, to refit the injured man for his place in civil life and to re-construct him for service to himself and the State.

"The whole conception of Governmental and national responsibility in caring for the wounded," says General Gorgas, "has undergone a radical change during the months of study given the subject by experts serving with the Medical Officers' Reserve Corps and others consulting with them. Instead of the old idea that responsibility ended with the return of the soldier to private life with his wounds healed and such pension as he might be given, it is now considered that it is the duty of the Government to equip and re-educate the wounded man, after healing his wounds, and to return him to civil life ready to be as useful to himself and his country as possible.

"Reconstruction Hospitals"

"To carry out this idea plans are well under way for building 'reconstruction hospitals' in large centres of population. These hospitals will not be the last

step in the return of the wounded soldiers to civil life. When the soldiers are able to take up industrial training, further provision will be ready. The injured man may be retrained to his former occupation to conform with his handicapped condition or retrained for a new industry compatible with that condition. Additional education will be given to those fitted for it, and men may in some cases be returned to more valuable work than that from which they were called to war. Workshops will be provided at the hospitals, but arrangements will also be made with outside industries whereby more elaborate methods of training may be carried on. An employment bureau will be established to place men so trained in different parts of the United States.

"This whole matter comes under the Department of Military Orthopedic Surgery, recently organized in the medical department of the army. Arrangements have been made by this department to care for soldiers, so far as orthopedics (the prevention of deformity) is concerned, continuously until they are returned either to active service or civil life. Orthopedic surgeons will be attached to the medical force near the firing line, and to the different hospitals, back to the base orthopedic hospital, which will be established within 100 miles of the firing line. In this hospital, in addition to orthopedic surgical care, there will be equipment for surgical reconstruction and 'curative workshops,' in which men will acquire ability to use injured members while doing work interesting and useful in itself. This method has supplanted the old and tiresome one of prescribing a set of motions for a man to go through with no purpose other than to reacquire use of the injured part."

Surgery and Man Power

The wonderful work of the surgeons has also reduced the military significance of the casualty lists to a considerable degree, because many men listed as wounded are after varying intervals able to return to the fighting lines. One of the most interesting contributions to this phase of the subject is that made by

Professor Rosstovtzeff, a Russian surgeon, assisted by Professor Kolossoff, a mathematician. Professor Rosstovtzeff says that the value of surgeons in war has always been recognized as equivalent to that of a certain number of fighting men, but few have taken the trouble to demonstrate the exact value of surgical organization and mobilization. Dealing with figures of casualties caused in battle and distinct from sickness and disability from other causes, and not including those listed as prisoners or missing, we find that the total losses comprise three classes—the dead, severely wounded, and slightly wounded. These may be said to average somewhat as follows: Dead, 5 per cent.; severely wounded, 5 per cent., and slightly wounded, 15 per cent. for each pitched battle, the total casualties being estimated at 25 per cent. of effectives. It is assumed that all the effectives participate in the battle sooner or later, or, in other words, reserves not engaged in battle are supposed to be nonexistent.

Armies Saved by Surgery

If in a given campaign an entire army participates in five battles—irrespective of results—the continuous subtraction of 25 per cent. of effectives for each battle would reduce the fighting force 75 per cent. for the time being. Casualties which do not incapacitate a man or lay him up for a few days only do not seem to enter into computation. Under ideal conditions of surgery, a not inconsiderable fraction of severely wounded and a very large contingent of slightly wounded can be reclaimed for further fighting. In figures, it is reckoned that such surgery can save almost 44 per cent. of the number injured in the campaign.

In other words, should 300,000 men be injured in such warfare, surgery would save the makings of a reserve army of 130,000! This amount of human salvage, huge as it is, probably falls short of the colored reports of casualties given out to the press, in which the vast majority are listed as "slightly wounded," with the corollary that "75 per cent. of these" will soon return to the ranks. To have any mathematical significance, casual-

ties would have to be sufficient to send men to base hospitals and keep them out of action for the rest of the campaign. Moreover, these men must be in such a state as to benefit directly from surgical organization and science, otherwise even the "slightly wounded" would succumb in large numbers from various forms of infection.

"Sanitation," says Professor Rosstovtzeff, "is an essential part of medical organization, for it is assumed in all such calculations that the troops are to be kept in good physical condition, and that hospitalization in the full sense of the term will ward off all agencies which could interfere with convalescence from wounds. The term 'surgery' should read 'surgery and its auxiliaries,' when we speak of its power to revolutionize the results of warfare. The stretcher bearer and ambulance driver play a major rôle at the front in these activities, just as do those of various other vocations in the rear, and the term surgery alone conveys too much the idea that the salvage is the result exclusively of wound treatment."

German Official Figures

German Army statistics appear to bear out Professor Rosstovtzeff's estimate. Of the total number of officers and men in the German Army who were wounded during the second year of the war, 70 per cent. fully recovered and went back to the trenches. Only 6.4 per cent. of the wounded were completely unfit for military service, and the other men wounded were able to do military duty at home. A noteworthy decrease in epidemic disease in the German armies was also observed during the second year of the war. According to official reports, the number of cases dropped from 51 per 1,000 during the first year of the war to a trifle over 38 per 1,000. The greatest number of patients, 21½ per 1,000, were treated for nervous diseases due to the strain of battle, and particularly of trench warfare under terrific artillery bombardments. Pleurisy was responsible for six cases per 1,000, pneumonia four, tuberculosis one-seventeenth, enteric one-fourteenth, and dysentery one-eighteenth. Another feature was the ab-

THE AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE IN FRANCE



United States Troops in One of the Stages of Their Training Under the Direction of French Instructors.

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THE AMERICAN SÓLDIER EQUIPPED FOR ACTIVE SERVICE



These Three Views of an American Soldier Show the Full Service Equipment. He Has 100 Cartridges in the Belt, Besides Carrying Part of a Tent, a Water Bottle, and First-Aid Package.

(Central News Photo Service.)

solite disappearance of smallpox and the practical elimination of other scourges like typhus, typhoid, and cholera. This was noted in spite of the fact that the armies operated largely among populations suffering extensively from these maladies and under conditions favorable

to their spread. The immunity of the soldiers was attributed to vaccination with preventive serums and other scientific methods of prevention. The number of men on monthly sick reports from all causes decreased from 120 to 100 per 1,000.

The Newest French Field Hospital

Story of the "Auto-Chir" No. X.

Count d'Haussonville of the French Academy recently related how the newest type of field hospital is operated at the front for the saving of the wounded. The following translation was made for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

FIRST of all, what is an "auto-chir"? While this abbreviation is familiar to those at the front, it may need some explaining for the uninitiated back of the lines. An "auto-chir" is an automobile surgical ambulance, the "chir" standing for "chirurgicale," the French word for surgical. Mobile it is in the full sense, for it is not installed in a fixed place, but is meant to be moved about at the order of the Quartermaster General or the Quartermaster of the corps to which it is attached.

The advantage of this arrangement is that the "auto-chir" can move at the first signal to the place where it is most needed, and where it can speedily establish an operating centre. It contains no beds. It is composed of three technical ambulance vehicles, each with its specialty. The first is devoted to sterilization. A great boiler makes the steam necessary for the autoclave and the metal heating room in which the surgical dressings and instruments are sterilized. At the same time, it serves as a central heating plant for the hospital after this is installed. The second, devoted to X-ray work, contains the apparatus necessary for X-ray operations, and can be transformed into a darkroom. It also carries the adjustable panels of very light wood, which are used to divide off the two operating rooms. Finally, the third is the pharmacy vehicle, and contains also the dynamo to furnish electric power and light.

Thus equipped, the "auto-chir" can speed promptly to any designated spot where a great influx of wounded is expected. It establishes itself close to some building, where beds can be set up—a schoolhouse, a private dwelling, wooden barracks erected in advance—it matters not where. In eight hours it unpacks its equipment, installs its two operating rooms, gets its apparatus to working, and, behold! an emergency hospital has been created.

The Surgeons and Nurses

As for the wounded who are severely injured, they are sent as fast as possible from the nearest primary hospital just back of the front—sometimes even directly from the first-aid stations at the trenches. As soon as operated upon they are carried on litters into the building, in which beds have been prepared, and which is called the "nursing ambulance," for henceforth it attends to the wants of these wounded.

Then new orders arrive, and the rest of the wounded are sent to hospitals at the rear. The "auto-chir" loads up its apparatus again and goes elsewhere to set up a new hospital, still further toward the front, if possible, for it must follow the movements of the army.

The personnel of the "auto-chir" consists of four surgeons, four aids, an X-ray operator, a pharmacist, a directing officer, ten medical students, and twenty-five male nurses. To this masculine personnel a recent decision has added eight

feminine nurses, a great honor for them, and one eagerly sought, for it brings them nearer the front and gives them work in an operating room; besides, in order to assist the surgeon, or to administer chloroform in urgent cases, one must have experience, coolness, and well-tried nerves. Two automobiles are devoted to the transporting of all these men and women.

"Auto-Chir No. X."

No. X. was sent about three months ago into a region which need not be designated more definitely than to say that the hospital has several times been bombarded by German airplanes. It is installed on the side of a hill at the edge of a pretty wood. It overlooks a valley through which runs a brook, and the opposite crest also is crowned with forest trees. The "auto-chir" is at the centre of the group of hospital barracks devoted to the wounded, and of other buildings for general service—the kitchen, laundry, wash house, and the like.

On the edge of the forest, with a general view over the hospital which it dominates, a barrack shelters the surgical and medical personnel, which is wholly under the authority of an eminent head physician who was long a professor at the Val de Grace before being called to conduct an "auto-chir" on the Somme, in Artois and at —.

On the slope of the valley, not far from the entering road, a barrack has been built for the women nurses. This barrack is a long rectangle, divided in the middle by a rather large room. From that room two narrow corridors run to right and left, flanked on either side—I do not know whether to say by the cells or by the "boxes" of the nurses. Not a door. A simple curtain separates each box from the corridor. The furniture is of the simplest: a narrow bedstead, a tiny toilet table, a little chair, and that is all. Each nurse is free to ornament her walls as she pleases with personal souvenirs, photographs of dear ones, or little prints. Against the panels of the middle room are suspended a pointed helmet picked up at the front, and a few war engravings. The room itself, though it has but one occupant, is divided, at least as to its

furniture, into two parts. On the left as you enter is a table covered with starched linen, around which are wooden chairs: it is the dining room. On the right are a second table—ornamented with a figured cover—and two little sofas: it is the parlor.

How the Nurses Live

In that barrack seventeen women or girls, some of them quite young, live in common, as in a convent, though the mother superior in this case is called the head nurse. It is in this central room that they assemble at mealtime, and that they rest a few moments in the evening after a hard day's work. They have to be at the hospital at 7:30 in the morning to take temperatures before the surgeon arrives, to help him with difficult dressings, and to dress minor wounds themselves.

Some are even assigned to the operating rooms. In the afternoon they have to entertain the wounded, sometimes stay by the pillow of a dying man, or find words of human tenderness for a wife or mother who is weeping at the death-bed of her husband or son. And I will merely mention the nights of emergency work and the arrivals of wounded in great numbers directly from the front, some of them still wearing the tourniquet that has temporarily stopped the flow of blood.

It is a hard life, but no one complains; and in the rare moments which they pass together after dinner, good humor, even French gayety, comes again to the surface. At the same time they are not ignorant of the evils that threaten. The metal helmet and the gas mask suspended in the room of each would suffice to recall them to mind. The evening that I visited these women there was a bright moon. "Do you think Fritz will come tonight?" asked one. The question puzzled me a little. They explained, laughing, that Fritz was the name given to the German aviator and bomb thrower whose acquaintance two or three of them had already made in another hospital. If—which may God forbid!—Fritz should fly over their ambulance they will not lose their heads, and, when he has gone, they will joke about him.

Sunday at a Hospital

I left "Auto-Chir No. X." one Sunday after attending mass in the barrack which serves as a chapel. Very little is the barrack and very modest the chapel, with its wooden benches, like those of a village school, and its extemporized altar, ornamented with only two candles. The choir consisted of three soldiers, who were priests as well as hospital attendants; the pharmacist played the organ, an old harmonium. It was a soldier, too, who chanted the mass. He was a rather large man, and his white aube, being too short, revealed the lower part of his sky-blue trousers as well as his leggings. The mass had ended and I was about to retire when the choir intoned the "De Profundis." It had not been a mass in black, so that nothing had presaged this psalm, to whose tragic beauty we have become somewhat insensible through familiarity. But this time it stirred me,

coming thus unexpectedly to recall the pale phantom of death which hovers so constantly over the heads of all.

Death! It has its domain reserved very close to the chapel. It has been necessary to clear a corner of the forest to make a cemetery; but if they have cut down the underbrush they have respected the old trees, whose branches extend their shadows over the graves. Many already are the rows of little crosses, to each of which is hung a plaque giving the name and military unit to which he belonged, whose body now rests under a little earth. Some of these inscriptions are in Arabic—the men were Mohammedans—a touching emblem of the fraternity in death between Frenchmen by birth and Frenchmen by heart. The cemetery is already too small; soon it will be necessary to clear another corner of the forest, but I hope they will continue to respect the trees.

Knitting

By ELLA MORROW SOLLENBERGER

KNITTING and knitting;
Jacket and helmet,
Mittens and muffler;
Into the mesh of them
Thinking and thinking.

Monarchies crumbling,
Democracies shaking,
The blood of our manhood
Spilling and spilling.
Sorrow and sacrifice,
Fatherless children,
Desolate womanhood
Drudgingly living.

Wanton destruction
That centuries builded;
Nothing is sacred—
Killing and killing.
Passions unbridled,
Lust and despoiling,
What does it matter?
There is no tomorrow.

So little, so futile,
This work of our fingers,
Yet we keep knitting.
Jacket and helmet,
Mittens and muffler,
Into the mesh of them
Thinking and thinking.

Pan-Germans Forced the War

Utterances of Militarist Leaders Revealing the Deliberate Nature of the Attack

TWO professors of the University of Minnesota, Wallace Notestein and Elmer E. Stoll, have compiled for the United States Government a book entitled "Conquest and Kultur: Aims of the Germans in Their Own Words," which contains much that is new to the American public, and which as a whole forms an illuminating exhibit of the deliberate purpose with which the present war was precipitated by the Imperial German Government. Some of the passages were written several years before the war, others since its beginning. The most significant are here reproduced for the light they throw upon current history. The explanatory lines in small type are by the compilers. The publication was edited by Guy Stanton Ford of the Committee on Public Information of the United States Government; the quotations were derived by CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from advance proof sheets, through special courtesy of the Committee on Public Information.

"During the year following the last Moroccan crisis, *the feeling has taken hold of practically the whole of the German Nation that a great European war is the only means by which we could hope to obtain free scope for the pursuit of our world policy.* General Friedrich von Bernhardi's book, 'Germany and the Next War,' has played a prominent part in voicing and, at the same time, in furthering that feeling. The literary qualities of this book as well as the high authority of its author, have attracted the attention of wide circles far beyond the German frontiers."

Deutsche Weltpolitik und kein Krieg, 1913, p. 1. In various issues of the All-deutsche Blätter this anonymous work is attributed to some one standing close to Bethmann Hollweg. Its pacific spirit makes its testimony all the more significant.

*"Let it be the task, then, of our diplomacy so to shuffle the cards that we may be attacked by France, for then there would be reasonable prospect that Russia for a time would remain neutral. * * ** We must not hope to bring about this attack by waiting passively. Neither France nor Russia nor England need to attack in order to further their interests. So long as we shrink from attack, they can force us to submit to their will by diplomacy, as the upshot of the Moroccan negotiation shows.

"If we wish to bring about an attack by our opponents we must initiate an active policy, which, without attacking France, will so prejudice her interests or those of England that both those States would feel themselves compelled to attack us. Opportunities for such procedure are offered both in Africa and in Europe."

Bernhardi, Germany and the Next War, (1911,) trans., 1914, pp. 278-279.

Fomenting the War Spirit

The following is the testimony of Otfried Nippold, until recently Professor of Church History at Jena. On his return from a residence of several years in Japan he was shocked to observe the extraordinary growth of jingoism in Germany. He gathered in most careful fashion a collection of statements advocating war and conquest made in the years 1912-1913 by prominent men, by well-known associations, and by leading newspapers. At the end of his book of more than a hundred pages this German scholar made the following judicious statement of the situation:

"The evidence submitted in this book amounts to an irrefutable proof that a *systematic stimulation of the war spirit is going on*, based on the one hand on the Pan-German League, and on the other on the agitation of the Defense Association, (Wehrverein.) One cannot but feel deep regret in observing the fact that in Ger-

many, as well as in other countries, ill-feeling against other States and nations is being stirred up so unjustifiably and that people are being so unscrupulously incited to war. * * *

"One of the principal arguments which are at present used in order to hypnotize the masses is the analogy of the year 1813. Attempts are made to manufacture a similarity between 1813 and 1913 which is not in any way warranted by facts. Whereas, a hundred years ago, the German people were compelled to fight for their most sacred possessions, today there is no reason whatever for a war, unless it be the wish of the army to give once more practical proof of its efficiency. But it is, of course, not possible to take that reason seriously. There is no real issue today anywhere between Germany and the powers of the Triple Entente which could be said to make war unavoidable. But that is exactly where the tragedy comes in for those who are inciting the people to war, and here we also find an explanation for the increased agitation in which they are at present engaged—I mean in the fact that they cannot show any real point of conflict based on the actual state of international politics.

"As a matter of fact, *if Germany is in danger today, it comes from within rather than from without.* The Balkan war, it is true, seemed at last to provide those who are in favor of war with the longed-for opportunity to strike. But now they are all the more disappointed that even this opportunity, which seemed to promise the last great issue in European politics, has apparently passed by in peace. And in the absence of any real causes of war, of any natural sources of political antagonism against the other States of Europe, they now find themselves compelled to create artificial causes. But this can only be done by manufacturing excitement among the population, by stirring up nationalistic feeling, and by the systematic cultivation of a warlike spirit—tasks which are being sedulously attended to by our war-loving Generals in the Pan-German League, the Defense Association, (Wehrverein,) and similar organizations."

Otfried Nippold, *Der deutsche Chauvinismus*, 1913, p. 113, et seq.

The Kaiser Won for War

"In the end a continual dropping will wear out a stone. It is interesting to observe the gradual change in the Emperor's views during the last three years, from 1911 to 1914. In 1910 the Emperor William could still discuss with the French Minister Pichon the idea of a union of all civilized States and express his approval of the idea. In the previous year, in 1909, speaking at Cuxhaven, he emphasized that peace was needed in equal measure by all civilized nations 'to enable them to discharge undisturbed the great tasks of culture involved in their economic and commercial development.' In 1911 he emphasized, in a speech delivered in Hamburg, that economic competition between nations could not be fought out by one party striking at the other, but only by each nation straining its capacity to the highest point. On New Year's Day, 1911, in an address to the diplomatists, he still eulogized the peaceful understanding existing between the nations, which was more in accordance with their interest than the conduct of dangerous wars. But in his speech at Hamburg on June 18, 1912, a different note is already sounded: 'Not inconsiderately must we raise the standard where we are not sure that we shall be able to defend it.'

"This speech was delivered six months after the Morocco convention, and any one who can read between the lines may already detect the influence which the criticism of the Emperor's peaceful policy had begun to exercise on the thoughts of the Emperor; *he no longer rejects war under all circumstances*, but if war must come, it is to be, according to the saying of Clausewitz, a continuation of policy by other means—that is, of course, on the assumption that the standard can be defended; in other words, that we are stronger than the other side. In the next year, at the boisterous banquets in commemoration of the war of liberation of 1813, this military note more and more suppressed the notes of peace. *An intoxication appeared to have seized the whole of Germany*, a new intoxication of

freedom, from what bondage no one knew. This drunkenness was artificially produced by the fiery beverages which an unscrupulous patriotic press had for many a year and day poured out to the German nation. Even those occupying the highest positions were unable to escape this condition of intoxication. A true epidemic of patriotism broke out, setting high and low, young and old, in a fever of ecstasy."

J'Accuse! by a German, 1915, pp. 136-37.

"The Day" Dawns

"The fateful day draws near. * * * And even if the twilight of the gods be upon us, let it come in furious battle rather than in lingering sickness."

Graf du Moulin-Eckart, speech at Stuttgart meeting of the Pan-German League, *Alldeutsche Blätter*, April 25, 1914.

"We maintain, today more than ever, that Germany and Austria-Hungary, even with the most honorable desire for peace, cannot avoid war with their eastern and western neighbors; that a frightful, decisive struggle will be forced upon them. * * * Whoever willfully seeks to hide the fateful gravity of a future not far away because he fears the effect on the situation of the moment commits an unspeakable crime against the German Nation and becomes guilty of high treason."

Alldeutsche Blätter, March 14, 1914. These words in large letters were part of the leading editorial.

"Now, people of Germany, ye shall be masters of Europe." (*Nun deutsches Volk wirst du Europa's Meister.*)

The German poet, Hermann Stehr, in the first number of the *Neue Rundschau* after the war broke out, 1914, p. 1186.

"It [the prospect of war] is entertained without emotion. *The profits are calculated—the annihilation of France, an indemnity of war amounting to twenty-five milliards because it is remembered that last time you paid up too easily—and then we shall rub our hands.* You smile! That is because you don't know what Germany is today. It is a nation of shopkeepers; love of gain is its ruling passion; to earn money, get rich quickly, is its one ideal."

Herr Kerr, in an interview with Georges

Bourdon. *The German Enigma*, 1914, p. 166. Kerr is a German, editor of the review, *Pan*. Bourdon, a Frenchman, visited Germany in 1912 to learn from prominent Germans their views of Franco-German relations.

Subordination of France

"Whatever Providence may hold in reserve for Germany it is on France that will fall the task of paying the costs, but in another measure than forty-four years ago. It will be no paltry five billions they will have to pay to ransom themselves, but perhaps thirty. *The Holy Mother of God at Lourdes will have much to do if she undertakes, even through miracles, the task of healing all the bones that our soldiers will break in the bodies of the unfortunate inhabitants on the other side of the Vosges.* Poor France! There is yet time for her to change her plans, but in a few hours it will be too late. Then France will receive blows that will be remembered for many generations."

National-Zeitung, July 31, 1914. Quoted by Dampierre, *L'Allemagne et le droit de gens*, 1915, p. 105.

"For the sake of our own existence we must ruthlessly weaken her [France] both politically and economically, and must improve our military and strategical position with regard to her. For this purpose, in our opinion, it is necessary radically to improve our whole western front, from Belfort to the coast. Part of the North French Channel coast we must acquire, if possible, in order to be strategically safer as regards England and to secure better access to the ocean.

"Special measures must be taken to keep the German Empire from suffering internally in any way owing to this enlargement of its frontier and addition to its territory. In order not to have conditions such as those in Alsace-Lorraine, the most important business undertakings and estates must be transferred from anti-German ownership to German hands, France taking over and compensating the former owners. Such portion of the population as is taken over by us must be allowed absolutely no influence in the empire.

"Furthermore, it is necessary to impose a mercilessly high war indemnity

(of which more hereafter) upon France, and probably on her rather than on any other of our enemies, however terrible the financial losses she may have already suffered owing to her own folly and British self-seeking. We must also not forget that she has comparatively large colonial possessions, and that, should circumstances arise, England could hold on to these with impunity if we do not help ourselves to them."

Confidential petition of the German Professors and other Intellectuals, (June 20, 1915,) [G., p. 134.] Among the signatories are Friedrich Meinecke, Professor of History, Berlin; Hermann Oncken, Professor of History, Heidelberg; Herr von Reichenau, retired diplomat; Herr von Schwerin, Regierungs-präsident, of Frankfurt-on-Main, and Dietrich Schäfer, Professor of History, Berlin.

The Annexation Propaganda

"If we win, (as is our hope and trust,) we must utterly destroy the power of England, our most formidable foe; we must take from her her colonies and her fleet. We might take the French fleet, too, and also make France bear the cost of the war. The Belgian King could be removed, and Belgium could be joined to Germany as an integral part of the empire."

Dr. Oppenheimer of Düsseldorf in *Monistisches Jahrhundert*, December, 1914, [G., p. 256.]

"Do not let us forget the civilizing task which the decrees of Providence have assigned to us. Just as Prussia was destined to be the nucleus of Germany, so the regenerated Germany shall be the nucleus of a future empire of the West. And in order that no one shall be left in doubt, we proclaim from henceforth that our Continental nation has a right to the sea, not only to the North Sea, but to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Hence we intend to absorb one after another all the provinces which neighbor on Prussia. We will successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Northern Switzerland, then Trieste and Venice, finally Northern France, from the Sambre to the Loire. This program we fearlessly pronounce. It is not the work of a madman. The empire we intend to found will be no utopia. We have ready

to hand the means of founding it, and no coalition in the world can stop us."

Bronsart von Schellendorf, quoted by H. A. L. Fisher in *The War, Its Causes, and Issues*, 1914, p. 16.

"We must also secure ourselves for the future. New sacrifices require new compensations, new demands. A sufficient war indemnity is necessary to guard against the dangers of the future, and also for the resumption of economic competition. *If our enemies are really not able to pay an indemnity, for what purpose, then, have we territory of economic value in our hands conquered with our blood?* Courland and Livonia offer ground for colonization. With them we can also protect the interests of the Baltic population. At Briey and Longwy* we find coal and iron ore. The harbor of Antwerp we cannot do without; if we possess this, the individuality of the Flemish population can also be protected."

Count von Westarp, leader of the Conservative Party, in the Reichstag, Feb. 27, 1917, quoted in the *London Times*, March 1, 1917.

"The extent of our claims cannot be discussed here, but, in any case, we might well consider the idea that our enemies should pay us annually for a series of years from \$1,250,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000, and that they should pay it in the first years, while they also will be short of money, in raw materials, which would render us good service in the restoration of our economic system. In the later years they would pay in gold for the redemption of our debt."

Kölnische Zeitung, quoted in *The London Times*, March 3, 1917.

"It is absolutely necessary that Germany claim the occupation of the Belgian coast as a German naval base. It is equally necessary that it claim the occupation of Baltic provinces inhabited by Germans, and it is equally necessary to obtain a rectification of the French frontiers, in claiming for Germany the occupation of the mining districts."

Speech of Deputy Roesicke (Conservative) in the Reichstag, May 15, 1917,

*Centres of the coal region of Northern France.

quoted by the Journal des Débats, May 17, 1917.

"There lies in my house a memorandum composed by me for myself alone, which deals more precisely and exhaustively with the future of Belgium and arrives at the definite result that, if we do not get Belgium into our sphere of power, and if we do not govern it in German fashion and use it in German fashion, the war is lost."

Von Bissing, Governor General of Belgium, in a letter to Deputy Stresemann, Hamburger Nachrichten, quoted in The London Times, June 3, 1917. This and the following extract, published after von Bissing's death, are part of what has been called his "political testament." See also articles by Vernon Kellogg in the Atlantic Monthly, August and October, 1917.

"Anybody who knows the present state of things in Belgian industry will agree with me that it must take at least some years—assuming that Belgium is independent at all—before Belgium can even think of competing with us in the world market. And anybody who has traveled, as I have done, through the occupied districts of France, will agree

with me that so much damage has been done to industrial property that no one need be a prophet in order to say that it will take more than ten years before we need think of France as a competitor or of the re-establishment of French industry."

Deputy Beumer in the Prussian Diet, week of Feb. 20-27. London Times, Feb. 27, 1917. Than the above passage there is nothing more cynical and cruel in this compilation. For the utter desolation which the Germans have wrought in the occupied territory there is here revealed a deeper motive.

"The annexationists cry in chorus that the majority of the people is not behind the Reichstag, and impudently affirm that the people are enthusiastic for their aims of conquest. This is laughable, but the German political system prevents the governors from coming in contact with the governed and from learning their real opinion."

Dr. David, in Vorwärts, Sept. 2, 1917. This closing passage strikes a hopeful note. The problem of the German people is to bring their governors into contact with real opinion within and without Germany.

Pan-Germanism and America

"Operations against the United States of North America must be entirely different. With that country, in particular, political friction, manifest in commercial aims, has not been lacking in recent years, and has until now been removed chiefly through acquiescence on our part. However, as this submission has its limit, the question arises as to what means we can develop to carry out our purpose with force in order to combat the encroachments of the United States upon our interests. Our main factor is our fleet. * * * It is evident, then, that a naval war against the United States cannot be carried on with success without at the same time inaugurating action on land. * * * It is almost a certainty, however, that a victorious assault on the Atlantic Coast, tying up the importing and exporting business of the whole country, would bring about such an annoying situation that the Gov-

ernment would be willing to treat for peace.

"If the German invading force were equipped and ready for transporting the moment the battle fleet is dispatched, under average conditions, these corps can begin operations on American soil within at least four weeks. * * * The United States at this time [1901] is not in a position to oppose our troops with any army of equal rank. * * *

"The fact that one or two of her provinces are occupied by the invaders would not alone move the Americans to sue for peace. To accomplish this end the invaders would have to inflict real material damage by injuring the whole country through the successful seizure of many of the Atlantic seaports in which the threads of the entire wealth of the nation meet. It should be so managed that a line of land operations would be in close juncture with the fleet, through which

we would be in a position to seize in a short time many of these important and rich cities, to interrupt their means of supply, disorganize all Governmental affairs, assume control of all useful buildings, confiscate all war and transport supplies, and lastly, to impose heavy indemnities. * * *

"As a matter of fact, Germany is the only great power which is in a position to conquer the United States."

Freiherr von Edelsheim, Operations upon the Sea, trans. 1914, pp. 86-92. Edelsheim was a Second Lieutenant in the service of the German General Staff in 1901, when he wrote these words. They are not official, but the opinions of a military man and nobleman.

Kaiser and Monroe Doctrine

"The German Empire has become a world empire. Everywhere in distant quarters of the earth thousands of our countrymen are living. German guardians of the sea, German science, German industry, are going across the sea. The value of what Germany has upon the sea amounts to thousands of millions. It is your earnest duty, gentlemen, to help bind this greater German Empire firmly to our ancestral home. * * * It is my wish that, standing in closest union, you help me to do my duty not only to my countrymen in a narrower sense, but also to the many thousands of countrymen in foreign lands. This means that I may be able to protect them if I must.

Kaiser's speech, June 16, 1896. Gauss, 102. This is one of the Kaiser's most pointed and significant utterances. The protection of German citizens in South America could only mean interference in the affairs of South American nations, and if they refused such interference it was likely to mean such ultimatums as Austria sent Serbia. Such a statement was a threat against the Monroe Doctrine and was likely to involve the United States.

"The Germanization of America has gone ahead too far to be interrupted. Whoever talks of the danger of the Americanization of the Germans now here is not well informed or cherishes a false conception of our relations. * * * In a hundred years the American people will be conquered by the victorious German spirit, so that it will present an

enormous German Empire. Whoever does not believe this lacks confidence in the strength of the German spirit."

Letter of a New York German, Robert Thiem, to the Alldutsche Blätter, Sept. 20, 1902. The Alldutsche Blätter thinks the author rather optimistic. Germans differ as to the outcome in America, says this Pan-German organ. Some are very pessimistic. The Alldutsche Blätter thinks that the great hope is for Germans in America to retain their language.

Germanizing America

"It is, therefore, the duty of everyone who loves languages to see that the future language spoken in America shall be German. It is of the highest importance to keep up the German language in America, to establish German universities, improve the schools, introduce German newspapers, and to see that at American universities German professors are more capable than their English-speaking colleagues, and make their influence felt unmistakably on thought, science, art, and literature. If Germans bear this in mind, and help accordingly, the goal will eventually be reached. At the present moment the centre of German intellectual activity is in Germany; in the remote future it will be in America. The Germans there are the pioneers of a greater German culture, which we may regard as ours in the future. He advises the Germans to compose themselves into an aristocracy of talent, which is the most effective way nowadays to obtain political power. Germans only need to grasp the situation and the future is theirs. Let them show that they mean to maintain Deutschum, and then emigration may be directed to America with impunity."

Hülbe-Schleiden, in the Pan German Central Organ, January, 1903. [Summarized in P. G. D., pp. 319-321.] Wilhelm Hülbe-Schleiden is a traveler, student, and writer on German colonization.

"From all this it appears that the Monroe Doctrine cannot be justified. * * * So it remains only what we Europeans have described as an aspiration. And so it remains only what we Europeans almost universally consider it, an impertinence. With a noisy cry they try to make an impression on the world and succeed, especially with the stupid.

The inviolability of the American soil is invoked without there being at hand the slightest means of warding off the attack of a respectable European power."

Johannes Vollert, *Alldeutsche Blätter*, Jan. 17, 1903.

The Mission of Kultur

"While Englishmen and Yankees are everywhere disliked on account of their sharp and reserved manner, the French were, until the seventies, the unrivaled leaders and patterns of these peoples—the South Americans—in their progress toward a higher culture; but now, through their want of numbers and through their swift decline into universal corruption, they have forfeited much of their leadership. Would that the Germans might be called through their talents and activities to be the intellectual, economic, and political leaders of these peoples. * * *

"The Germans seem marked by their talents and by their achievements to be the teachers and the intellectual, economic, and political leaders of these peoples, [the Spanish and Portuguese Americans.]

"If the Germans do not accomplish this mission, then, sooner or later, in consequence of political or financial bankruptcy, the nations of Spanish and Portuguese America will come under the domination and exploitation of the United States. * * *

J. Unold, *Das Deutschland in Chile*, 1899, pp. 62-65. Johannes Unold is professor in the Handelshochschule at Munich and is a zealous Pan-German.

"Not only North America but the whole of America must become a bulwark of Germanic Kultur, perhaps the strongest fortress of the Germanic races. That is every one's hope who has freed himself from his own local European pride and who places the race feeling above his love for home. Also South America must and can easily become a habitation for German or Germanoid races!

"The lands will be settled upon by people of Germanic blood, the non-Germanic inhabitants being driven into reservations or at best to Africa, [Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Egypt.] * * *

"A free South America for those of Germanic blood, that, too, is a sublime end, which will be attained by war, not, perhaps, by the conquest of the land by North American or by European troops, but through the colonizing efforts and self-assertion of the South American Germans."

Klaus Wagner, *Krieg*, 1906, pp. 165-166.

Seizure of Brazil

"The German settlements in South Brazil and Uruguay are the only ray of light in this dismal picture of South American civilization. Here dwell 500,000 Germans, and it is to be hoped that in a reorganization of South American conditions after the peoples of Latin and Indian mixture are quite ruined by bad management, the immense plains of the Platte, with the coast in the west, the east, and the south, will fall into the hands of the German people. * * * *It is truly a miracle that the German people did not long ago resolve on seizing the country.* Think of half a million Germans in a temperate climate in a country of 10,500,000 square miles; that is to say, nine times the size of Germany. All that is enough of itself. False modesty has no place in a struggle for world empire." [And he proceeds to argue that England would not have been so falsely modest.]

Tannenberg, *Gross-Deutschland; die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts*, 1911, pp. 228-229.

"After this war we shall have to reckon on a loss of influence in the States of Central and South America; first, because of the lessened purchasing power of those countries, and, secondly, because of the increased Pan-American ambitions of the United States; and we shall have a claim by right of victory and by considerations of justice for damages at the expense of England and the United States."

Professor Hermann Schumacher, *Meistbegünstigung und Zollunterscheidung*, 1915, pp. 43-45. [G., p. 346.]

Planned Long in Advance

"At the close of the Spanish-American war, I was returning on the Santee—I think it was—from Santiago, Cuba, to

Montauk Point. * * * On board there was a Military Attaché from Germany, Count von Goetzen, a personal friend of the Kaiser. There was also an attaché from some South American country, possibly Argentina.

"Apropos of a discussion between Count von Goetzen and myself on the friction between Admiral Dewey and the German Admiral at Manila, von Goetzen said to me: 'I will tell you something which you better make note of. I am not afraid to tell you this because, if you do speak of it, no one would believe you and everybody will laugh at you.

"*'About fifteen years from now my country will start her great war. She will be in Paris in about two months after the commencement of hostilities. Her move on Paris will be but a step to her real object—the crushing of England. Everything will move like clockwork. We will be prepared and others will not be prepared. I speak of this because of the connection which it will have with your own country.*

"Some months after we finish our work in Europe we will take New York and probably Washington and hold them for some time. We will put your country in its place with reference to Germany. We do not purpose to take any of your territory, but we do intend to take a

billion or more dollars from New York and other places. The Monroe Doctrine will be taken charge of by us, as we will then have put you in your place, and we will take charge of South America, as far as we want to. I have no hostility toward your country. I like it, but we have to go our own way. Don't forget this, and about fifteen years from now remember it and it will interest you."

Statement of Major N. A. Bailey to Dr. W. T. Hornaday, given in a letter from Dr. Hornaday in New York Tribune, Aug. 11, 1915.

"The Emperor was standing; so naturally I stood also; and, according to his habit, which is quite Rooseveltian, he stood very close to me, and talked very earnestly. * * * He showed, however, great bitterness against the United States and repeatedly said, 'America had better look out after this war'; and 'I shall stand no nonsense from America after the war.' * * * I was so fearful in reporting the dangerous part of this interview, on account of the many spies not only in my own embassy but also in the State Department, that I sent but a very few words in a roundabout way by courier direct to the President."

James W. Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, 1917, pp. 251-253.

Mr. Gerard, American Ambassador to Berlin, is here summarizing an interview with the Kaiser on Oct. 22, 1915.

Development of the Allied Blockade

A Historical Summary

M. Saint-Brice, a French publicist, wrote this pithy historical sketch of the allied blockade for the information of the French armies. It has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the official bulletin of the French Government.

ENGLAND and France decided on Oct. 18, 1917, to place an embargo on commerce destined for the neutral kingdoms of Northern Europe—in other words, to forbid all exports except those specially authorized. A similar step had been taken by President Wilson on July 9 with regard to all neutrals. That was a decisive date in the evolution of the economic war.

Many persons imagine that the in-

finitely complex mechanism intended to strangle our enemies was invented at a single stroke and that it remains, with the perfection of a few details, practically the same as it was in the beginning. On the contrary, few instruments of war have been transformed more radically or by a more continuous progression than the affair of wheels within wheels which we call, for lack of a better name, the blockade. The blockade

of 1917 no more resembles that of 1914 than the battle of Flanders resembles the battle of the Marne. In the one realm, as in the other, the Allies have been wise enough to profit from the teachings of half successes and even of reverses.

At first the lists of contraband articles were lengthened. Remember that in the beginning these lists neglected articles as interesting as rubber, lubricating oil, and fodder. I will merely mention cotton, which waited nearly two years for the order forbidding its export—out of consideration for American interests. Direct shipments to Germany were stopped promptly enough. On the other hand, exportations out of Germany, bolstering her credit and increasing her war fund, might have continued freely for a long time if she had not committed the imprudence of tearing international law to shreds and proclaiming ruthless submarine war in British waters, (Feb. 3, 1915.) The Allies replied on March 1, 1915, by interdicting all traffic either going to or coming from the enemy countries.

No More Conditional Contraband

Finally, on July 7, 1916, France and England formally freed themselves from the provisions of the London Convention, which had arranged for lists of absolute and conditional contraband, and had even sought to free a certain number of articles entirely from war risks. Thenceforth, it was admitted that all trade would be held under suspicion, except when proofs of its innocence were forthcoming. Thus the burden of proof was reversed. Until then it was up to the captor to establish the validity of the seizure by proving the enemy destination of the cargo. Since July 7, 1916, it is the seized cargo that has to establish its innocence as to destination.

As to putting a stop to enemy trading by firms in belligerent countries, it was thought at first that a few simple measures would be sufficient, such as prohibiting the departure of goods from port and laying heavy penalties on suspected traffic. Soon it was realized that even this aspect of the problem was not simple. The idea of nationality varies enor-

mously in the laws of different nations. Strange as it may seem, the English law did not permit Germans and Austrians in neutral countries to be treated as enemies. To this was added the incredible confusion of interests in great international enterprises. The Allies found themselves compelled on Feb. 25, 1916, to resort to blacklists formally proscribing houses connected more or less closely with the enemy.

Neutrals a Difficult Problem

It remained to hinder supplies from reaching the enemy through neutrals. That was the stumbling block. It was difficult to stop the transit of shipments often seemingly honest; still more difficult was it to keep non-belligerents from furnishing the products of their soil and industry impartially to both sides.

For indirect commerce the Allies still had one means of action, since they controlled the ways of access. Besides, they possessed a basis of computation in the statistics of before-the-war trade. Thus they could, almost mathematically, fix the necessary allowance of each commodity for each neutral country, as based on production and imports. But all this was purely theoretical. Practically, nothing is more unreliable than figures. It would have been necessary to know the existing stocks of each commodity, and the changes of demand caused by the war. Let us not forget the consideration which the western powers tried to show, as far as possible, toward trusted nations, up to the time when German methods compelled them to push things to extremes.

Very rapidly the principles of the solution took shape. In November, 1914, there was organized in Holland the Netherlands Oversea Trust, a group destined to become a permanent intermediary between Dutch commerce and the blockade authorities. In October, 1915, the Swiss Surveillance Society was established on similar lines. In Norway and Denmark another system was followed, that of private agreements with commercial houses. Sweden alone resisted all arrangements. The basis of the agreement in every case was to fix upon the amount of contingent importations

and to obtain guarantees against re-exportation. On the latter point the results have been most satisfactory. Errors in statistics have been more frequent.

Germany's War Trade Methods

When all is said, the machine would have been very effective if the neutral countries had not disposed freely of their own products. The word freely is, perhaps, out of place when one knows the war methods used by Germany to impose her will upon her smaller neighbors. Her principal argument is not force of arms. Our enemies, who alone are in position to furnish the neutrals with certain essential articles—such as coal and iron—did not have to resort to that method of blackmail. The world knows the methods used by Berlin to compel Switzerland to furnish supplies of cattle and metals in return for bank credits. Holland has found her potatoes and fish in a sense requisitioned; Denmark her farm products. To combat this intensive drain the Allies long were without other resource than that of competition. To buy up all the supplies in neutral markets is expensive. It is a burdensome method and one that cannot always be pushed to its logical end.

There is only one way to stop this enemy traffic, and that is to place the neutrals face to face with a situation in which they will no longer be able to pass along their own products—to kill speculation with want. All the small neutral States are dependent upon foreign trade; their food supply, therefore, depends upon the masters of the sea. But it depends still more upon the United States, the only great country outside of Europe committed to the arbitrament of arms. That is why the American flag was almost like an enemy flag as long as the great transatlantic Republic remained in the neutral camp. From the day America entered the war it became wholly one of the Allies. The Americans, with their business lucidity and the light of two years' experience, perceived the gap in the blockade. That is why President Wilson did not rest until he had all exports under his control. Henceforth the neutrals will have their food imports strictly

controlled. They will receive only what is truly required for their needs after their stocks have been greatly reduced and after they have proved the exhaustion of their resources. Under these conditions it becomes practically impossible for them to share their supplies with their neighbors.

Great Britain and Neutrals

Lord Robert Cecil, British Minister of Blockade, wrote a letter on Oct. 30, 1917, to Professor Birck of Copenhagen, in which he gave the following summary of Great Britain's blockade policy toward Denmark and other neutrals:

Until the United States entered the war, the powers of the Entente Governments with regard to Danish trade were those of belligerents, relying principally on their belligerent rights for exercising economic pressure on our enemies. As belligerents we have the right to stop and put into the prize court any goods which we had reason to believe were going to our enemies. Broadly speaking, the limit of our rights was drawn up for us by the law which our prize court administered. Anything which we had reasonable grounds for thinking was liable to condemnation by our prize court we could stop, and beyond that we could do nothing, except by agreement or in excess of our legal rights.

The British Government have throughout the war shown themselves anxious not to exceed their belligerent rights in dealing with neutral nations, and I am myself satisfied that that policy was not only right but eminently justified by its results all over the world. There remains the possibility of making agreements whereby imports from Denmark into Germany should be limited, and we did our best to enter into understandings or agreements of that nature; but our powers in that respect were much more limited than they are now that the United States have become co-belligerents, for a large part of the most necessary imports into Denmark comes from the United States. So long as America was neutral she naturally put no restraint on her trade with Denmark. Now that

she is a belligerent, she is entitled to make any condition that seems good to her as a price for continuing that trade, and the allied Governments are equally entitled to take similar action. * * *

Our action in this matter is not dictated by any desire to injure Denmark. There has always been a traditional friendship between England and Denmark, and it may be that if we had stood by Denmark in 1863-4 we should not now be faced with this devastating war, originated by German militarism. In my judgment, taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case—the geo-

graphical position of Denmark and its military strength; the fact that Denmark, unlike some other neutrals, has always maintained a considerable export of foodstuffs with this country; and the fact that, as far as I know, the assurances given to the British Government by the Danish authorities have been substantially carried out—Great Britain has no ground for changing its traditional policy with regard to Denmark. That policy I most earnestly desire to maintain, and I confidently hope that the Danish Government will second our endeavors.

Exports to Sweden Reduced to Nil

The effect of the United States embargo on exports to the neutral nations of Europe was strikingly shown in the New York Custom House figures for October, 1917. Not a single dollar's worth of merchandise of any kind was credited in the report as having been shipped to Sweden, whereas for the corresponding month of 1916 that country had shipped \$3,951,168 worth of goods through New York.

Denmark was also hit hard by the embargo, as October saw only \$10,073 worth of foodstuffs and manufactures sent out of the port. This compared with \$2,338,599 in October, 1916, and \$1,250,566 in September, 1917. Heavy pressure was put on Norway, as the October shipments were returned at \$477,521, against \$1,722,000 in September, and \$3,457,935 in October one year ago, when no restrictions were imposed on Scandinavian buying.

In contrast to this was the showing made by the Netherlands. That country in October was allowed to ship supplies

of many kinds valued at \$5,477,082, closely approximating similar exports in October, 1916, when their value was returned at \$5,540,160. Shipments to Switzerland in October reached a value of \$1,633,099, against \$471,860 in the same month last year. Spain, the remaining European neutral, fared better than in preceding months, as the October exports aggregated \$4,171,665, against \$3,014,290 in September last, and only \$2,512,547 in October, 1916.

Exports of munitions and foodstuffs to the Entente countries in October were in every case below those of the month preceding, and in the cases of England and France lower than twelve months before. The October exports to these were: England, \$46,513,494; France, \$54,760,734; Russia, \$21,187,669, and Italy, \$15,044,480.

Exports to North America, Asia, and Africa were lower than in September, while shipments to South America and Oceania, including the Philippines, gained.



Privations Endured in Enemy Countries

Swedish Traveler's Account of Conditions Among German People—Food Scarcity in Austria

A SWEDISH LADY, who had just returned from an extensive tour in Germany, published her observations in the *Dagens Nyheter* of Stockholm early in November, 1917. Her narrative gives some details not previously published.

After exciting adventures at the frontier station, where she was more than once arrested as a spy, and where afterward her luggage was minutely examined and fresh wrapping paper was provided for her parcels and charged for, the lady was allowed to proceed by train. In the train she met a young soldier, who was going home on sick leave until Christmas, when he hoped peace would be declared. His description of the life of the men at the front was fearful. They were starved and frozen, he said, and often they had to build walls of the dead bodies of their fallen comrades to protect them from the enemy's fire. He was utterly despondent, and on being given some bread wept, saying that his mother would not have died if such bread could have been got for her.

In one town which she visited the lady called on a family who invited her to take coffee with them. She asked where they got the coffee from, and they said from a Dutch smuggler, who is now a millionaire, and has bought a castle belonging to one of the late King Leopold's associates. She found families living in houses that were like besieged fortresses, with all the rooms, from garret to cellar, full of all sorts of provisions stored up in secrecy. The condition of the poor, however, baffles description. They are literally starving. Beer is not of the same quality as of old, but it is drunk in immense quantities by those who can afford it. The railway regulations are exceedingly stringent. If a train stops at any particular place for more than four hours the passengers are placed under arrest and closely questioned. Fares

have been doubled, but, in spite of this, the trains are so crowded that many travel on the roofs of the carriages. Female guards are now numerous. The lady was invited to a field hospital, but the scene there was so horrible that she refrains from describing it.

Conditions in Berlin

In Berlin she put up at a hotel in Unter den Linden. Here she had an opportunity of witnessing organized starvation with all its horrors. The poor were in rags and could hardly stand on their feet from exhaustion. Starving children were to be seen begging everywhere. Outside the shops there were long queues of people hundreds deep. Often not more than ten people in a hundred succeeded in purchasing anything. For vegetables a maximum price was fixed, and consequently none were to be had. The only way to get food is to go to certain shops late at night and pay prohibited prices at the back door. Housewives without servants go out poorly clad to do their shopping in this way after nightfall. All linen goods in the hotels and restaurants are commandeered, and travelers are therefore subjected to serious inconvenience.

The commandeering of metals goes on briskly. Copper articles are no longer to be found in private houses. One day the lady was in a confectioner's shop when two policemen came in and unscrewed some brass trays on which cakes were displayed. The confectioner in a rage shouted, "Go across to the Prince in the castle yonder, and take the door-handles from his stable doors, which have twice as much copper in them as my trays, and leave me my things which I need for my business." The policemen took good care not to follow this advice because the Prince was a Captain of Hussars, although he had never been on

active service, and a man with sixty millions. The last of the church bells in the country have been taken to be melted down.

Gloom in All Homes

The general impression she got, says this Swedish woman, was surprising. A tourist in Germany just now would hardly notice in the streets and public places that he was in a belligerent country but for the many wounded men and soldiers who are to be seen. Many public houses have been closed, but those which remain open are quite crowded. But as soon as one steps over the threshold of people's homes a complete change is observable. It is like going into a dark abyss. This is not so surprising, as there is hardly a family that has not suffered the loss of some of its number, but equally serious are the effects of existing conditions among those at home. The rising generation is rapidly deteriorating. There is a general feeling of resignation, however, which was supported at that time by the hope that peace would be declared by Christmas, and also by the ignorance of the people of the strength and magnitude of the attack which the whole world, for well-known reasons, is making upon Germany.

Discontent, too, is suppressed. The military censor is implacable against anybody who ventures to raise his voice. The once mighty Labor Party, with its numerous unions and extensive organization, has been crushed into an inert mass. All motive power in politics rests with the bureaucracy, the militarists, and the Pan-German Chauvinists. The propaganda of all peace associations is strictly forbidden by the Governor of Berlin. A trip to Germany, the lady declares, is sufficient to show one that the war cannot end for a long time yet. It gives one the impression that any military successes achieved by the Allies will tend to strengthen the militarists in Germany and render activities of the Independent Socialists in favor of peace still more difficult.

Dutch Workers at Essen

A Dutchman named Koene, who returned to Amsterdam from Krupps'

works at Essen at the end of October, 1917, said that the Germans were putting forth every effort, and expected to win the war in six months from that time. He described the conditions there as very bad.

This man said that he was enticed to Germany by a firm at Rotterdam, who told him that there was plenty of work and good pay there. He was there eight weeks, having left with 168 Dutchmen, many of whom came from the Friesland and Groningen Provinces, and about sixty from Rotterdam and Schiedam. He was engaged as a casual laborer, and not for war work. On arriving at Elten, Germany, another agent met them and told him that the best pay was at Krupps, which, being a large and wealthy firm, could provide plenty of food and good wages. There were sufficient potatoes and beans, but no particle of fat. He was obliged to work eight hours daily continuously without Sunday rest at excessively hard toil. His health suffered and he lost twenty-four pounds' weight in seven weeks.

Krupps' main work are employed for the production of big guns, but they have sixty-eight wooden factories distributed over a wide area where shells are made. After working fourteen days he felt ill from fatigue, but the doctor said that there was nothing the matter with him and he must work, adding: "You are as strong as a bull. You must go on producing shells."

Darkness and Dirt

He was obliged to sleep in a barrack with 500 men. The conditions were filthy and highly insanitary, for no cleansing was ever done. When the employes left work they were unable to wash, as Essen is in total darkness as a precaution against air raids. German airmen were constantly above Essen, the people being told that these precautions were necessary. The employes suffer greatly from dysentery due to bad food, and from typhus. One night four men died close to where he was lying in the barrack.

He estimated that about 4,000 Dutchmen are employed at Krupps' alone.

Their condition is one of slavery. Many of them are ignorant people trapped into Germany and unable to obtain the necessary permit to leave. They are treated precisely as the deported Belgians, for whom Koene expressed the utmost commiseration, declaring that the Germans treated them brutally. The Belgians are unable to work in Belgium owing to German measures, and are threatened with never seeing their native country again if they make the slightest complaint while producing German munitions. Krupps' is not working at full capacity owing to deficiency of some material, which he suspected was copper, of which the works are very short. The Germans threatened that they would treat Holland as they had treated Belgium if she dared to go against Germany.

Early in December the Essen General Anzeiger contained an article urging German boys to join the Juvenile Corps, adding: "This great struggle between 'the nations will necessitate those who 'are now 16 and 17 being called up at 'no very remote date for army service."

Vienna's Daily Bread Hunt

Robert C. Boesel, an American recently returned from Vienna, described some of the lighter aspects of war conditions in the Austrian capital in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Nov. 4:

"Except for those who take their meals in restaurants, the chase for food is the primary occupation of every person in Vienna. Some parents with only one child can't afford to let that child go to school. He or she is needed for standing in line at all hours of the day—first for milk, after that for bread, then for coffee and sugar, and, finally, for cigarettes or smoking tobacco, which may serve the father to get his mind off the child's failing health.

"A practical business man will interrupt an important sales conference to take a tip over the telephone on how he can get half a kilogram of butter. As soon as his partner gets wind of the new prospect he'll offer to exchange twenty-five cigars that he was able to get through a friend in the tobacco 'regie,'

for half of the half-kilo. The prices of food articles are immaterial. The only way one can get things to eat is by exchange. I have seen some peculiar combinations, such as condensed milk for sole leather and a piece of paprika bacon for lump sugar.

"Shortly before leaving Vienna I was introduced to a wonderful new delicacy. The place where it was displayed was at a little family tea party, and yet it was not something to eat or drink. The name of the delicacy is dog soap, but its use is not for washing dogs. It is for washing lace handkerchiefs and silk blouses.

"Soap has been classified as a novelty in Vienna almost as long as white bread. Laundries stopped using it many months ago with resultant wear and tear on linens. So the housewife had to help herself out of a bad situation by her own wits. First, she made her own laundry soap in the kitchen from waste table fats. But soon there was no fat to eat—much less to waste. Contrary to some reports that have reached the United States, they have not yet begun to eat dogs in Vienna, but they do use the dog fat when it is to be had. My hostess had a veterinarian friend who, at her suggestion, saved the fat from dogs that could not withstand his operations, and she utilized it in the manufacture of a soap which, if it had no other merit, was at least a pure fat product. It was a smooth greenish white substance that did the work without leaving a trace of the dog at the bottom of it."

Conditions in Austria-Hungary

An Austrian officer of Slav nationality, who gave himself up to the Russians on the Rumanian front, described the darker side of Austria-Hungary's plight in a narrative which was issued as an official report of the Rumanian Government at Jassy, and made public through an allied legation at Washington on Dec. 3, 1917. The essential portions of the report are as follows:

"The harvest of this year has been much less plentiful than in previous years. In Istria, Dalmatia, and Bosnia the yield has been practically nil. There is a great scarcity of many necessities

of life, and some are simply unobtainable.

"Clothes and footgear have reached fabulous prices; in fact, they are no longer to be bought, because the State requisitions everything in advance. Cards are issued for all articles, and tobacco is vanishing, though every soldier still gets his ounce and a half at the expense of the civilian, who has to go without. Coffee and tea are not to be had. A great financial crisis prevails throughout the land. In spite of all the military successes, the people are convinced that this war will be lost by the Central Powers, and therefore the whole population is crying for peace.

Rioters Seize Munitions

"It is interesting that the Rumanian and Serbian banknotes have greater value in exchange than the Austrian. During this last Summer great riots occurred in many places, and particularly in Hungary and Bohemia. In Budapest the rioters took possession of a munitions factory, and the revolt was not suppressed without the loss of some thousands killed and wounded.

"Every man from the age of 17 to 54 is taken for the army. Even those who have returned home as unfit on account of wounds have been taken to the army. There are many deserters from the front, as well as from those troops in the rear which are being trained. They have taken refuge in the mountains and become outlaws.

"With my own eyes I have seen the latest recruits for the Hungarian Army

Youths and old men from the 102d Honved Regiment marched through Budapest with rifles without bolts, and at their side Bosnian Mussulman soldiers marching with fixed bayonets. A similar condition of things almost prevails at the front. If the Slavs are in the firing line the Hungarians form a reserve, and the general reserve is always composed of Germans, who are there to keep discipline by force.

Original Army Destroyed

"Austria-Hungary has lost in the combats with the Russians, Italians, Serbians, and Rumanians almost all her old army. In Russia alone there are more than two million prisoners and deserters. The Austro-Hungarian regiments are now reduced to two battalions, each battalion having four companies and eight machine guns. No company has a greater strength than 120 men. My regiment, after the offensive of General Brusiloff, was reduced to 120 men, and the other regiments did not come out of the fighting any better. Owing to their enormous losses, not only on the Russian but also on the Italian front, the Austrians have been compelled to fill up the gaps in the regiment five or six times, and my impression is that the Russians, if they chose to take the offensive, could break through whenever they like.

"In regard to the general condition of the country, great misery prevails; the inhabitants do not receive one-half the amount of the military rations. So it comes about that the entire population receives the intelligence of victories or defeats with complete indifference."

Gruesome German War Humor

An American college student who served in the Ambulance Corps for four months at the western front relates the following in the Yale Literary Magazine:

The morning following this, the section went into C—, which village had been abandoned that night by the boches. As we drove through the shattered town and past the Hôtel de Ville, a sight greeted our eyes which was worse than anything we had yet encountered. Stretched out on a number of planks that had been torn from the wall of a nearby house were three French poilus. Two long bayonets used as spikes pierced each man through the shoulders, while the hands and feet of each had been severed, interchanged, and tied in place. Underneath the poor fellows the boches had scrawled in black charcoal on a white board, "Stare and Wonder." We made photographs of the monstrous atrocity, threw the bodies in a corner to await burial, and proceeded to our task.

Austrian Atrocities in Serbia

A Policy of Extermination

SLAVIC Deputies in the Austro-Hungarian Reichsrat have repeatedly charged that the Government was deliberately pursuing a policy of annihilation in Serbia. In the Autumn of 1917 Dr. Tresic Pavicic, a Jugo-Slav Deputy, delivered a speech in the Vienna Parliament giving the most revolting details of the atrocities committed against Serbians. Its publication in the Austro-Hungarian press was forbidden, but a portion of it got into a Croatian paper, and from this it was translated and forwarded to England by Reuter's Agency, with indorsement as to its authenticity.

After referring to the fact that even before the war there was organized persecution and many Serbs were done to death, Dr. Pavicic said that since the war "the whole country has been filled with groans." The very young and aged died of destitution and hunger, while the vigorous, competent, and courageous had been arrested, falsely accused, thrown into prison, ruined, condemned, tortured, and executed. The Deputy declared that at Spalato he and others were herded together by hundreds with brigands of the worst type. He continued:

"At Rieka we were taken to the railway station in a torrential downpour of rain and crowded into the train with not an inch of dry clothing upon us. Then we were kept in the train three days and four nights, via Zagreb and Budapest, right away to Western Germany to Marburg, in filthy carriages, without bread, without sleep; exposed to the insults of the Magyar rabble, struck with the butt end of Magyar rifles, and furiously cursed by Magyar soldiers.

"During this hideous journey a great number of us lost our reason, and I saw with my own eyes one poor fellow hurl himself from our train under the wheels of another which passed us at full speed."

The fate of those shut up at Mostar, Doboj, and Arad was much more terrible, said Dr. Pavicic, who then proceeded to

give the narratives of two survivors—one a publicist and the other a Deputy—as follows:

Story of Two Survivors

"At Mostar we were thrown into underground cells with robbers, brigands, and gypsies. There, on the foul soil, we were supposed to move, sleep, and eat. In this den the most terrible man was the jailer, Gaspar Scholier. Armed with a hooked baton of iron, which he called 'Kronprinz,' he visited his captives all too often, to strike them recklessly with his 'Kronprinz' on the head and shoulders. I do not repeat the bestial curses, the satanic shouts of this monster. Only with money could one calm for a moment the fury of this Cerberus.

"Among these unfortunates was Rinda Radulovitch, editor of the Nation, (Narod,) and the Orthodox priest Tichy, who died at Arad, in Hungary, as a result of all the tortures inflicted upon him by this ferocious beast, who literally tore his flesh from him with his iron baton. He would come among his victims at night and choose fresh subjects for torture. Those who wished to prolong this existence had to hold up their hands and show how many banknotes they were ready to pay. Hundreds died.

"At Doboj things were still worse. Along with Serbian and Montenegrin prisoners came crowds of civilians, old men, women, and children, driven from home—forced to travel in open cattle trucks. Hunger was found to be the simplest and cheapest means of sending these people to another world. Women with four or five children were given a soldier's loaf to last them five days. Often a mother would be already dead when her little one shook her to wake her to ask for bread. At first from fifteen to twenty of these persons died daily, but later there died on one day alone ninety-two. Trustworthy approximate figures show that more than 8,000

innocent victims met their death in this place.

Dug Their Own Graves

"General Potiorek, the autocrat of Bosnia, had ordered all the Serbians of Bosnia-Herzegovina to be removed from the frontier districts. The inhabitants of the village of Svica were all led away, young and old, and on arriving at Mount Rudo were compelled to dig their own graves and to lie down quietly, each in his own. Many women lay down in their graves with children at the breast. The soldiers then shot them one after another, the living putting earth over the dead until their turn came."

Dr. Pavicic related in detail a number of outrages, giving the names of victims, with dates and localities. These "interned" persons were shot with machine-guns, drowned in the Save, and burned alive bound to bundles of hay. But the more usual method was hanging. At Zubac were hanged, without trial, 82 persons; at Tebinjo, 103, of whom 39 were sent to death for the simple reason that they were notables; at Foca, 71; at Tuzla, 300. The whole Serbo-Montenegrin frontier was turned into a desert. It is said that General Potiorek himself signed with his own hand 500 death warrants.

Whole Districts Devastated

More recently another Deputy in the Austrian Reichsrat, Dr. V. Ribar, protesting against the systematic extermination of the Serbian population, said:

"Go to the Balkans and you shall see how the former flourishing towns and villages are now but smoldering ruins. From whole districts the military authorities have carried off women and old men and children just as did the Assyrians and Babylonians the conquered peoples of ancient times. From the vicinity of Nish alone the Bulgars have carried away 30,000 persons to the deserts of Asia Minor. It is a war of extermination of the Jugo-Slavs."

In the Hungarian Diet a similar protest has been made by M. Zoltan Vermes, who, referring to the barbarity of the Bulgarians and their crimes against the unfortunate population of Serbia, said:

"As commandant of a detachment, my duties called me to the mining village of Maidanpek, from which neighborhood is obtained the pyrites necessary for the manufacture of munitions. The monarchy needs some 120,000 tons of pyrites, of which quantity this mine alone produces 40,000 tons. Its regular working, therefore, is of capital importance to the monarchy. There are working in the mine 1,080 laborers, invalided soldiers and interned persons from the Serbian civilian population. But the mine is adjacent to the Bulgarian administrative territory, where the Bulgarians pursue with the cruelest severity bands of insurgent Serbs, whose relatives they systematically put to death. Thus at Maidanpek executions are the order of the day.

"Nobody troubles to bury the bodies of those who thus meet their fate. One after another, whole villages are cleared of the friends and relatives of these unhappy people. The Bulgarians round up the people and send them off, some to the Dobrudja, others to Asia Minor. In this way farms are left masterless and cattle to stray over the country, and even the richest villages fall into a state of utter wretchedness, so that the workmen in the mine are unable with any certainty to procure even the barest necessities of life. Representations have been made without result to the Bulgarian Government.

Great Suffering in Nish

The Hague correspondent of The London Times gleaned the following from a traveler who had lived in Nish, Serbia, from the beginning of the war until the Autumn of 1917:

"The city is divided into German and Bulgarian sections, each nation being extremely jealous of its authority in its own section. The Germans took over the control of the railway and railway construction work, which was previously under Bulgarian authority. One day all the Serbian employes in the engine works were locked up in the big building by the Germans. About two hours later the workmen were released, and when they inquired as to the meaning of the proceedings, the Germans said that they

expected the Bulgarians to attempt to regain control by force.

"The greatest poverty prevails. The population of the town has been diminished by about 60 per cent. and is now estimated at from 10,000 to 12,000, mainly women and children. All the males capable of bearing arms, and even elderly men, have been removed, many of them being sent to Bulgaria to be employed in road making. The Serbians tell many harrowing tales of Bulgarian cruelty, declaring that it recalled the era of the Turks. Villages where Serbian bands had occasioned trouble were made to suffer severely.

"Children were taken from their homes and flogged in order to make them reveal the supposed hidden stores of arms and ammunition of their parents, who were suspected of complicity with these bands.

"The Bulgarians have stolen everything they could lay hand on. Serbian books, wherever found, have been burned. The present Burgomaster of Nish is a Bulgarian café keeper of low class, who treats the people with insolence and with blows. One woman was so maltreated by him that she died the next day. The Serbians will not eat fish taken from the River Nishava. They believe it to be full of Serbian dead.

"Prices of all foods are prohibitive, a fair-sized pig costing \$150 to \$200. Fat is unobtainable. My informant was shown a fragment of bread made largely of maize and almost black. When purchased a loaf of this bread weighs about two pounds; when dry it weighs one pound. A pound of bread costs 40 cents, potatoes 25 to 40 cents. Until lately no petroleum was available, but this became more plentiful in August."

Barbarous Severity of a Court-Martial

THE cruelty of Austrian courts-martial, against which the people rebelled, forcing a general amnesty proclamation by Emperor Charles, is revealed in an article from the Wiener Arbeiterzeitung, (Vienna Workingman's Gazette,) which was reprinted in the Münchner Post of Aug. 18, 1917, and came to the American public through The Official Bulletin of the United States Government in its issue of Nov. 5. It tells how the reading of a Russian paper dropped in Austria from an airplane cost six lives and ninety-one years in jail sentences. The words in italics were printed in fullface type in the original:

"Aurelia Kolik, clerk, 21 years old, sent her uncle, Vladimir Kolik, a letter in September, 1914, and inclosed in this letter a copy of proclamations by the Czar and General Rennenkampf which had been dropped by a Russian airplane on the Austrian troops and which she had picked up from the floor of a hospital where she had been to visit a wounded soldier.

"The girl was condemned to death on account of this copy. The uncle cop-

ied the proclamation into his notebook and read it aloud one day to one Hlasdik, an employe, at a session of the Directors of the Land Loan Company of Brunn, and had him make a copy of it. For permitting this copy to be made Kolik was likewise *condemned to death*. The employe made three copies and passed them on to some of his acquaintances. He was *condemned to death* for this, and two of his friends, who had merely read the proclamation and had immediately burned the copies, were condemned to *five and three years in the penitentiary*. The third friend, Paral by name, loaned his copy to an office mate, Brezansky, who immediately made two copies.

Death for Lending His Copy

"Paral was *condemned to death* for lending his copy. Bruch, an employe of an insurance company, read the proclamations on this occasion. He was condemned to *three years in the penitentiary*. Brezansky gives one copy to a woman employe named Psota, the other to his friend Toman, a confectioner. Brezansky is *condemned to death*. Toman reads the papers through, and,

fearing harm, destroys them. He is condemned to *three years in the penitentiary*. The Psota woman reads the first proclamation aloud to her landlady, named Tichy, and expresses horror at it. After the Tichy woman understood the purport of the proclamation, she became excited at the insult to the Czechs contained in it and strongly urged the Psota woman to burn the copy. This she did in a candle flame after a short time. On the ground that she had undoubtedly contributed to the indignation against these proclamations, she was not condemned, although she had read the document. But the daughter of the Tichy woman, a minor, gave the copy to one Ocacek, a pupil in the Municipal School of Manual Training, who lived with them.

"What is the crime of the 17-year-old student? 'He made a copy and laid it on the table.' He was condemned to *eighteen months in the penitentiary*. With Ocacek was living Stochleba, a pupil of the Trades Academy, 18 years old. This 18-year-old student 'comes home and starts to do examples in arithmetic. He looks for paper and discovers the proclamations lying on the table.' He makes a copy and takes it to school with him and reads it aloud to the students there. As he could not be condemned to death even in the court of Dr. Konig, since he was under 20 years of age, he was condemned to *twelve years in the penitentiary*."

School Children Sentenced

"We are now in school, and there the 'treasonable undertakings' continue. *All the pupils* who had listened to the reading of the proclamations were accused and condemned. Pavlat, (17 years old,) Havranek, (17,) Cech, (17,) Novak, (17,) Ademec, (15,) Bajgar, (17,) Robunek, (15,) Huf, (17,) and Rohac, (17,) were condemned to *eighteen months in the penitentiary*. Namac, (19,) Hru-

by, (16,) Sovcik, (17,) Domol, (17,) Koprt, (18,) Polisek, (16,) Boutr, (18,) Faiti, (17,) Jabornik, (16,) Kopriva, (17,) and Pittaner (16) were condemned to *one year in the penitentiary*. All the 15- to 18-year-old boys were sent to jail because they had listened to the proclamations and had not reported it. This one reading brought about twenty-four and a half years of penitentiary sentences.

"But the affair is still not at an end. One of the pupils in the trade school, Joseph Hudec, 16 years old, copied the proclamation stenographically as it was read by Stochleba, and thus obtained a 'copy.' He showed it to one of his friends, Beran, a pupil in the Second Manual Training School, and then destroyed his stenographic notes. They condemned this 16-year-old boy to *ten years in the penitentiary*. His friend, Wenzel Beran, likewise only 16 years old, was given a ten-year sentence. He showed the copy to a schoolmate, who read it and showed it to two others. The first of these three got ten years in the penitentiary, the two others a year each. The landlord of the first pupil, a tailor's apprentice, copied the text and showed it about in the work-rooms. He was condemned to *death*; one apprentice got *three years in the penitentiary*; a second, who had showed it to his helper, was condemned to *death*. The tailor, Divisch by name, put the piece of paper in his pocket without knowing that the proclamation was on it. With him the affair seems to have become known. 'The police here became active and traced in the reverse direction the path of the proclamations.' And so the copy which Aurelia Kolik sent her uncle became the cause of the condemning of *thirty-nine persons*. And so six death sentences and sentences aggregating ninety-one years of confinement in the penitentiary were brought about."



Torture of Prisoners in Belgium

Escaped Russian's Grim Story

The following account of German methods of treating Belgians who refuse to work for them was related by a Russian war prisoner who escaped from Northern France through Belgium. It is vouched for by The Official Bulletin at Washington:

AFTER twelve days of travel from his place of imprisonment, he arrived at the electric fence near the Antwerp-Roosendaal line, and dug his way out under the fence with a long knife on a stormy night when the sentries were under cover.

He belonged to a labor battalion which worked at the rear of the firing line, dismantling manufacturing plants and railways. There were other battalions, composed of Belgians, French, English, Italians, and Rumanians. The work of these battalions was directed by German soldiers. In 1915 and 1916 the soldiers worked well themselves and were very hard on the prisoners. This year, and especially lately, they had slackened very much in their efforts. Insufficient food of bad quality had brought on a condition of physical debility, and they were unable to work well. The prisoners' allowance of bread was one loaf of two and a half pounds a day for four men. Turnip soup was the only other thing they got to eat. Occasionally there was meat in it from some injured horse that had been killed.

Physical Wrecks

A labor battalion on the western front originally consisted of 2,000 men, but the processes of starvation, accidents, exposure, unmerciful beatings, and death have reduced it to about 500 men, and sometimes to much less. Those men who cheated the graveyard were either distributed among other battalions, sent to hospitals behind the front, or were assigned to invalid commands. They were total physical wrecks; some of them had broken arms or legs and fingerless hands—in a word, men with every injury and

deformity the human frame can endure and still hold life. These are never sent back to Germany to their original camps, but are kept behind the front there to die. They are like men who stalk out of their graves, animated skeletons, bones covered with skin, cheeks without flesh, deeply sunken eyes.

The informant was a sergeant and resisted to the end all German attempts to compel him to work. In the latter part of November, for six days, he was made to stand at attention in an open field from 6 A. M. till noon. After eating his soup at noon, he and thirty other non-commissioned officers were locked up in a wet cellar until morning. After the six days they were told that three of the thirty of them would be picked out by lot and would be shot unless they consented to work. They were led out. In the party were three sentries, a German officer, and a doctor. The threat was repeated once more. Some non-commissioned officers weakened and consented to work; others followed suit and signed a paper to the effect that they "volunteered" to work.

Hanging by the Wrists

The informant and ten others persisted in their refusal and begged the officer to have them shot. They were led to one side, their arms were twisted behind their backs, their wrists were tied with a rope, and they were then led each to a post and backed against it. Wooden blocks were brought, on which they were made to stand while their hands were tied to the post as high as possible. The blocks were then kicked out from under them and they were left suspended by their wrists with their feet off the ground.

They remained thus suspended for two hours. The next day the process was repeated, and one man broke down and consented to work. Hanging of the remainder continued and was followed by beating with rifle butts. Then fol-

lowed four more hours of hanging, when consciousness left them. They were carried into the cellar and were thrown on wet stones. The men weakened and "volunteered" to work. The informant still held out. All together, he hung twelve hours on that post.

He was finally liberated and was sent to work along with others. He was given a shovel and threw it away. This went on for five days, after which he was sent to another barrack and was left alone, as he only created distraction from the work. The cook there enlisted his services, and he worked in the kitchen. He stated that there were ten other non-commissioned officers who similarly resisted all German efforts to compel them to work.

On July 1 last a party of thirty men, five of whom were Sergeants, came to his battalion. Twenty of them consented to work, others refused. They were made to stand immovable from 5 A. M. to noon, when soup was given them, and then the standing continued until 10 P. M. This continued for eight days. The commandant told them they would stand until they were dead unless they consented to work. The men's legs became so swollen that they could neither stand nor move, and they were removed somewhere.

In 1916 there was much torture practiced, according to the informant, though lately, he said, hanging has been stopped by orders. In January and February last he and other non-commissioned officers were made to stand against a wall on rainy days from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M., with one hour's intermission for soup. Punishments of this nature, bad food, and forced work extended over long hours reduced the labor battalions rapidly. His battalion, originally 2,000 men strong, dwindled in November, 1916, to 350 men.

In March and April of the present year only thirty-five men were left who could still do work. He personally knew some fifty men who died in the battalion while he was with it.

Captain David Fallon, an Australian officer who fought at Gallipoli and who has been permanently invalided because

of wounds received in France, told the New York Society of Illustrators (Nov. 9, 1917) what he had seen on the western front.

Barbarities on Western Front

"I saw with my own eyes," he said, "the crucified body of the mother superior of a convent hanging in front of the ruined entrance. And within were the mutilated bodies of the women who had given up every worldly advantage to teach little children. A little further on I saw the body of an old blacksmith transfixed with a bayonet, upon which was pinned a note, 'You will not shoe the horses of the enemies of the Fatherland.'

"And do you know what happened shortly after we reached the trenches? A counterattack drove us back, and some of our men were taken as a few of your lads were taken the other night. When it grew light enough to see in the morning we saw the heads of those men impaled upon bayonets, scarcely fifty yards away, above the German trench. Have you ever seen a man's head impaled on a bayonet? We didn't wait for a barrage, we didn't call for our supports—we just grabbed up our guns and went at them.

"The German has proclaimed a war of extermination. So let it be—if he wants the world he has got to take it over our dead bodies. It's not necessary to tell the boys in the trenches this, but it is necessary to bring it home to people here. Even after all we had seen we were willing to trust the Germans. One day I asked the German officer commanding the opposite sector for a truce so that we could bring in our wounded. He agreed, and both sides sent out a party under a flag of truce. At a given signal the German front rank fell flat and a second line opened fire with machine guns. That was the end. Since then we've never given them a dog's chance.

"Germany is a nation without a soul—not only the Kaiser and the junkers, but the whole German Nation. They have made a religion of the Fatherland and a god of their Kaiser, and they won't stop until they have destroyed the whole world or destroyed themselves."

Torpedoing Belgian Relief Ships

Commission's Formal Protest Tells of Twelve Vessels Deliberately Sunk

THE Commission for Relief in Belgium, speaking through its Washington representatives on Nov. 24, 1917, renewed its charge that German submarines had sunk and shelled many Belgian relief ships after the Berlin Government had given official assurance of their immunity. Germany had issued a denial of this charge. The commission, by way of reply, made public a formal protest which it had sent to the Central Powers on April 9, 1917, and which contained details of the sinking of twelve of its vessels and the shelling of three others. The protest covered the two months and a half immediately following Germany's declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare. The full text of the document is as follows:

On the 2d of February, 1917, we received from the Director of the commission in Brussels telegraphic advice that the Imperial German Government insisted that the commission should send its ships to Rotterdam by a route northward of the newly declared war zone, and that ships at that time in the war zone should proceed out of it by the most direct route, and could safely do so up to the evening of the 4th of February.

At that time we had fourteen ships at sea carrying 76,000 tons of foodstuffs, either en route to or already inside the declared zone, and all but a few of them out of communication. Also at that moment we had stored in the United Kingdom 47,000 tons of foodstuffs awaiting shipment to Rotterdam. The notice given to us was entirely too short to make arrangements in all cases, either for the alteration of the route or the transportation of our stocks in the United Kingdom, and as a consequence eleven of the ships arrived in the United Kingdom ports in due course. In any event, we were advised by the Dutch and English Admiralties that the war zone declared by the German Government overlapped with the mine zone in the North Sea, and there was no safe lane open on the route stated by the German authorities.

We were compelled to direct our New York office not only to hold up all shipments abroad, but also we were compelled to hold all arrivals and stocks in the United Kingdom until such time as a safe

passage to Rotterdam could be agreed upon. The British authorities made no difficulty over the recession of the previous requirement to search in the United Kingdom ports, and ultimately the German war zone was minimized so as to establish a lane into Rotterdam through the North Sea, which they declared safe. The German authorities agreed to again respect our markings and to furnish safe conduct passes by this route from America. These arrangements we settled on the 28th of February, and our traffic was resumed from the Atlantic seaboard after a cessation of one month and the accumulation of large demurrage costs.

Repeated Appeals Disregarded

In the meantime we had made repeated appeals to the German authorities for safe conducts for the steamers then in the United Kingdom ports to proceed to Rotterdam, but as we could obtain no satisfaction in this matter we were compelled to discharge the cargoes in order to release the ships and prevent the perishable supplies from spoiling. Ultimately, on April 3, the German authorities conditionally promised to give passage to four steamers then remaining in United Kingdom ports undischarged, but these steamers were not to proceed until May 1. As it was hopeless to preserve the foodstuffs over such a period, these steamers were discharged as well.

The net result is that today we have upward of 96,000 tons of foodstuffs in the United Kingdom. We were only able to deliver 24,000 tons in Rotterdam during the month of February and 9,600 tons during the month of March, as against 120,000 required per month. Owing to the alarm arising out of the unrestricted submarine warfare and from the sinking of our ships mentioned later on, even when on the "safe" lane, we have not been able to secure sufficient charters to fully re-establish our service. During the month of April, assuming that we have no further losses of steamers, we shall deliver less than 55,000 tons of foodstuffs into Rotterdam. During these three months the Belgian and French populations will have been deprived of over 270,000 tons of foodstuffs critically necessary to prevent the most intense suffering among the people. Nor is the outlook for the future at all improving.

Of equal importance, however, with the direct loss and suffering entailed by the

shortage of deliveries, as mentioned above, has been the entire failure of the German submarines to adhere to the previous or new undertaking entered into by the Imperial Government as to the safety of our ships.

List of Ships Deliberately Sunk

On Feb. 3 we learned that the Belgian steamship *Euphrates*, of 4,250 tons, outward bound in ballast, provided with the commission's markings and a safe conduct pass from the German Minister in The Hague, had been torpedoed without warning and most of the crew drowned. This act occurred before the expiration of the period notified as safe to Feb. 4.

On Feb. 6 the Danish steamer *Lars Kruse*, carrying 2,300 tons of maize inward to Rotterdam, provided with the commission's markings, was sunk and only one member of the crew saved. The German authorities assert that this ship struck a mine, but much evidence points the other way.

On March 8 the Norwegian steamer *Storstad*, en route to the newly agreed safe lane, carrying 10,000 tons of maize, with the commission's markings and safe conduct pass from the German authorities in the Argentine, was stopped by a submarine and subsequently torpedoed by it without examination of the ship's papers. One of the crew died of exposure and another was lost.

On March 16 the Belgian steamers *Haelen* and *Tunisie*, outward bound on the safe lane from Rotterdam in ballast for New York, carrying all the commission's markings, together with safe conduct from the German Minister at The Hague, were shelled by a German submarine, and six members of the *Haelen* crew were killed. The others managed to escape, but the *Haelen* was so injured that she had to put into a Norwegian port for repairs.

On March 17 the Belgian steamer *Ministre de Smet de Naeyer* was shelled by a submarine in the North Sea, but managed to escape. She was outward bound in ballast, and was provided with the commission's markings, and had, as usual, a safe conduct pass from the German Minister at The Hague.

On March 31 the Norwegian steamer *Felstein*, inward bound within the (safe)

lane, carrying 4,650 tons of wheat, was torpedoed and sunk without warning in broad daylight off the Dutch coast near Terschelling. She carried all the commission's markings and safe conduct pass issued by the Swiss Minister at Washington on behalf of the German Government.

On the 4th of April the Belgian ship *Trevier*, carrying 4,396 tons of wheat, was torpedoed in broad daylight without warning ten miles off the Dutch coast, within the safe lane. She carried full markings and safe conduct pass from the Swiss Minister, Washington, issued with the authority of the German Government, and six members of the crew were seriously wounded by shell fire after they had taken to the boats.

On April 2 the Norwegian steamer *Anna Fostenes*, inward bound, loaded with 3,100 tons of wheat, was torpedoed near Rotterdam, well within the (safe) lane. She carried full commission's markings and safe conduct pass issued by the Swiss Minister at Washington on the authority of the German Government.

On April 8 we received word that the Norwegian steamer *Camilla*, inward bound, with 2,600 tons of wheat, on the safe lane, had been torpedoed without warning. She carried, as usual, the commission's markings and a safe conduct pass issued by the Swiss Minister at Washington on the authority of the German Government.

Since resuming traffic on Feb. 28 three steamers have arrived safely and five have been sunk.

It is impossible to express the indignation which we rightly feel over these acts, and we are at a loss to know whether this continued sinking of steamers in violation of their undertakings is a settled policy of the Imperial Government or whether it is due to reckless irresponsibility of submarine commanders. In any event, the immediate peril and loss of life of innocent seamen continuing resolutely in the service of helpless people is transcended only by the tragedy of suffering imposed on those millions of men, women, and children we are trying to preserve.

THE COMMISSION FOR RELIEF IN
BELGIUM.

April 9, 1917.

Sinking Hospital Ships A British Reply to a German Charge

GERMANY'S excuse for the torpedoing of hospital ships—namely, the assertions that these ships were carrying British soldiers and munitions—

is the subject of an official reply contained in a British White Book that appeared in November, 1917. The document contains the evidence cited by the

German Government to support its charges, with the British official comments on it and the diplomatic correspondence on the subject. The correspondence is accompanied by a memorandum from the British Foreign Office, which denies the charge in toto and point by point. The text of the memorandum is as follows:

In reply to the accusations brought forward by the German Government, his Majesty's Government desire, before all, to call attention to the remarkable fact that German submarines and other warships have never once exercised the right of inspecting British hospital ships, which is given to them by Article 4 of The Hague Convention for the application of the principles of the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare. So far as can be ascertained, they have only once stopped a British hospital ship long enough to examine her papers. This occurred on the 23d of February, 1917, when the hospital ship Dunluce Castle was stopped by a German submarine in the Eastern Mediterranean; her papers were found to be in order, and the vessel was allowed to proceed.

It might have been expected that the German Government, seeing that they had reports in their possession, which they profess to regard as reliable, pointing to the misuse of British hospital ships, would not have completely neglected the obvious and well-recognized method of inspection for the purpose of verifying their suppositions. Instead, they have preferred to appeal for support of their charges to conjectural statements of persons who never had an opportunity of ascertaining whether there was any real foundation for their assumptions, and, on this flimsy basis, without making any attempt to discover the value of the hearsay evidence which they had collected or giving his Majesty's Government any opportunity of rebutting their allegations, they proceeded to the extreme step of ruthlessly attacking innocent hospital ships engaged in their humane task of serving the sick and wounded.

Germany's Charges Grouped

His Majesty's Government have now made inquiry into the allegations contained in the German memoranda so far as they concern British hospital ships and so far as the charges made are not in such vague terms as to preclude any possibility of investigating their foundation. Generally, the charges group themselves under four heads, viz.:

(1) Alleged excessive number of hospital ships in relation to the Gallipoli campaign.

(2) Changes in the list of hospital ships, with supposed intention to deceive.

(3) Alleged transport of munitions.

(4) Alleged transport of troops.

As to (1) the number of hospital ships employed was not excessive, having regard to the number of invalids to be evacuated from Gallipoli. On the contrary, the accommodations on hospital ships proved to be inadequate to meet requirements, and it was necessary to employ ordinary transports in addition for the conveyance of sick and wounded. These transports were, of course, not protected by The Hague Convention, did not fly the Red Cross flag, and were not fitted out as hospital ships.

As to (2), no rule exists under which a hospital ship, once notified, must remain in hospital service for the duration of the war. It is perfectly true that certain ships were notified as hospital ships and later on were removed from the list. This was due to alterations in the requirements for the various classes of tonnage caused by the sinkings of ships by submarines and to changes in the military situation.

There is no ground for the somewhat nebulous suggestion of the German Government that the aim of the changes was to produce uncertainty and confusion in regard to the character of the ships, and no evidence is adduced to show what military advantages could be gained by such confusion, which, in fact, would probably be disadvantageous rather than otherwise, since it would be injurious to the safety of the hospital ships themselves.

Carried No Munitions or Troops

As to (3 and 4) alleged conveyance of munitions and troops, to which nearly all the evidence relates, a detailed examination of the particular instances alleged is given below. It may, however, be stated at once that *British hospital ships have never been used for the carriage of munitions of war or of combatant troops*. Red Cross stores and personnel of the Royal Army Medical Corps (who are protected by the Geneva Convention) have been embarked, and it appears probable that the German Government have been misled by fallacious deductions of their witnesses, who apparently were unable to verify their assumption that cases of Red Cross stores were really munitions of war and bodies of the Royal Army Medical Corps in khaki uniform were detachments of combatant troops.

The statement in the second German memorandum to the effect that, while his Majesty's Government had denied that British hospital ships had carried either troops or munitions, the British Admiralty had merely declared that no troops had been conveyed in such ships, without denying the carriage of munitions, is curl-

ously devoid of point. Both in the statement issued by his Majesty's Government on the 1st of February, 1917, and in a note addressed to the United States Ambassador in London on the 31st of January, the allegations of the German Government were contradicted in respect both of troops and of munitions.

The discrepancy which the German Government pretends to have discovered between the declarations of his Majesty's Government as a whole and those of the Admiralty in particular appears to rest on a statement issued by the Admiralty and published on the 2d of February, in which particular notice is given to the allegations of Albert Messany, circulated in a

German wireless press message, to the effect that 2,000 soldiers, who were not invalids, had been carried by the hospital ship *Britannia*.

With reference to this allegation, the Admiralty stated that no British hospital ship had ever embarked any persons but invalids and hospital staff. There was no occasion in that particular connection to refer to munitions. The play which the German Government make with this imaginary discrepancy is an illustration of their practice of trying to make capital out of infinitesimal points, a practice which has the appearance of being adopted in order to cover up the weakness of their main position.

German Honors Renounced by British Scientists

The following "Note on Membership of German Academies and Scientific Societies," signed by prominent scientific professors of Cambridge, Oxford, University College, Kings College, and Liverpool University, was circulated among the Fellows of the Royal Society in November, 1917:

The declaration of war by Germany against Russia and France was, it is known, received with enthusiasm by practically every section of the German Nation. The professors, who form the backbone of the German scientific academies and societies, were prominent as a whole in arousing this enthusiasm. It is largely due to them that a belief was created in German minds that Germany was superior to other nations, and that in consequence it was only just and right that German power over other nations should be extended.

No German scientific academy or society has, so far as we know, issued any protest against the many infringements of humanity and of international law which have been characteristic of the German conduct of the war.

We have just received a note from the Royal Society's office in regard to the society's year-book for the ensuing year. The members of the Royal Society doubtless reprobate the action of the German Government in bringing on the war, and its method of conducting it, as much as any other section of British folk. It seems, therefore, incongruous that Fellows of the society should continue to announce in the year-book of the society, in "Who's Who" or elsewhere, their membership of German academies and scientific societies as an honor which they value. It seems more consistent with the actual state of affairs that such mention should be omitted.

Some Fellows of the society have, we understand, already adopted this course, with a view to bringing home to German scientific men that learning and research cannot be divorced from public conduct. Others with whom we have spoken intend to do so. Our occupations have prevented us from obtaining the opinions of the Fellows generally, but as we believe that there is a widespread desire for common action, we venture to call attention to the matter. For ourselves we intend to omit mention of German academies and societies.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

A Sad Anniversary

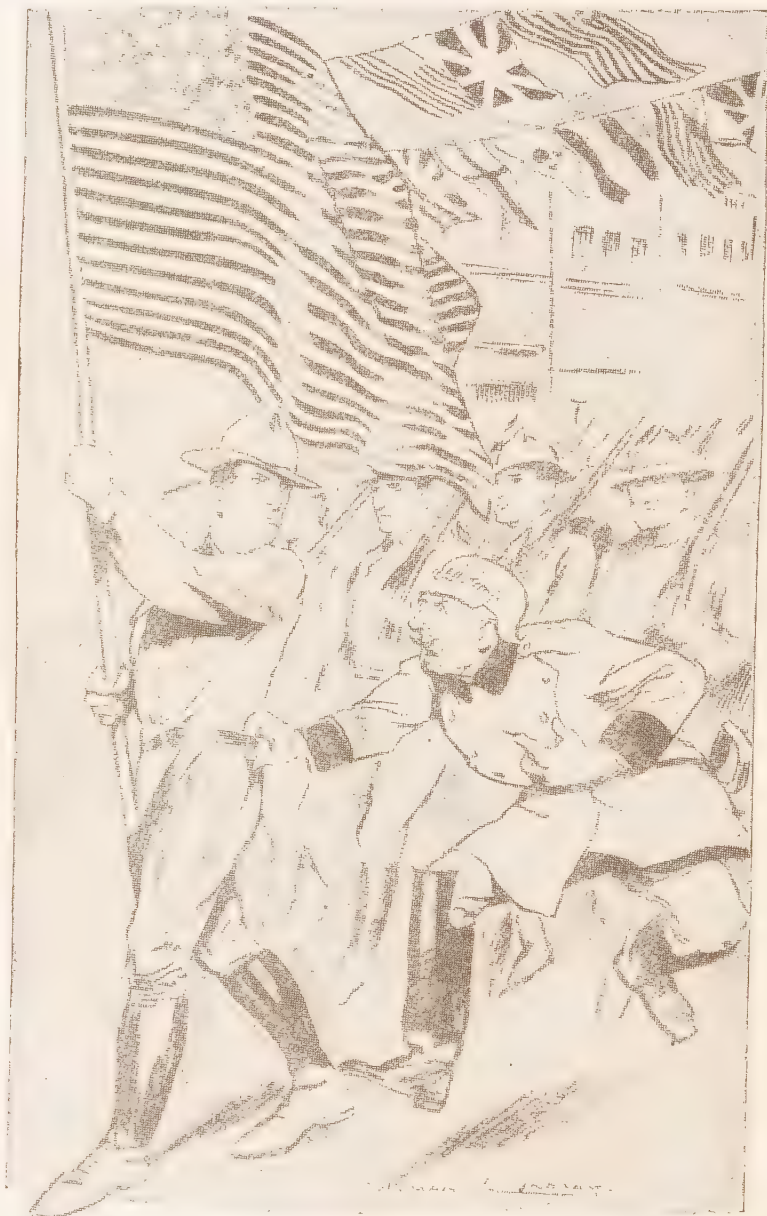


—From *Il 420*, Florence.

THE KAISER (weeping): "Here lies the king of cooks, who was to have prepared that feast in Paris!"

[Australian Cartoon]

A Frightful Mistake Somewhere



—Norman Lindsay in *Sydney Bulletin*.

THE KAISER (as American troops march through London): "This is all wrong, I tell you! I—I was to do this march!"

[Australian Cartoon]

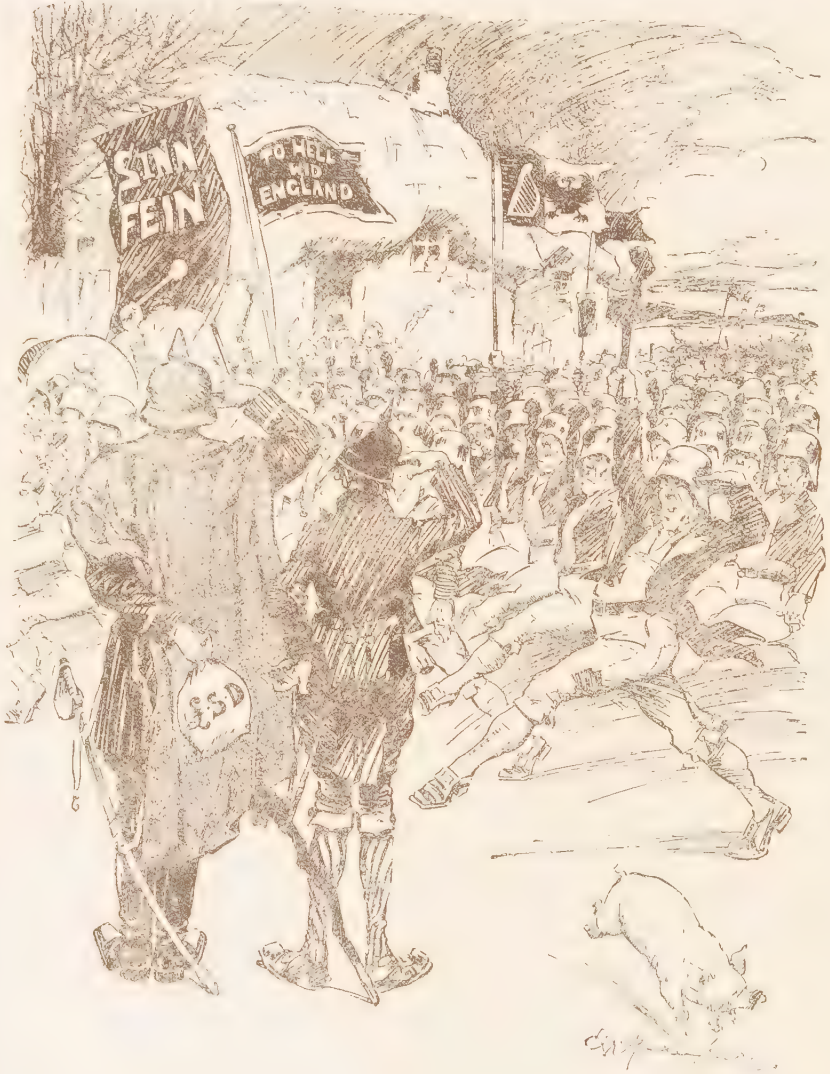
Between Two Thieves



—Norman Lindsay in *Sydney Bulletin*.

[English Cartoon]

Germany's Last Reserves



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

THE PAYMASTER: "and you will continue meantime to render every assistance to our U-boats."

[American Cartoon]

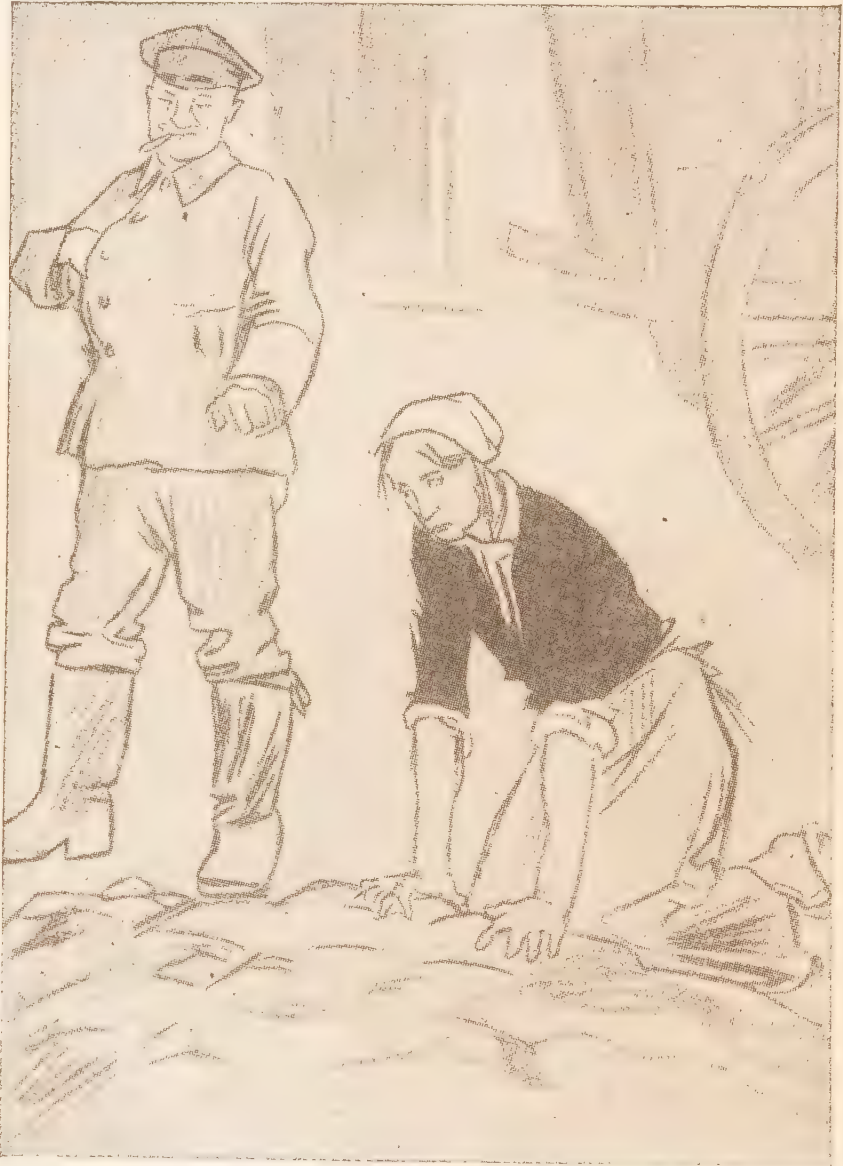
The Double-Headed Eagle of Russia



—From The New York Herald.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Kultur in Belgium



—By Louis Raemaekers.

“Ah! Was your boy among the twelve this morning? Then you’ll find him among this lot.”

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Disarmament of Death



—From *Campana de Gracia*, Barcelona.

“Hold, enough! Have done!”

[Spanish Cartoon]

Military Honor



—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

HINDENBURG: "Good heavens! If we can't send a Lenine to the western front we are ruined!"

[Russian Cartoon]

The Wisdom of the Bolshevik

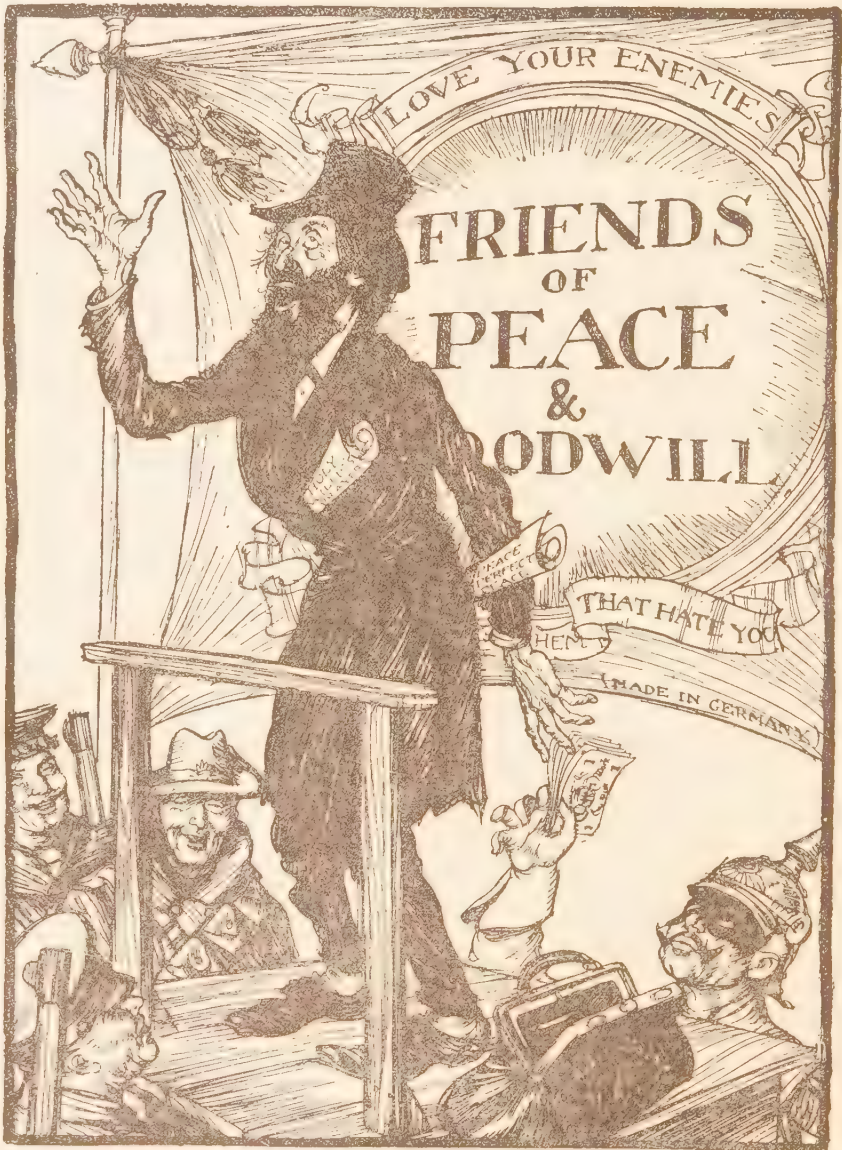


—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd.

“In Africa monkeys are captured by putting rice in gourds. When the monkey has a handful of the rice he cannot withdraw his hand, and has not enough intelligence to let go the rice to get free.”

[English Cartoon]

The Seen Hand



—From The National News, London.

PEACE PROPAGANDIST: "What we want, friends, is Peace—Peace at any price!"

MAN FROM THE TRENCHES: "What price YOU?"

[American Cartoon]

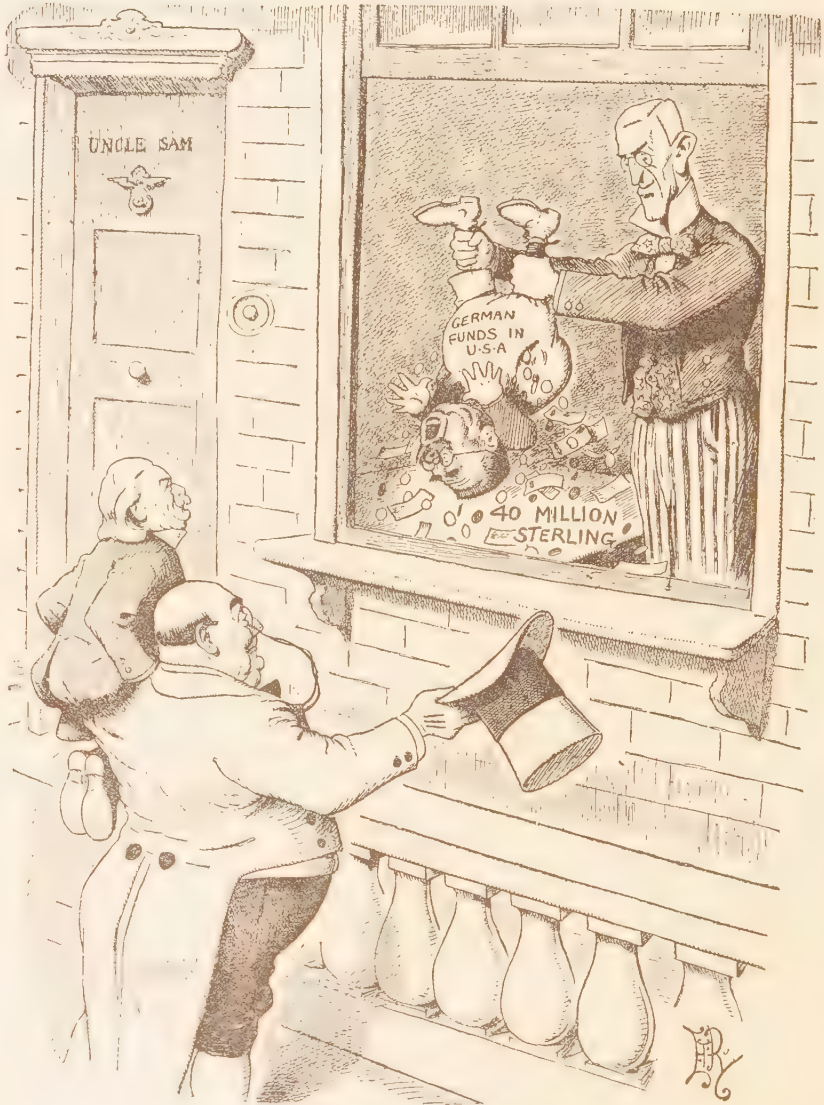
German Peace



—James Montgomery Flagg in *New York Sun*.

[English Cartoon]

Taking It Out of Him



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

THE SHOWMAN: "Have a good look at him, David, and as there are £23,000,000 of Fritz's money here you might do the same!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Martial Spaniards—But Not in Spain



—From *Esquella*, Barcelona.

SPAIN: "I can hardly believe that I am the mother of these children."

[Russian Cartoon]

Salvation



—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd.

RUSSIAN PLUTOCRAT: "If I can't save the fatherland, I will save what I can of it."

[Dutch Cartoon]

When the American Air Fleet Comes



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

OLD EUROPE: "Is this what I discovered you for, America?"

[English Cartoon]

The Russian Bear—After the Upset



—From *The Westminster Gazette*, London.

[American Cartoon]

Another Tower of Babel

—From
The New York Times.



[Italian Cartoon]

Wasted Breath



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

Hindenburg efforts that failed.

Can He Get It On?



—Idaho Statesman.

Joy Riding



—The New York World.

The British "tank" at the victory near Cambrai.

General Byng's Sudden Blow



—Chicago Herald.

Wilhelm: "Always I Meet You Here!"



—Dayton News.

[American Cartoons]

On to Berlin!



—Dallas News.

Samson and Delilah



—Baltimore Sun.

And she made him sleep on her knees; and she called for a man and she caused him to shave off the seven locks of his head * * * and his strength went from him.—Judges, xvi., 16.

Leggo, Ye Bloody Pup—Leggo!



—From The Baltimore American.

And Still the Cur Barks

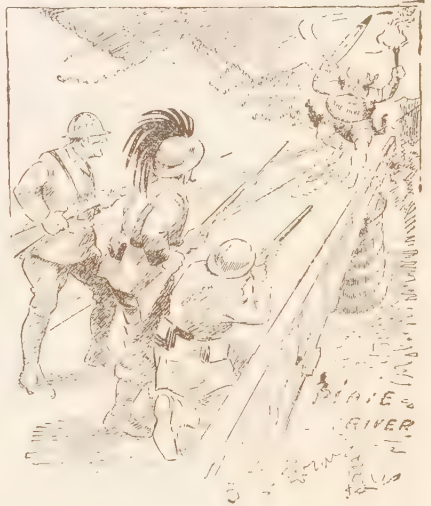


[American Cartoons]

Ivan the Terribly Simple



Can They Hold the Bridge?



—From *The Dallas News*

His Bit Done for Liberty



The Gorgon's Head—Autocracy



—Copyright © Philadelphia Press.

HILLS MADE BY CAMOUFLAGE CORPS



An Example of the Work of the French Camoufleurs. Beneath the "Hills" Are Stored Ammunition and Other War Material.

(Pictorial Press Photo.)

A BRIDGE SCREENED FROM ENEMY OBSERVERS.



The New Bridge Replacing the One Destroyed Is Hidden from German Aerial Observers by Branches of Trees, Which Produce the Appearance of a Wood When Seen from Above.

(Times Photo Service.)

ITALIAN ALPINI DURING THE RETREAT



Alpine Troops of the Italian Army Photographed During a Halt in the Retreat on the Isonzo Front. They Are Mountaineers Who Specialize in Fighting on the Alpine Heights.

AN AIR RAID ALARM IN PARIS



Sirens Are Mounted on the Roof Tops of Paris to Warn the People
of Air Raiders.

(International Film Service.)

EARL READING



Lord Chief Justice of England, who has been appointed High Commissioner and Special Ambassador to the United States.

Central News Photo Service.)

SIR ROSSLYN WEMYSS



The New First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty in Succession
to Sir John Jellicoe.

(Photo Bain News Service.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VII. } No. 2
Part II. }

February, 1918

25 Cents a Copy
\$3.00 a Year

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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 23, 1918.]

SUMMARY OF THE MONTH'S DEVELOPMENTS

NO important military events occurred on any of the fronts during the month ended Jan. 20, 1918. In France and Flanders there were frequent isolated raids in many sectors, but no general engagements. In Palestine the British advanced several miles beyond Jerusalem, and firmly secured their conquest of the city. On the Italian front the Austrians were driven across the lower Piave and such minor advantages as were gained by the Allies in the upper reaches strengthened the belief that the Venetian Plain would be safe against further invasion. The armistice continued on the Russian front, and the peace parleys were pursued at Brest-Litovsk.

Politically the month was full of activity and possibilities. The restatement in concrete form of the aims of the Allies by President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George gave assurance that a separate peace with Russia would not give the Central Powers the triumphant conclusion of the war they seemingly had anticipated, and forced the conviction throughout the world that the struggle would continue with renewed bitterness and inexorable determination until Germany and Austria had conclusively given up their designs of annexation and world domination.

The investigations by Congress into the organization and preparation of the American armies produced a widespread demand for concentration of efforts, and for the creation of a Director of Munitions, whose jurisdiction should supersede the Secretary of War in the purchase of supplies. There was also a demand for the creation of a War Cabinet, empowered to take over the management of our part in the conflict, under the direction of the President. The railroads passed from private to Government control during the month, but this step did

not relieve the freight congestion, and, in consequence, on Jan. 16, the Fuel Administration unexpectedly issued an order closing all factories east of the Mississippi River—except those engaged in producing specified munitions or food products—for the five days beginning Jan. 18; the order also called for a general cessation of business on all Mondays from Jan. 28 to March 25, inclusive. This measure produced a profound sensation throughout the country. It was bitterly assailed, and the United States Senate, by a vote of 50 to 19, passed a resolution suggesting that the order be suspended, but without avail.

The clear emergence of Germany's annexationist purposes at the Brest-Litovsk conference reacted upon both Russian and German public opinion. All reports from Germany indicated that bitter controversies were raging between the Militarists and Liberals; widespread unrest was reported also in Austria-Hungary. In France the arrest of former Premier Caillaux with fresh disclosures of his questionable acts strengthened the Clemenceau Government. The activities of labor organizations in England, Italy, and France indicated unrest, and deepened the conviction that unless the Governments agreed upon peace within a few months the demands for an international labor congress to take up the question could probably not be rejected without serious consequences.

Sir Edward Carson, a member of the British War Cabinet, resigned Jan. 21 on account of the possible action of the Government with relation to Irish affairs, the presumption being that he as leader of the Ulsterites would not be in harmony with the Government in relation to home rule. No announcement of the decision of the Irish Convention or of the Government's attitude was made, however, up to Jan. 23. Lieut. Col. James Craig resigned as Lord Treasurer of the Household for the same reason.

The German cruisers Breslau and Goeben, which had been acquired by Turkey and renamed the Sultan Selim and Midulla, made a sortie from the Dardanelles on Jan. 20. The Breslau was sunk by a mine and the Goeben so seriously damaged that she was beached at Niagara Point in the Dardanelles. Two British monitors were lost in the engagement.

DR. GARFIELD'S "HEATLESS DAYS" ORDER

THE order of the Fuel Administrator, Dr. Harry A. Garfield, issued on Jan. 16, provided that in all portions of the United States east of the Mississippi River, on Jan. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and on each Monday, beginning Jan. 28, and continuing to March 25, 1918, inclusive, no manufacturing plant should burn fuel or use power derived from fuel, except only such plants as must be operated seven days a week to avoid serious damage, plants manufacturing perishable foods, newspaper plants, and certain munition factories. It was also ordered that on the Mondays between Jan. 21 and March 25, inclusive, no fuel should be burned—except enough to prevent injury to property from freezing—in any business or professional offices except those of the national, State, or Federal Governments, of public utility companies, banks, physicians, and dentists; nor was the use of fuel permitted in any stores or business houses, or in theatres and other places of amusement, or in places where liquor was sold. The order also provided that priority in shipping coal should be given to the needs of private residences, hospitals, railroads, military cantonments, public utilities, shipping for bunker purposes, manufacturers of perishable foods, and Federal, State, and Municipal Governments.

The order came unexpectedly, and was strongly condemned as injudicious and unnecessary; nevertheless, it was almost universally obeyed. It received the official sanction of President Wilson, and was indorsed by some members of the Cabinet. Its first effect was such as to cause leading members of the Democratic Party in and out of Congress, and the

Republicans almost unanimously, to denounce the step and to question the wisdom and judgment of the Fuel Administration.

* * *

RUSSIA'S CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED

THE Russian Constituent Assembly held its first meeting on Jan. 18, 1918, and after a single turbulent session was dissolved by armed Bolshevik sailors in pursuance of a decree of Lenine. Tchernoff, a Social Revolutionary, who had been Minister of Agriculture in the Kerensky Cabinet, was elected Chairman over Marie Spiridonova, the Bolshevik candidate, by a vote of 244 to 151; the Cadets, of whom fifteen were elected, were absent. The Bolshevik members withdrew from the Assembly after the defeat of their motion that the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Government (the Bolsheviks) first be recognized. The remnants of the Assembly then adopted decrees awarding the lands to the peasants and proposing to send delegates to all the warring nations to arrange a world peace. But before any further action was taken the Assembly was closed by the sailor guards. The ground of its dissolution was that the delegates had been elected by the first revolution, (Milukoff-Kerensky,) but that the second revolution (Lenine-Trotsky) had superseded that election and was not properly represented by the existing delegates.

There was some disorder in Petrograd, with a number of casualties, the day this Assembly convened and during its brief existence.

Nikolai Lenine, the Bolshevik Premier, in addressing the Central Executive Committee at the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council prior to the issuance of the decree dissolving the Assembly, spoke as follows:

A conflict between the Workmen's and Soldiers' Government and the Constituent Assembly has been growing since the Russian revolution. The February revolution was a political bourgeois revolution, in which the Constitutional Democrats scored success, overthrowing Czarism. In October a social revolution occurred and the working masses, through

the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, became the sovereign authority.

By creating the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates the Russian proletariat brought something new into the revolution. There is no equal in the history of revolutions in Western Europe, except the Paris Commune. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates are not bound by any rules or traditions to the old bourgeois society. Their Government has taken all the power and rights into its own hands. The Constituent Assembly is the highest expression of the political ideals of bourgeois society, which are no longer necessary in a socialist State. The Constituent Assembly will be dissolved. It has not met today, and has, in fact, ceased to exist.

The Assembly was succeeded by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, (Councils of Workmen and Soldiers,) which held its first meeting on Jan. 22.

A tragic episode occurred at Petrograd on Jan. 20. A. I. Shingaroff, former Minister of Finance and Food Control in the Kerensky Government, and F. F. Kokoshikine, Professor of Political Science in Moscow University, and former Controller General in the Kerensky Cabinet, were both assassinated by armed sailors while lying ill in a prison hospital. Both were distinguished Russians, and their murder produced a profound sensation. Measures were taken to protect other members of the Kerensky Cabinet still under arrest.

It was stated on Jan. 23 that the Bolsheviki had definitely concluded to break off negotiations for peace with the Germans and Austrians on account of their refusal to evacuate the occupied provinces pending an election to determine their sovereignty.

* * *

ADMIRAL WEMYSS, NEW HEAD OF THE BRITISH NAVY

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ROSSLYN

WEMYSS was appointed First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty on Dec. 26, 1917, in succession to Admiral Sir John R. Jellicoe, who was elevated to the peerage. The new Sea Lord was born in 1864; he is the son of the late J. H. Erskine Wemyss of Wemyss Castle, Fife. He entered the navy in 1877, was Lieutenant in 1887, Commander in 1898, and Captain in 1901. He has been in com-

mand of the Royal Naval Barracks, was for a while equerry to King Edward, and as Rear Admiral commanded the Second Battle Squadron in 1912-13. In April, 1915, he commanded the squadron which protected the landing of the troops at Gallipoli. No important announcements followed the appointment, and no changes in policy were made public.

* * *

ADDING TO BRITAIN'S FIGHTING FORCES

THE English House of Commons unanimously passed on second reading the bill to increase the man power of the United Kingdom at the front by recruiting men from munition factories who had previously been exempted to protect them in certain occupations. The bill divides the essential industries into three classes, in which 1,000,000 exempted men were employed. From the first class no men were taken; from the second, one-half the fit men; from the third, about one-third. It was estimated that the change would increase the available fighting forces by 450,000. In presenting the bill it was stated that the total enrollment in the British armies was 7,500,000. England had contributed 4,530,000; Scotland, 620,000; Wales, 280,000; Ireland 170,000; the dominions and colonies, 900,000. The remaining 1,000,000, composed of native fighting troops, labor corps, carriers, and similar workers, were from India, Africa, and other dependencies.

As the exemptions had been part of a bargain made with the labor leaders when conscription was first decided upon, it was necessary to have their concurrence in the new measure. The Premier delivered two addresses to the leaders of the labor parties in advocacy of the measure, the war aims speech printed elsewhere in this issue being one of them. The negotiations gave a fresh importance to the general attitude of labor parties toward the war, not only in England, but in the other countries of Europe.

On Jan. 15 the British Labor Party issued an appeal to the people of Central Europe, in which they announced their support of the Russian principle of self-determination of peoples and no indemni-

ties or annexations. Previously a special national labor conference on Dec. 28 had adopted a pronunciamiento, insisting on restitution and reparation. The statement placed at the forefront a demand for the restoration and rehabilitation of Belgium at the expense of Germany. It also dealt with Alsace-Lorraine, Italy, the Balkans, Poland, Turkey, and German African colonies on lines similar to those suggested in earlier documents on these subjects. The war aims address of President Wilson was indorsed throughout England, Italy, and France by labor leaders in fervent resolutions of approval.

* * *

THE NEW REPUBLIC OF FINLAND

THE new Republic of Finland is the first great fragment broken off the former Empire of Russia to attain to something like complete national existence, as it was almost the latest addition to that empire in Europe, Bessarabia alone having been added later, as a result of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877, though Bessarabia had earlier been Russian territory. Finland, which had been a semi-independent grand duchy under the Swedish Crown, was united to Russia in 1809, as the result of an agreement between the Czar Alexander I. of Russia and Napoleon I. According to treaty, Finland was to maintain its own self-governing institutions, even having its own coinage and postage stamps, the Emperor of Russia being simply the Grand Duke of Finland. This treaty was observed by Russia for a century, and was then infringed by the "Russianizing" policy of the Russian Ministry. But Finland has had a long and continuous practice in the science and art of self-government, and is, therefore, far more favorably situated for experiments in nationhood than is Russia. Its population of 3,231,000, thinly scattered over an area of 125,000 square miles, is made up of 2,751,000 Finns, 338,961 Swedes, (who form the ruling class,) with a small number of Russians and some 1,600 Lapps, (probably representing the oldest European race, whose ancestors were contemporary with the Ice Age and the mammoth.) The great majority of the population, in-

cluding both Finns and Swedes, belongs to the Lutheran Church. In Finland the suffrage is possessed by every Finnish citizen (man or woman) aged 24 or more. There are sixteen electoral districts, readjusted every ten years, which elect the Diet, a single-chamber Parliament of 200 members, chosen for three years. The members of the Diet receive 1,400 marks, equal to about \$280, for each session of about three months. Finland, therefore, begins national life with a clear-cut constitutional system. The substitution of an elected President for the hereditary Grand Duke will make its organization complete.

* * *

THE PROBLEM OF "SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE GERMAN COLONIES"

ACCORDING to the recently declared war aims of the Entente nations, the future of Germany's colonies in Africa and New Guinea is to be decided in accordance with the expressed wish of the inhabitants. It is not altogether easy to see exactly how this popular expression is to be obtained. To begin with New Guinea, the region formerly known as Kaiser Wilhelm's Land contains 70,000 square miles, with a population of 531,000 natives, and, before the war, 200 Germans. It is not easy to see how the rival theories of constitutional government and the histories of, say, Germany, France, England, and the United States, are to be made known to these half-million head-hunting Melanesians in such a way that they may form a reasoned judgment; nor is it easy to see just how their votes can be counted, since it is highly dangerous for a white man to travel through nearly the whole region. Similarly, the former German colonies in Africa cover a million square miles, with a population of 12,000,000 speaking scores of different tongues. Their education in the theory of government will take time. Most of this territory is, in fact, governed by native chiefs, vigorous native despots, ruling by armed might, forming about them bands of trained spearmen and having their wealth in slaves. It would be practicable to obtain the opinion of these small military despots, as France

did before annexing the regions about Timbuktu, on the upper Senegal and Niger Rivers. Cameroon chiefs did actually apply for admission to the British Empire shortly before this region was seized by Germany. But it does not seem that to leave the decision in the hands of the chiefs would be quite consistent with democracy.

* * *

WOMEN AND DRINK IN ENGLAND

THE weekly average number of women in the United Kingdom convicted of drunkenness declined from 700 in 1914 to 188 at the end of 1917. The increase of women employed in industry in that period was 1,500,000, and their wage earnings increased nearly one billion dollars, yet female drunkenness declined 73 per cent. The main causes appear to be the restrictive measures applied to the sale of alcohol, the constructive measures adopted to increase opportunities for nonalcoholic refreshment, and the restrictions on the output and release from bond of alcoholic liquors imposed by the Food Committee. The restriction of the sale of alcohol to the hours of the two principal meals has done away with the habit of drinking in public houses during the morning and afternoon. As regards the constructive measures, the Central Control Board approached the problem by initiating and supervising the erection and equipment of canteens and messrooms at national factories and controlled establishments, and in the neighborhood of docks, and this movement removed one of the most prevalent causes of unnecessary drinking, besides materially contributing to the efficiency and contentment of the workers.

* * *

AUSTRALIA AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

A SECOND referendum on the question of conscription in Australia was held on Dec. 20, 1917, and resulted in a heavier majority against compulsory service than the first referendum, in October, 1916. [See CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, December, 1916, Pages 446-9.] In 1916 the majority against conscription was 61,000, but in 1917 it was 165,000, the vote being 1,013,000 for and 1,178,000

against. There were majorities against conscription in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia. Western Australia, Tasmania, the Federal territories, and the Australian military forces gave majorities for conscription. William Morris Hughes, Prime Minister, who had pledged himself to the resignation of the Government in the event of his proposals being defeated, accepted the verdict and offered to retire, but, as Frank Gwynne Tudor, leader of the Labor Party, was unable to form a Cabinet, Mr. Hughes resumed office as Prime Minister.

* * *

THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL

FROM the twelfth century until the year 1910 Portugal was an independent monarchy. The forced abdication of Dom Pedro, in the former Portuguese colony of Brazil, gave rise to a sympathetic republican movement in Portugal, the first Republican Club being founded in 1890. On Jan. 31, 1891, there was an unsuccessful republican revolt at Oporto, (or Porto, the home of port wine,) and under Carlos I. the "tobacco question" nearly overturned the monarchy. A new revolt, beginning on Jan. 28, 1908, resulted three days later in the assassination of the King, Carlos I, and his eldest son, Prince Luiz Philip, but the monarchy survived in the person of a younger son, who became King Manoel II. A new revolution in October, 1910, however, dethroned him and a republic was proclaimed on Oct. 5.

Students of Portuguese political problems say that this was wholly a revolution of the capital, Lisbon, the greater part of the nation taking no part in it. There followed a long and bitter struggle among the various politicians who had overthrown the monarchy, and who appear to call themselves Republicans and Progressives; but, for an outsider, it is difficult to discern any clear difference of principle between them; the real line of cleavage being apparently between those in and those out of office; or to repeat the phrase of a distinguished native of the Iberian Peninsula, Sancho Panza, between the Haves and the Have-nots, in an official sense.

A revolutionary outbreak took place in Portugal early in December, 1917, and after three days' fighting the Government capitulated; seventy persons were killed and 350 wounded. A new Government was formed under Dr. Paes, the revolutionary leader, and President Machado of the republic was banished. The movement appears to have been prompted by dissatisfaction with the alleged inefficiency of the old Government. There had previously been numerous strikes and riots, attributed largely to food scarcity and high prices, and any monarchist influence in the uprising was denied. The new Government pledged itself to continue cordial support of the cause of the Entente Allies. On Jan. 8, 1918, the crews of warships at Lisbon mutinied and bombarded the forts, but the army remained faithful and the rebellious crews were overpowered.

* * *

WAR AND MARRIAGES

SIR BERNARD MALLET, President of the Royal Statistical Society of Great Britain, in his annual address declared that the marriage rate of 1915 in the United Kingdom was the highest on record—19.4 per cent.; the previous maximum, 17.9, was in 1853. "Crudely stated," he declared, "the war has resulted in 200,000 people being married" "between August, 1914, and June, 1917, "who in the ordinary course would not "have married."

Alluding to the marriage statistics in belligerent countries, he said that in Hungary the effect of the war had been that more than 600,000 people who in the ordinary course would have married had not done so. In Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hesse, Hamburg, and Bremen, six States containing more than 80 per cent. of the German population, the total number of marriages in 1913 was 434,103, and in 1914 the number was 392,053, a decrease of nearly 10 per cent., in spite of a great number of war marriages during the first month of the war. From figures available, in Saxony, compared with the last year of peace, the decrease was about 35 per cent., in Hamburg 24.5 per cent., in Bremen 37.6 per cent., and in Berlin 21.6 per cent., and he presumed that the de-

crease in the country was greater than in the towns.

The United Kingdom, he stated, had lost by the fall in births over 500,000 potential lives, approximately 10,000 per million of the population. Germany had lost in the same period 2,600,000, approximately 40,000 per million. Hungary had lost 1,500,000, approximately 40,000 per million. At the outbreak of war the population of the Central Empires was about two and a half times as great as that of the United Kingdom; their losses of births had apparently been ten times as great. The infant mortality, both in England and in Germany, was the lowest on record in 1916.

The effect of the war strain in reducing vitality is reflected in the rapid increase in deaths in Germany, Austria, and England from tuberculosis. The deaths from this cause in the first half of 1917 in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, Alsace-Lorraine, and other German States rose from 22,008 in the first half of 1913 to 37,064 in 1917, a 78 per cent. increase; in Vienna, Prague, and Budapest the increase was 90 per cent.; in London the increase was 17 per cent.

* * *

NATIONALITIES IN THE TURKISH EMPIRE

THE statements of war aims by Premier Lloyd George and President Wilson both laid stress on the fact that the so-called Turkish Empire, at present, in fact, ruled from Berlin, is an example of the injustice suffered by subject peoples under the domination of pitiless foreign conquerors. Since the Turks originally came from Northern Central Asia, whence they were driven by the conquering Mongols, there is in fact no part of the Turkish Empire where they are not intruders. In Anatolia, (Western Asia Minor,) where they have absorbed or displaced the earlier Greek inhabitants, they form a large majority of the population. In Constantinople, with a population of 1,000,000, and the strip of European Turkey attached to it by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, the Turks are in a minority. The estimates for Asiatic Turkey are as follows: Asia Minor (Anatolia) has 7,000,000 Mussul-

mans and 575,000 Armenians, and may be considered genuinely Turkish. In Armenia there are 1,800,000 Mussulmans, while there are, or were, 500,000 Armenians. The Aleppo district contains about 800,000 Mussulmans and 50,000 Armenians. The Lebanon region contains 320,000 Christians and 30,000 Mussulmans. This indicates for Asia Minor two distinct national areas—Turkish to the west and Armenian to the east. There are across the Russian frontier some 1,250,000 Armenians. If added to those in Asia Minor they would form the nucleus for the restoration of an ancient Aryan race with a very valuable ancient literature. Syria and Palestine might form two additional small States, but there are large Mussulman elements in both, though there is probably hardly any Turkish blood in either outside the small official class. Finally, Arabia, the southern part of which has already established its independence, has some 4,000,000 inhabitants.

* * *

LOSSES OF HEAVY GUNS

GENERAL LUDENDORFF, Chief of the German General Staff, in a report issued on Oct. 4, 1917, stated that during grand operations the average numbers of guns lost by a single German army in a single month, either by wear and tear or by enemy fire, were found to be as follows:

Field guns	870
Heavy pieces	585
Total	1,455

If the same average were maintained by all the armies during the year it would show a loss of 17,460 guns. Of the above total of 1,455, about 655 were lost through wear and 800 through allied bombardments. General Ludendorff gave these figures as a reply to the contention of his critics that fire against enemy batteries is relatively unimportant, and that it is only bombardment of the infantry that seriously matters. The reply is decisive, as the General says:

The figures show that the enemy counterfires upon our artillery with very good results. It should be added that the loss of material is only one side of the artillery struggle. The destruction of

enemy munitions, the losses in killed, and the diminution of the physical and moral worth of the men are elements at least as important.

* * *

JAPANESE SHIPBUILDING

THE Japanese Government in 1917, up to August, granted permission for construction of 111 ships of a total of 554,580 tons, and by September thirty-five ships, aggregating 154,727 tons gross, had been launched. Prior to 1916 many vessels were purchased abroad. In 1916 twenty vessels, of a total of 74,300 tons, were sold to foreigners. The expansion of the mercantile fleet since 1896 has been rapid. In 1896 Japan possessed 373 vessels of over 100 tons gross, aggregating 334,592 tons; in 1916 1,151 vessels aggregating 1,847,453 tons—an increase of 550 per cent. in twenty years. Exports and imports combined during the same period increased 650 per cent. At the end of 1916 there were twenty-eight steamship companies, the fleets totaling 980,000 tons gross, and the dividends paid in 1916 averaged 26.1 per cent., while private shipowning represented about 870,000 tons gross. Japan today ranks third in shipbuilding and fifth in tonnage.

* * *

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

UKRAINE, the new republic in Russia, derives its name from the Russian Krai, "border," and means in general the "frontier," and in particular the frontier territory between the Slavs (Poles, Lithuanians, Russians) on the north and west and the Mussulman Turks and Tartars on the south and east. Like the "frontier" in the early days of the United States, it was unstable, a rather vague, constantly moving region with no definite boundaries. In the earlier period of Eastern European history, while Russia was a comparatively small territory centred about Moscow, much of the Ukraine was under Polish domination. The Union of Lublin, in 1569, definitely brought both Lithuania and the Ukraine under the Polish crown; the Ukraine then including the districts of Kiev, Poltava, and Chernigoff. With the election of the Roman-

offs, in 1613, Russia began to increase while Poland began to decrease in power. Under the Czar Alexei Mikhailovitch, ("son of Michael,") the second Romanoff, father of Peter the Great, largely through an armed uprising of the people of the Ukraine against Polish oppression, Russia gained, in 1667, the city and district of Smolensk (Lithuania) and that part of the Ukraine to the west of the Dnieper, of which Kiev was the capital; Kiev having been the oldest Russian capital, the original centre of the Russian Nation. But much of the Ukraine, east of the Dnieper, remained independent for a century and a quarter longer, being joined to Russia in the year 1787.

The population of the Ukraine was largely made up of emigrants from Russia, with large Lithuanian and Polish elements and some infusion of Tartar blood; but most of the Ukraine speaks a dialect differing from that of Muscovite Russia about as much as Sicilian differs from Tuscan, or Lowland Scotch from English. The modern "Ukrainian" movement largely owes its origin to forces set in motion in (Austrian) Galicia, the purpose of which was to weaken Russia by setting up a rival nationalist movement, which was to include Southern Galicia and Northern Bukowina, Southern Bukowina being Rumanian.

* * *

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COSSACKS

THE word "Cossack" (or more correctly "Kazak") was originally a name given by the Mohammedan Tartars to the irregular armies of the Ukraine frontier territory, who fought against them on the great plain between the Central Russian forest land and the Black Sea, in the basins of the Dnieper and the Don. Originally the Cossacks were, in fact, a knightly order, recruited to oppose the advance of the Mohammedan Tartars, and later Turks. They were strictly disciplined under an elected "Ataman," also a Tartar title. In their strongly fortified camps on the islands of the lower Dnieper no women were admitted, and they anticipated, and in some respects surpassed, recent movements of reform by absolutely prohibiting the use of wine in time of war. When

the Tartars ceased to be a nation and the Turks were gradually pushed backward toward the Danube, the strong Cossack organization, still with large rights of self-government, was made use of by the rulers of Russia, into which the greater part of the Ukraine had been incorporated, as a well-armed and mounted frontier force, Cossack colonies being planted along the north edge of the Caucasus range and in Siberia. The Cossacks of the Caucasus are finely described in Tolstoy's story, "The Cossacks." The Cossacks form, in fact, a caste of mounted warriors, probably numbering half a million, with certain well-defined rights of self-government, and still maintaining the strongly religious coloring which marked their original purpose. They constitute a potential force for the defense of order against anarchy in Russia.

* * *

SIBERIA AND UKRAINIA

WHILE the whole vast Russian realm, covering more than 8,000,000 square miles, or about one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, is threatening to dissolve into its constituent elements, it is interesting to recall the circumstances under which this vast, unwieldy mass was brought together. Siberia was added to the Russian realm in the stirring and adventurous days of Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, just before the Invincible Armada set forth from Spain to "bring England to her knees." Yermak the Cossack, who was practically in rebellion against the Moscow Czar, Ivan the Terrible, led a small band of 1,636 men across the Ural Mountains, then the eastern boundary of Russia. The Tartar armies had subdued most of Siberia, but their power was already falling into decay, and Yermak and his battalion had little difficulty in capturing Sibir, the capital of the Tartar Khan, the town from which the whole vast territory takes its name. Within eighty years—that is, by 1660—the Russians had reached the Pacific Ocean. Neither Tartars nor Turks offered much resistance, though during Milton's childhood the Tunguzes fought obstinately against the invaders. The Buryats of

Lake Baikal contested their advance for ten years, beginning in 1631. Thereafter all went smoothly.

Ukrainia, at the southwestern end of the Russian realm, was largely an outgrowth, in the stirring times depicted in Henry Sienkewicz's great novels, of the once great Polish Kingdom, forming a loosely organized region between Poland and the territories of the Tartars and Turks. Large inducements to settle in this border country were offered by the Kings of Poland, and an instant response was made by the more adventurous spirits of Poland, Galicia, and Russia. But the Poles exercised their authority so tyrannously that in the reign of the second Romanoff, Czar Alexei Mikhailovitch, the Cossacks, led by Bogdan Khmelnitiski, revolted, and joined their fortunes with Russia, asking for and receiving large rights of self-government. In the days of Peter the Great Mazeppa tried to break this union, joining his forces with Charles XII. of Sweden, Peter's indomitable enemy. But Peter won, and the union between Great Russia and Little Russia was renewed.

* * *

THE GERMAN PRACTICE OF "LOOTING"

THE Director of Lick Observatory, California, has recently reminded the world of a notorious act of looting by German troops, Kaiser Wilhelm being the receiver of the stolen goods. Several hundred years ago the French Jesuits made for the Chinese Court a group of huge bronze astronomical instruments: great globes, armillary spheres, astrolabes, and large circles divided for measurement of angles in the sky, all of heroic size and cast in massive bronze. Eight or nine of these historic instruments were dismounted by French and German officers during the expedition against the Boxers in 1900, five being sent to Germany and three or four to France. The French Government was indignant, and immediately returned to Peking the instruments sent to France; they were once more mounted on the city wall. The German Kaiser

had no such scruples. Three of these beautiful instruments are now to be seen in front of the Kaiser's Palace at Potsdam, to remind the world of his speech: "When you shall meet him, (the Chinese,) remember, quarter is not to be given, prisoners must not be made; use your weapons so that for a thousand years no Chinaman dare look askance at a German." (*Illustrierte Zeitung*, Aug. 2, 1900.)

The word "loot," used by the Lick Director, is interesting. It is an Anglo-Indian "loan-word," borrowed from the Hindi, from the vocabulary of tribes of hereditary thieves. It was first used in 1757, the year of the battle of Plassey, in Orme's History. The looter was called, in Hindi, a "looty-wallah"; thus, in 1782, J. Munro speaks of "rascally looty-wallahs." More recent instances are those of W. L. Whipple: "A noted lutee or rogue"; and Lawrence Oliphant: "I observed, in the suburb, large looting parties composed of Chinese blackguards, ransacking the houses."

* * *

THE Japanese since their capture of Tsing-tao have greatly increased the trade of that port. In 1916 the trade was \$39,000,000, against \$13,000,000 in 1915. At the rate of exchange, which fell 35 per cent. in 1916, the actual increase was 400 per cent. During the year the imports rose from \$7,500,000 to \$20,000,000, the exports from \$5,500,000 to \$19,000,000. A new section of the city has been erected, wharves have been built, and shipping and railway facilities vigorously introduced.

* * *

UNDER the new Franchise bill, which has passed the Commons and is favorably reported in the House of Lords, there will be added to the total electorate 2,000,000 men and 6,000,000 women, thus doubling the voting strength of the United Kingdom; the present electorate numbers 8,000,000. The bill will put upon the voting list about 10,000,000 men out of the total of 13,000,000 above the age of 21 in the British Isles.

WAR AIMS OF LABOR PARTIES

Significant Manifestoes Marking the Rise of the Workingman as a Power in Deciding War Questions

SINCE the Russian Socialists have succeeded in seizing control of the issues of war and peace on the eastern front there has been a marked tendency among the working people in all the belligerent countries to take an active part in the settlement of war questions. In the first weeks of 1918 this new attitude became so emphatic and powerful as to constitute one of the most momentous aspects of the war situation, calling for treatment at some length in the pages of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

The proletariat, awakening to fuller class consciousness, declares that it is going to end the war. As the middle class did in the Napoleonic wars, the working class is gaining an increasing, if not yet a controlling, voice in the conduct of affairs, and many thoughtful observers are expressing the belief that this power will never be relinquished.

The revolutionary change has been especially marked in England, where organized labor is aspiring to supplant the titled and capitalistic classes in national politics. Every day of the first weeks of 1918 has brought new emphasis to the fact that labor is now the dominant factor in shaping Great Britain's war policy. Premier Lloyd George, recognizing the situation, made two of his most important war speeches within a single week to the nation's labor leaders. At the annual conference of the British Labor Party in Nottingham on Jan. 23 Arthur Henderson, the party's leader in the House of Commons, declared that organized labor was taking a stand in international politics from which it would never recede. "We are expecting," he added, "to get into a conference that will result in a peace settlement." Both he and the Russian Ambassador made the startling statement that a revolution—peaceful, of course—was taking place at the present moment in England. At the

same time Chairman Purdy, in opening the convention, declared: "A negotiated peace while Germany occupies the territory of others would be a German victory. If Germany does not accept President Wilson's aims, those announced by Premier Lloyd George, and labor's minimum terms, we will fight on."

The Nottingham Convention by a two-thirds majority indorsed the war aims program which appears in the pages that follow. All amendments suggested by pacifists were laid aside. A resolution was adopted welcoming the war aims addresses of President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George [which appear elsewhere] "in so far as they harmonize with the aims of the British labor movement." The resolution called upon the Allies to formulate their war aims jointly and arrange for an interallied conference in London on Feb. 20.

Crisis in Central Empires

That the Central Powers are feeling the pressure of the new movement, which has been aided by the fraternizing of Russian and Teutonic soldiers, is evident from the widespread strikes in Austria-Hungary and the imprisonment of scores of pacifist labor leaders in Germany. The situation in Austria has taken on the proportions of a crisis. The plain citizenry of the Dual Monarchy, reading the peace terms of President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George, can find little in them to support the frantic pleas of the German militarists that they are fighting to preserve their empire. Since the Bolsheviks at Brest-Litovsk forced the German leaders to come out into the open as avowed annexationists the temper of the common people throughout the Central Empires has undergone a change. The working of this new and potent influence caused M. Litvinoff, Bolshevik Ambassador to Great Britain, in his speech before the labor congress at Nottingham, to declare "we can already hear the rumblings of

a storm in Austria from the results at Brest-Litovsk."

The message of the French Socialists to the Bolsheviks, printed in the pages that follow, is another phase of the same movement. The war aims of the British labor unions and those of the Socialists of the Continental countries, while differing widely on the point of a German peace, are so nearly alike in other essentials as to give an impression of general solidarity. Upon this solidarity their leaders have based the recent assertion that if the statesmen do not soon make a peace the workers will get together at Stockholm or elsewhere and do it themselves.

Below are presented the most significant of the recent utterances of labor organizations in various belligerent countries, all throwing light upon the war aims of European groups of workingmen. To complete the story the reader should turn also to the imposing series of war-aims speeches by political leaders, beginning on Page 257 of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

British Labor's War Aims

One of the steps leading up to the Nottingham resolution was a memorandum on "Labor's War Aims" issued Dec. 17, 1917, by the Labor Party through its Secretary, Mr. Henderson. The memorandum was passed by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Executive of the Labor Party. It declares "that whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of the war, it is clear that the peoples of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it," and that "whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the British labor movement in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy."

Opposing imperialism in all countries, the memorandum declares that the British labor movement relies largely upon the complete democratization of all Governments, on the abolition of compulsory military service everywhere, and on the establishment, through the coming peace

treaty, of a supernational authority, or league of nations, with appropriate legislative machinery and the necessary power to enforce its decrees.

Self-Determinism of Peoples

A summary of the other chief points is as follows:

The British labor movement has no sympathy with the attempts made, now in this quarter and now in that, to convert this war into a war of conquest, whether what is sought to be acquired by force is territory or wealth; nor should the struggle be prolonged for a single day, once the conditions of a permanent peace can be secured, merely for the sake of extending the boundaries of any State. But it is impossible to ignore the fact that, not only restitution and reparation, but also certain territorial readjustments are required, if a renewal of armaments and war is to be avoided. These readjustments must be such as can be arrived at by common agreement on the general principle of allowing all peoples to settle their own destinies and for the purpose of removing any obvious cause of future international conflict.

The British labor movement emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German Government, under the direction of an international commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that Government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong; and the restoration of Belgium to complete and untrammelled independent sovereignty, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

The British labor movement reaffirms its reprobation of the crime against the peace of the world by which Alsace and Lorraine were forcibly torn from France in 1871, a political blunder the effects of which have contributed in no small degree to the continuance of unrest and the growth of militarism in Europe; and, profoundly sympathizing with the unfortunate inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine who have been subjected to so much repression, asks, in accordance with the declarations of the French Socialists, that they shall be allowed, un-

der the protection of the supernational authority, or league of nations, freely to decide what shall be their future political position.

The Balkans and Italy

The British labor movement suggests that the whole problem of the reorganization of the administration of the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula might be dealt with by a special conference of their representatives, or by an authoritative international commission, on the basis of (a) the complete freedom of these people to settle their own destinies, irrespective of Austrian, Turkish, or other foreign dominion; (b) the independent sovereignties of the several nationalities in those districts in which these are largely predominant; (c) the universal adoption of religious tolerance, the equal citizenship of all races, and local autonomy; (d) a customs union embracing the whole of the Balkan States; and (e) the entry of all the Balkan National States into a federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common concern.

The British labor movement declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the inconvenient and indefensible boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, been assigned to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it has no sympathy with the far-reaching aims of conquest of Italian imperialism and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded without precluding a like recognition of the needs of others or annexation of other people's territories.

Principle of Self-Determination

With regard to the other cases in dispute, from Luxemburg, on the one hand, of which the independence has been temporarily destroyed, to the lands now under foreign domination inhabited by other races—the outstanding example

being that of the Poles—the British labor movement relies as the only way of achieving a lasting settlement on the application of the principle of allowing each people to settle its own destiny.

The Jews and Palestine

The British labor movement demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of tolerance, freedom of residence and trade, and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return, and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

The British labor movement condemns the handing back to the universally execrated rule of the Turkish Government any subject people. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that Constantinople should be made a free port, permanently neutralized, and placed (together with both shores of the Dardanelles and possibly some or all of Asia Minor) under the same impartial administration.

With regard to the colonies of the several belligerents in tropical Africa, from sea to sea, the British labor movement disclaims all sympathy with the imperialist idea that these should form the booty of any nation. It is suggested that the interests of humanity would be best served by the full and frank abandonment by all the belligerents of any dreams of an African empire; the transfer of the present colonies of the European powers in tropical Africa, however the limits of this area may be defined, to the proposed supernational authority, or league of nations, herein suggested.

The British labor movement declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an economic war, after peace has been secured, either against one or other foreign nation or against all

foreign nations, as such an economic war, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven.

To make the world safe for democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. Within each country the Government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of "no cake for any one until all have bread."

The British labor movement holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings, and means of communication wherever destroyed by war operations.

The British labor movement will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investigation into the accusations

made on all sides that particular Governments have ordered, and particular officers have exercised, acts of cruelty, oppression, violence, and theft against individual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war.

It draws attention, in particular, to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other noncombatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a court of claims and accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or Government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or Government condemned to the persons who had suffered wrong, or to their dependents. The several Governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a court of claims and accusations and for the payment of the compensation awarded.

Labor Party's Reconstruction Program Conscription of Wealth

THE British Labor Party followed up its war aims memorandum by issuing on Jan. 3, 1918, a report of its general policy for "reconstruction" after the war. It was prepared by a sub-committee of the executive for discussion by the constituent organizations and for eventual submission to the party conference to be held next June. The four pillars of reconstruction are specified thus:

- (a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum;
- (b) The Democratic Control of Industry;
- (c) The Revolution in National Finance; and
- (d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

The Labor Party states its general principles of reconstruction in these terms:

The individualist system of capitalist production * * * may, we hope, have received a deathblow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression. We of the Labor Party, whether in opposition or in due time called upon to form an administration, will certainly lend no hand to its revival. If we in Britain are to escape from the decay of civilization itself we must insure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting, but on fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all—not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach toward a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person—not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but, in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that gen-

eral consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy. We do not, of course, pretend that it is possible, even after the drastic clearing away that is now going on, to build society anew in a year of feverish "reconstruction." What the Labor Party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other.

As regards the first "pillar," the party holds that the minimum wage of 30 shillings (\$7.50) a week should be the very lowest base line for the least skilled adult workers, men or women, in any occupation in the United Kingdom. It calls for suitable provision against the disorganization of the labor market that must follow when millions of soldiers are demobilized and suddenly turned adrift to find employment. The party insists that the obligation to find suitable employment for these men and women will rest with the Government, and it demands that the Government should bind itself not to attempt to lower the standard of wages. To this end it calls for a specified program of public construction enterprises, which shall be used to tide over the period of readjustment.

Control of Industry

The party declares against the continuance of the Military Service acts a moment longer than the imperative requirements of the war excuse. It stands not merely for the principle of the common ownership of the nation's land, to be applied as suitable opportunities occur, but also for the national ownership and administration of the railways and canals and their union, along with harbors and roads, and the posts and telegraphs, as well as the great lines of steamers, in a united national service of communication and transport, to be worked exclusively for the common good.

The party opposes the return of the railways to the shareholders, declaring that the railways and canals, like the roads, must henceforth belong to the public alone. Both in the railways and nationalized mines the party suggests a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and local, of the employees, and aims at household coal

of standard quality, a fixed and uniform price for the whole kingdom, payable by rich and poor alike, as unalterable as the penny postage stamp. It is further asserted that health insurance will never be put on a proper footing, or the Friendly Societies secure a clear field, until the nation expropriates the profit-making industrial insurance companies.

The assumption by a State Department of the whole business of life insurance is urged, and the party sees the key to temperance reform in taking the manufacture and retailing of alcoholic drink out of the hands of those who find profit in promoting the utmost possible consumption. Localities should have conferred upon them facilities

- (a) To prohibit the sale of liquor;
- (b) To reduce the number of licenses and regulate the conditions under which they may be held; and
- (c) If a locality decides that licenses are to be granted, to determine whether such licenses shall be under private or any form of public control.

The party holds that the Government has demonstrably prevented a lot of "profiteering," work which must not end immediately on the declaration of peace. "The people will be extremely foolish if they ever allow their indispensable industries to slip back into the unfettered control of private capitalists, who are, actually at the instance of the Government itself, now rapidly combining, trade by trade, into monopolist trusts, which may presently become as ruthless in their extortion as the worst American examples. The question of the retail prices of household commodities is emphatically the most practical of all political issues to the woman elector."

Revolution in National Finance

On the question of national finance the report has the following, among other passages:

The colossal expenditure involved in the present war (of which, against the protest of the Labor Party, only a quarter has been raised by taxation, while three-quarters have been borrowed at onerous rates of interest, to be a burden on the nation's future) brings things to a crisis. Innumerable new private fortunes are being heaped up by those who have taken advantage of the nation's needs; and the one-tenth of the population which owns

THE RAILROADS UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL



Mr. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads, with the members of the Railroads' War Board, since replaced by the Advisory Board. From left to right: Julius Kruttschnitt, Howard Elliott, W. G. McAdoo, John Barton Payne, Samuel Rea, and Hale Holden.

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LEON TROTZKY



The People's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs in the Russian (Bolshevist) Administration. He was prominent in the Russian Revolution of 1905, but was in the United States when the Czar was overthrown in March, 1917.

(© International Film Service.)

nine-tenths of the riches of the United Kingdom, far from being made poorer, will find itself, in the aggregate, as a result of the war, drawing in rent and interest and dividends a larger nominal income than ever before.

Such a position demands a revolution in national finance. How are we to discharge a public debt that may well reach the almost incredible figure of £7,000,000,000, and at the same time raise an annual revenue which for local as well as central government must probably reach £1,000,000,000 a year? It is over this problem of taxation that the various political parties will be found to be most sharply divided. The Labor Party stands for such a system of taxation as will yield all the necessary revenue to the Government without encroaching on the prescribed national minimum standard of life of any family whatsoever; without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort, and with the nearest possible approximation to equality of sacrifice. We definitely repudiate all proposals for a protective tariff, in whatever specious guise they may be cloaked, as a device for burdening the consumer with unnecessarily enhanced prices, to the profit of the capitalist employer or landed proprietor who avowedly expects his profit or rent to be increased thereby. We shall strenuously oppose any taxation of whatever kind which would increase the price of food or of any other necessary of life.

For the raising of the greater part of the revenue now required the Labor Party looks to the direct taxation of the incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance; and for the requisite effort to pay off the national debt, to the direct taxation of private fortunes both during life and at death. The income tax and super-tax ought at once to be thoroughly reformed in assessment and collection, in abatements and allowances, and in graduation and differentiation, so as to levy the required total sum in such a way as to make the real sacrifice of all the taxpayers as nearly as possible equal. This would involve assessment by families instead of by individual persons, so that the burden is alleviated in proportion to the number of persons to be maintained. It would involve the raising of the present unduly low minimum income assessable to the tax, and the lightening of the present unfair burden on the great mass of professional and small trading classes by a new scale of graduation, rising from a penny in the pound on the smallest assessable income up to 16 or even 19 shillings in the pound on the highest income of the millionaires. It would involve bringing into assessment the numerous windfalls of profit that now escape,

and a further differentiation between essentially different kinds of income.

But all this will not suffice. It will be imperative at the earliest possible moment to free the nation from at any rate the greater part of its new load of interest-bearing debt for loans which ought to have been levied as taxation; and the Labor Party stands for a special capital levy to pay off, if not the whole, a very substantial part of the entire national debt—a capital levy chargeable like the death duties on all property, but (in order to secure approximate equality of sacrifice) with exemption of the smallest savings, and for the rest at rates very steeply graduated, so as to take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaires. Over this issue of how the financial burden of the war is to be borne, and how the necessary revenue is to be raised, the greatest political battles will be fought.

Surplus for Common Good

The fourth pillar is the future appropriation of the surplus, not to the enlargement of any individual fortune, but to the common good. It is from this constantly arising surplus (to be secured, on the one hand, by nationalization and municipalization, and, on the other, by the steeply graduated taxation of private income and riches) that will have to be found the new capital which the community day by day needs for the perpetual improvement and increase of its various enterprises, for which we shall decline to be dependent on the usury-exacting financiers.

It is from the same source, says the report, that has to be defrayed the public provision for the sick and infirm of all kinds (including that for maternity and infancy) which is still so scandalously insufficient; for the aged and those prematurely incapacitated by accident or disease, now in many ways so imperfectly cared for; for the education alike of children, of adolescents, and of adults, in which the Labor Party demands a genuine equality of opportunity, overcoming all differences of material circumstances; and for the organization of public improvements of all kinds, including the brightening of the lives of those now condemned to almost ceaseless toil, and a great development of the means of recreation. From the same source must come the greatly increased public pro-

vision that the Labor Party will insist on being made for scientific investigation and original research, in every branch of knowledge, not to say also for the promotion of music, literature, and fine art, which have been under capitalism so greatly neglected, and upon which, so the Labor Party holds, any real development of civilization fundamentally depends. Society, like the individual, does not live by bread alone—does not exist only for perpetual wealth production.

It is the proposal for this appropriation of every surplus for the common good—in the vision of its resolute use for the building up of the community as a whole instead of for the magnification

of individual fortunes—that the Labor Party, as the party of the producers by hand or by brain, most distinctively marks itself off from the older political parties, standing, as these do, essentially for the maintenance, unimpaired, of the perpetual private mortgage upon the annual product of the nation that is involved in the individual ownership of land and capital.

Finally, the report proposes “home rule all round” in the empire, disclaims any intention to dispossess or impoverish any other State, opposes the idea of an “economic war,” likewise of a protective tariff, and advocates a league of nations, to be provided for in the treaty of peace.

British Labor's Message to the Bolsheviki

Indorses “No Annexations” Plan

AGAIN the British Labor Party placed itself on record regarding war issues on Jan. 15, 1918, in a message to the Russian people and an appeal to the peoples of Central Europe. The message was prepared by the Labor Party in conjunction with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress. The text reads:

We have reached a crisis in the war. The negotiations at Brest-Litovsk have been interrupted because the Germans have refused to admit the principle of self-determination of peoples and the doctrine of no annexations. In thus acting, the Central Powers are speaking clearly in the name of a militarist State.

In this crisis the British people must speak, because the Russians can only succeed in their great and perilous task if supported by the people everywhere. The British people must proclaim to Russia and the Central Powers that its aim is identical with Russia's; that we, too, see no solution for the evils of militarism except self-determination and no indemnities.

In applying this Russian principle to our own case we are conscious of the problems raised, but we do not shrink therefrom. The British people accepts the principle of no annexations for the British Empire. This applies in our case to the Middle East, Africa, and India.

We wish to remind the Russian people that Great Britain, taught by the loss of the American colonies in the eighteenth

century, was the first modern State to grant complete self-determination to any group of its inhabitants, for example, the Dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand. We accept the principle also for India and other dependencies of the British Empire, though we believe that the record of the British Government here gives little occasion for reproach.

We intend to meet this by more rapid development of self-government. We respect the sovereign independence of the Turkish people in their national home, but we believe that the domination of their Government over other peoples is a hindrance to their own national development. Our Government is pledged to some of those peoples—Arabs, Palestinians, Armenians—that the Ottoman rule shall not again be imposed on them. This responsibility should be undertaken by the peace conference and a permanent international organization that we hope will be there constituted.

In tropical Africa we repeat our renunciation of annexations. Nobody contends that the black races can govern themselves. They can only make it known that the particular Government under which they have been living is bad in some or all respects and indicate the specific evils from which they desire liberation. We believe that the peace conference would be well advised to place all tropical Africa under uniform international control.

We adjure the peoples of Central Eu-

rope to declare themselves or make their Governments speak for them in answer to Russia and ourselves. We call on them to renounce annexations in Europe with the same good faith in which we are renouncing them in Asia. We call on them to give the same self-determination to the French, Alsatian, Italian, Polish, and Danish members of their States as Russia has given to Finland, Courland, Lithuania, and Russian Poland. * * *

The family interests of dynasties or the desire of the German, Austrian, and Magyar governing classes to dominate other classes and nationalities must no more be suffered to prevent self-determination in Central Europe, and thereby imperil it in Europe as a whole, than the interests of British imperialism or British

capitalism must be suffered to do elsewhere.

Peoples of Central Europe, this catastrophe of the human race, this fatal schism in the civilized world, can only be ended by the defeat of militarism on both sides and by the victory on both sides of moral and intellectual fair dealing. If the world is to be saved, it must be saved by good faith and reciprocity on the part of all. Do not fail us now. Do not let your Governments drive the British people, as they are driving the Russian people, into the terrible choice between continuing the war and abandoning the only principles that can save the world.

If this choice is forced upon us, we shall choose as Russia chose. We shall continue, but the responsibility will be yours.

French Socialists' Protest to Russians

Appeal Against Separate Peace

THE Socialist group in the French Chamber of Deputies published on Dec. 19, 1917, a long open letter to their fellow-Socialists in Russia, in which they recalled the enthusiasm and hope with which French Socialists had welcomed the Russian revolution, and in which they pleaded with the revolutionaries not to betray their allies by making a separate peace. They pointed out that such a peace between Russia and Germany would revive autocracy and be a moral disaster for which socialism would have to bear the blame. The full text of the latter half of the message is as follows:

How can the democracies of the West, whose long historic struggle the Russian democracy has no right to despise, even if it has not yet produced socialism; how can the great American democracy, whose idealistic force no one can deny; how can these nations act if they realize that they are threatened by the feebleness and desertion of their great northern ally? How will they be able to strengthen themselves for a prolonged struggle if they do not wish to see dominate the political, military, and economic hegemony of those who at the last moment unchained the catastrophe?

Has not Germany, followed by her allies, until now declined to make known her war aims? The laboring classes of the Central Empires have not won their political liberty. Even their sacrifices have not yet established the certitude of abso-

lute universal suffrage, nor a supreme and responsible Parliament. Thus the people of the enemy countries have not affirmed by their acts their anti-imperialistic will, nor their union with the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, nor with the principle of the society of nations which is destined to guarantee it.

There is in war a terrible logic. The Soviets realize this, for, while affirming their desire for a general peace, they said: "Let us ask Germany to make her war aims known and the German Socialists to have a revolution, just as we have."

The Soviets obtained neither one answer nor the other. Nevertheless, peace can be nothing but just, nothing but lasting. It can be both only by the democratic will of the people. A separate peace cannot be that. Thus concluded by the Russian revolution it would constrain Russian socialism to repudiate its own principles, renouncing the right of the people to dispose of themselves, and reckon as nothing the fate of the violated and pillaged little nations.

It would be a moral disaster the burden of which would be borne everywhere by international socialism as a perfectly natural consequence. Russian Socialists will not assume this responsibility. According to them, Russia will ascend from the abyss into which Czarism had thrown it. But for that supreme effort all Russian Socialists ought to be together and united. Divisions which were already sapping it before the war now paralyze its work of reorganization. From afar, we, its friends, have suffered in realizing so many cynical differences and rivalries. These

threaten the possible return of a reactionism from which the whole world would suffer.

But most of all, Russia should find, at the earliest possible moment, a stable Government whence shall arise the new life. A Constituent Assembly alone can furnish it; it alone can end the conflicts which unseat dictators without giving them authority and security for the morrow; it alone can say that it governs for the people by the people; it alone will offer other nations of the world guarantees and covenants which Russia is called to undertake in the international movement of events.

By casting aside a separate peace, revolutionary Russia will preserve her honor; she will refuse to deliver up to German imperialism the democracies which struggle against it. By uniting all Socialist elements, she will cement her forces of organization. By creating a republican administration with all the Regular Reds, she will indestructibly lay the foundations of Russian liberty, she will serve the progress of socialism throughout the world.

And we French Socialists who find in the seriousness of events and in the consciousness of our responsibilities the inspiration for these friendly declarations, we do not hesitate to say to you: We also realize the extent of our duties. French Socialists will do nothing to weaken the resistance of the army and people of France, but rather strengthen the morale

of both, and forcefully implore the allied Governments that they clearly indicate by actions their oft-repeated declarations that they are fighting because they are attacked and that they would obtain no peace other than that of right.

Thus would a promise of a revision of the aims of war be imposed on the Governments. To the Governments of the Central Empires our Governments should categorically say: Only the desire for a general peace, which is the will of all peoples as it is of the Russian people, and the realization of international justice, can prevent the prolongation of the war.

The sacrifices which the allied peoples still consent to bear and on which the security of the Russian revolution and the path to reorganization rest may possibly, in spite of appearances, so bring home this supreme necessity to the peoples of the Central Empires that they, too, may be moved to realize that the sole safety of humanity must be democratic in its results, democratic in its methods, and democratic in its guarantees.

There follow twenty-eight signatures of Deputies, among which are those of Albert Thomas, Bedouce, Bracke, Cachin, Compère-Morel, Dejeante, Doizy, Goude, Groussier, Jules Guisde, Hubert, Trouger, de la Porte, Lauche, Lebey, Longuet, Mayeras, Mistral, Moutet, Ellen-Prévot, Renaudel, Sembat, and Varenne.

Zimmerwald Socialist Manifesto

Peace by Means of a World Strike

THE Zimmerwald international organization of the extreme anti-war Socialist groups in the belligerent and neutral nations, which held its third conference at Stockholm on Sept. 5-7, 1917, issued a manifesto at that time, the text of which has at length reached the United States. The Zimmerwalders first organized in the little Swiss town of Zimmerwald, near Berne, Switzerland, in September, 1915. They have always advocated the forcing of peace by the direct pressure of the proletariat on the warring Governments through mass strikes as well as politically, but their Russian adherents are the only ones who thus far have acted upon this plan. Lenine and Trotzky have always been supporters of the Zimmerwald program. There

have been some signs recently of serious attempts by Socialist minorities both in Germany and in Austria-Hungary to act along the same lines. In view of the growing part which organized labor is everywhere tending to take in the attempt to end the war this manifesto deserves to be placed on record.

The Stockholm conference which adopted this appeal was attended by representatives of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, of the opposition group in the Austrian Social Democracy, of nearly all the Russian Socialist organizations, of the regular Socialist parties of Finland, Rumania, Poland, and Switzerland, of the extreme groups of the Socialist parties of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and of the

Socialist Propaganda League and the International Brotherhood from the United States. The delegates from England, France, and Italy were prevented from attending by their Governments' refusal of passports.

Text of the Manifesto

The manifesto adopted at Stockholm is addressed to the proletarians of all countries and reads as follows:

The peoples are drifting unresistingly toward the fourth Winter of the war with all its horrors. Millions of men have been murdered, millions have been made cripples; other millions are being dragged to the slaughterhouse day after day. Hunger and misery are causing the decay of the men, women, and children who stay at home, not only in the belligerent but also in the neutral countries. This is the self-destruction of the peoples, as the result of the capitalist competition for power and booty.

In the face of this horror and torment there arises from the suffering peoples the ever-louder cry: "Bring us peace! Put an end to the international murder!" But thus far there is no sign of the dawning of peace. It is true that the rulers in both camps, under the pressure of their war-weary peoples, admit their readiness for peace, but behind their solemn protestations of a desire for peace their unsatisfied lust for the destruction of their opponents and for conquests and fresh possibilities of exploitation only hides itself with difficulty.

The capitalist Governments all fear being compelled to return from the battlefield without booty and laden only with debts running into billions and the curses of millions of widows and orphans. They tremble before the day of peace, which will be a day of reckoning. Therefore, they will not agree about peace as long as they still dispose of the least strength and the slightest prospect of the defeat of their opponents lures them on.

No less devoid of hopeful prospects is the so-called work of peace and mediation of the Government Socialists who have promised the proletariat decidedly to advance the cause of peace at Stockholm.

No bridges can be built between the Government Socialists of the two groups of power; they are nothing but the accomplices of their home Governments. The menial work they have done in helping maintain the political truce and in supporting the imperialistic war policy has robbed them of the ability to wage a revolutionary battle for interests of the proletariat.

In all countries the only ones able and called to do this work are the proletarian

masses who have remained true to their Socialist ideas or are being rallied to them anew. Common ideas and the consciousness of common interests are welding these internationally minded proletarians together into a solid unit that is pressing irresistibly toward a common aim. And the development of things is also imperatively forcing them to a swift execution of their great life task.

Peace Only Through the Proletariat

Only a peace won and shaped by the Socialist proletariat through decisive mass actions can permanently prevent the renewal of the worldwide massacre. A capitalist peace, no matter how it might be shaped, would lead to the shifting to the shoulders of the working masses in every country of the immense war debts. The proletariat has sustained the war for years with the blood of its sons and with the vital strength of all its men and women. The capitalist gang has strengthened its blood-sucking powers through the easy acquisition of war profits. A capitalist peace would mean the sacrifice of the people's rights, but would make it easier for the capitalists to exploit the people's strength to the limit. In order to insure a permanent peace it is also necessary to democratize all the States from the ground up and to extirpate the privileges of the propertied classes. But the only guarantee against a return of the world war is the establishment of the social republic.

The conditions in Russia also are forcing the acceleration of the international proletarian battle. The Russian fighters for freedom, through their great revolution and the overthrow of Czarism, took a promising first step toward the forcing of peace and the liberation of the people. But in the world war the proletariat of a single country cannot force peace through its isolated efforts. Thus far the masses of the proletariat in the other countries have not followed their Russian brothers on the road to freedom. And this has aided in enabling the reaction to raise its head threateningly in Russia.

The international proletarian mass struggle for peace means at the same time the salvation of the Russian revolution.

There have been individual actions by the proletariat here and there already. Workingmen and workingwomen have raised the cry for bread, peace, and liberty in the street, in defiance of all persecutions. The masses of workers who lay down their tools in the face of war capitalism in order to guard their elementary rights as men are fighting the battles of the proletariat. And they have undertaken these strikes in spite of the surrender of their right of organization

by the Government Socialist, labor, and political leaders. All this is a sign not only of the war weariness of the proletarians in the different countries, but also of their recognition of the fact that only proletarian fighting methods can bring them peace.

Calls for an International Strike

But the longed-for goal cannot be reached through such individual battles, of which the proletarians of the other countries either never hear or learn of only after great delay. The hour has struck for beginning the great common battle in all countries for the bringing about of peace, for the liberation of the peoples through the Socialist proletariat. The means for this is the common international mass strike.

Our call is directed to the working class of every country. Its own fate is indissolubly connected with the fate of the world proletariat. The working people of any country who fail to join in the com-

mon struggle or who attack their brothers in the rear render vain the hope of peace, prolong the war and the exploitation of the people, and ruin their own future. It would be committing treason to the common cause of humanity. That must not be!

Proletarians of all nations! The hardest duty awaits you, but you are also encouraged by the loftiest aim, the final liberation of humanity.

Workmen and workingwomen! Make propaganda for the international mass action in every factory where life throbs, in every foundry where it groans and creaks. The battle will be long and hard. The ruling classes will not yield to one blow, let alone capitulate. The harder the battle, the more determinedly must it be waged. We must win through fighting, for the continuance of unresisting forbearance is bound to bring the proletariat to its ruin.

Long live the international mass struggle against the war! Long live the Socialist peace!

War Aims and Pledges of France

M. Pichon, the New Foreign Minister, Defines France's Attitude Toward Russia and Other Issues

[See other Peace-Aims Speeches, page 257.]

DURING an important debate in the French Chamber, Dec. 28, 1917, regarding the separate peace negotiations of Russia at Brest-Litovsk, M. Pichon made his first speech as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Clemenceau Government. The discussion was started by the Socialists, some of whom desired that the Allies should recognize the Bolsheviks. M. Pichon, amid much cheering, declined to do anything until a legally constituted Government had been created, and once again he outlined the war aims of France. "Germany," continued M. Pichon, "is attempting to involve us in these Maximalist negotiations. We have suffered horrible losses, we have shown our heroism, and is it possible that we should agree to negotiate in such conditions?" In the midst of a striking silence the Minister said, "If there is a single Deputy who thinks it possible, let him say so." The Chamber, by its applause,

proved its absolute agreement with the Minister and with the Government.

Following are some of the most significant passages in M. Pichon's speech:

"By the acts of the Bolsheviks Russia is completely disorganized. In order to escape a foreign war a great part of Russia is experiencing a more formidable internal tempest. Germany is trying to continue the work of destruction of the Russian military power, to dig an abyss between Russia and her allies, to take possession of her riches, to disintegrate and to split her up so as not to share the spoils, to recover her prisoners of war, and to arrange later on a revolution to establish an autocratic régime under Prussian hegemony. It is inconceivable that the entire Russian people is not revolted by this policy. As for us, it is our duty to remain in touch with all the sane elements in Russia; with all the groups which realize the need to be free. Amid the general disorganization we ought to

unite ourselves to them whether they may be Socialists, Liberals, or Revolutionists. We do not despair of our ancient ally; we are ready to resume with her our former relations, which it was not our fault were not maintained.

"Only our enemies have been able to impute intentions of conquest to us. Only they have accused us; they who prepared for forty years the monstrous aggression, who publicly preached the subjugation of the world, who hurled themselves upon unfortunate Serbia, who assailed Belgium, who took the initiative in the submarine war, who have devastated territories, and who have not made known their war aims except with equivocal reservations. We are not intervening in the internal policy of Russia, but we are taking the necessary measures to safeguard our considerable interests in the country to which we have been attached by alliance for a quarter of a century. In conformity with the principles of the Maximalists we are replying favorably to the populations which wish to maintain relations with us. We are not working for the breakup of Russia, but we wish to serve a policy which will regenerate Russia.

"I have been asked to define our war aims. They are public, and have been announced in the repeated declarations of our Ministers, in Orders of the Day in Parliament, and in speeches by the leaders of Governments. First, to conquer. Mr. Lloyd George again repeated yesterday that peace was only to be obtained by victory. In order to give the world a peace of justice and fraternity in conformity with the votes of the Chambers and the declarations of the allied Governments we aim at the restitution of the provinces which were torn from us by force, the reintegration of Alsace-Lorraine, a guarantee of a durable peace by agreement, and a general organization by a society of nations. We are in complete agreement with President Wilson. He said, 'Our present and immediate task is to win the war. Nothing will turn us from this task until it has been accomplished. We shall consider the war as won only when the German people tell us through their legally

accredited representatives that they are ready to accept a peace based on justice and reparation for the wrongs done.'

"Since the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine we have not ceased to suffer in our hearts. Never was it a question of our annexing populations under any form whatever by right of conquest. In the Allies' reply to President Wilson's message it was no longer a question of the extermination of the German people and their disappearance from the map of the world.

"We spoke not only for Serbia and Belgium, but also for Poland. The Allies wish an independent and indivisible Poland, with all guarantees for its free, economic, and military development. The Armenian and Syrian peoples and all those who submit to the foreign yoke deserve our sympathy. Our enemies, on the other hand, through the mouth of Count Czernin, have proclaimed that the right of nationalities to settle their own destiny is a question of internal policy. What distinguishes us from our enemies is our will for a just and durable peace. It is easily understood why Germany and Austria refused to define their peace without annexation.

"The question of Alsace-Lorraine is not only a French question but a world question. It is a symbol of right. We are not only fighting for France. Nothing would be more false than to pretend that we are prolonging the war for egoistical reasons. There are, besides, other questions than those of Alsace-Lorraine which will have to be settled in the French sense or in the German sense. Will there be, or will there not be, a new Europe? Will there be, or will there not be, a durable peace for the nations? We considered as a deliverance the capture of Jerusalem, which is not a French victory or a British victory, but a victory for the civilized world and deliverance for the populations of Palestine, where will be instituted an international régime of justice and liberty.

"Germany is trying to draw us into the peace negotiations. After the horrible losses we have suffered, and after the heroism of our troops, can there be any question of a peace on terms of the

territorial status quo or the economic status quo? I have already said that on the day when we were informed directly of peace terms we should consider them with our allies, but such an indirect peace proposal does not deserve to be taken into consideration.

"Either the Russian negotiations will end in the capitulation of Russia or else they will break down. In either case for us the war will continue. The war has entered upon its most critical phase. Until further orders our ally is lacking to us, an ally who was on the point of bringing about decisive results. Incontestably, it is a great success for Germany and Austria-Hungary to have lib-

erty of movement on our front, but if one ally fails us another has joined us, the United States, with all its commercial, industrial, economic, and military strength. The Allies are determined to pool all their resources in order to give their armies the maximum of power. Unity of action was settled at the last conference. Italy and the allied armies are fighting for the common welfare. Their close union will also be affirmed on the Macedonian front.

"Germany set out upon the impossible task of conquering the world. The world will conquer her. As Mr. Roosevelt said, France will have saved the soul of the world."

Field Marshal Haig's 1917 Report

Summary of Its Main Features

FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG, the British Commander in Chief in France and Belgium, issued an extended report in *The British Official Gazette* on Jan. 8, 1918. The report covered the Spring and Summer campaigns of 1917, beginning at the opening of the Arras offensive, April 9, and extending to the conclusion of the Flanders defensive in November.

At the outset of his report General Haig explains how the general allied plan of campaign for the year was settled at a conference at French Headquarters in November, 1916.

"The plan," the report says, "comprised a series of offensives on all fronts, so timed as to assist each other by depriving the enemy of the power of weakening any of his fronts to reinforce another."

This plan had to be modified on a wholesale scale from the very start, owing to a variety of unexpected developments, such as the Russian situation, the requirements of the Allies, and, particularly, in later months, to adverse weather conditions.

Notwithstanding these difficulties the whole story of the year's work is a steady continuation of British successes and

German setbacks, which give General Haig ground for his optimistic conclusion.

"The Flanders offensive was maintained for three and a half months under most adverse conditions," he says. "The weather entailed almost superhuman exertions on the part of the troops of all arms. The enemy did his utmost to hold his ground, and in endeavoring to do so used up no less than seventy-eight divisions, of which eighteen were engaged a second or third time after being withdrawn to rest and refit.

"Despite the magnitude of his efforts, it was the immense natural difficulties, accentuated manifold by abnormally wet weather rather than the enemy's resistance, which limited our progress and prevented the complete capture of the ridge. What was actually accomplished under such adverse conditions is the most conclusive proof that, given a normally fine August, the capture of the whole ridge in a few weeks was well within the power of our men.

"They advanced every time with absolute confidence in their power to overcome the enemy, but physical exhaustion placed narrow limits on the depth to which each advance could be pushed. The

full fruits of each success consequently were not always obtainable.

"Time after time the practically beaten enemy was enabled to reorganize and relieve his men and bring up reinforcements behind the sea of mud, which constituted his main protection.

"Our captures in Flanders since the end of July amount to 24,000 prisoners, 74 guns, and 941 machine guns. It is certain that the enemy losses exceeded ours.

"The most important of all is that our new and hastily trained armies again have shown that they are capable of meeting and beating the enemy's best troops under conditions which favored his defense.

"In this respect I desire to emphasize the supreme importance of adequate training prior to placing troops in the line of battle. It is essential if sacrifice is to be avoided and success assured.

"The general conditions of the struggle this year have been very different from those contemplated at the conference in November, 1916. The great general and simultaneous offensive then agreed upon did not materialize. Russia, though some of her leaders made a fine effort, not only failed to give the help expected, but even failed to prevent the enemy from transferring forty fresh divisions from her front in exchange for tired ones used up in the west, or from replacing his losses on the west by drafts of fresh men from the east.

"The combined Franco-British offensive in the Spring was launched before Italy was ready, and the splendid effort made by Italy later was unfortunately followed by developments which resulted in the weakening of the allied forces in this theatre. In the circumstances the task of the British and French armies has been far heavier

throughout the year than originally was anticipated, and the enemy's means of meeting our attack was greater than he or we expected.

"That under such circumstances we won the victories of Arras, Vimy, and Messines, and the French those at Moronvillers, Verdun, and Malmaison constitutes a record of which the Allies have a right to be proud. The British armies have maintained a vigorous and continuous offensive throughout the period covered by this dispatch. No other example of offensive action on so large a scale and so long and successfully sustained has been furnished by the war.

"In the operations at Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres, 131 German divisions were engaged and defeated by less than half that number of British.

"Without reckoning the possibilities opened up by our territorial gains in Flanders, and without considering the effect which a less vigorous prosecution of the war by us might have had in the other theatres, we have every reason to be satisfied with the results achieved in the last year's fighting."

He sums up the report as follows:

"The additional strength which the enemy can obtain from the events in Russia and Italy already has been largely discounted, and the ultimate destruction of the enemy's field forces has been brought appreciably nearer."

The following is the closing sentence:

"During the year the United States have entered the war and taken up their part with all the well-known energy and ability of that great nation. Already many thousands of American soldiers are in France. Warm as is the welcome they received from the French people, nowhere will they find a mere genuine or friendly greeting than among the ranks of the other great English-speaking armies."

Investigation of the Cambrai Reverse

The report of General Haig does not embrace the Cambria offensive of late November, 1917, when the British troops made their most important advance of the year, going forward from three to

seven miles. Nine days later the Germans delivered a sudden counterattack, forcing the British back two miles, and thus neutralized much of the fruits of their victory. The withdrawal provoked

much criticism in England, and resulted in the appointment of a commission to ascertain whether there had been a surprise due to blundering tactics.

Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced in the House of Commons on Jan. 15, 1918, that as a result of Field Marshal Haig's inquiry the General Staff, War Cabinet, and the Government considered that the British higher army command had not been surprised by the German attack in the Cambrai region Nov. 30, and that all proper and adequate dispositions had been made to meet it.

Bonar Law said Field Marshal Haig's inquiry was instituted before instructions had been received by him from the War Office. His report had been carefully examined by the General Staff, and the War Cabinet considered that it would be highly detrimental to the public interest to have a public discussion on the breakdown which undoubtedly had occurred. The Cabinet, added the Chancellor, was satisfied that proper measures had been taken to deal with any similar situation in the future.

Answering a question by Arthur Lynch, Nationalist member from West Clare, as to whether unity of command had been obtained on the western front in the sense that a Generalissimo had been appointed to direct operations, Bonar Law said "No," and made the same reply regarding the Italian front.

Asked by James Myles Hogge, Radical member for East Edinburgh, whether any one had been sent home as a result of the Cambrai incident, Bonar Law said that the answer he had given made it plain that the War Cabinet held the higher command blameless.

Noel Pemberton Billing, member for East Hertfordshire, asked the Chancellor if he could dispel the rumor that Field Marshal Haig was being relieved of his command in France. Bonar Law replied that it was quite unnecessary for him to do so.

Attack on General Robertson

A few days later an attack appeared in The London Mail directed against the Imperial General Staff, particularly its

chief, Sir William Robertson, and Lord Derby, Secretary of War, which produced a political sensation and was regarded as the beginning of a campaign against the caste system in the old army, it being charged that officers of the territorial and new army battalions are confined to regimental duties, while staff appointments are regarded as the prerogative of the old regulars.

The question of the responsibility for the German success at Cambrai came up again in Parliament on Jan. 23. James Ian MacPherson, Parliamentary Secretary to the War Office, replying to criticisms, after protesting against what he termed the cruel charges against a most distinguished General at a time when he had no opportunity for defending himself, declared unhesitatingly that the Government had full confidence in the Field Marshal. Mr. MacPherson said he could not speak for the War Cabinet, but that he could speak for the War Office and the Army Council, and he asserted that from the time Field Marshal Haig took command up to the present moment he had never lost the confidence of those bodies.

The Secretary admitted that there was a breakdown at Cambrai, but he pointed out that the General Staff knew on Nov. 28 that an attack was intended for the 30th. He could not go beyond Bonar Law's statement, but he would repeat that the breakdown was not a fault of the General Staff.

The disposition of the troops, Mr. MacPherson added, was as good as could possibly have been made, and the War Cabinet came to the conclusion that nobody should be sacrificed for the reverse, which could not possibly have been avoided, owing to the nature of the circumstances, which could not be overcome.

The Secretary said that there was a breakdown at this particular point of the line, but there was no salient there. Inequality of forces existed at this particular spot, despite the fact that the General Staff took all necessary precautions. It has been asked why reinforcements were lacking, but, as a matter of fact, they were ready behind the lines in most perfect disposition. History

would show why they were there, and if they had not been there he was not sure what the result would have been.

There was no intention to publish the result of the inquiry, said Mr. MacPherson. There had been no withdrawal from the front of any persons from the higher command. He thought the War Cabinet already had shown that when necessary it would withdraw Generals, and, if in the present case the Cabinet had been assured that the higher command was not blameless, he made bold

to say that it would have changed the higher command.

Mr. MacPherson announced that Lieut. Gen. Sir Herbert Alexander Lawrence had been appointed Chief of the General Staff in France, Colonel E. W. Cox to be a Brigadier General on the General Staff of the Intelligence Department, and General Travers E. Clarke Quartermaster General. These changes, Mr. MacPherson added, had nothing to do with the report to the War Council on the operations at Cambrai.

Attack on the American War Secretary

The criticisms against the American War Secretary, Newton D. Baker, assumed concrete form when Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, a consistent supporter of President Wilson and a leader in his party, declared in a public speech at New York Jan. 19, 1918, that "the military establishment of America has fallen down," and the reason it fell was "because of inefficiency in every bureau and department of the Government of the United States." The next day the Military Committee of the Senate reported for passage a bill to create a Minister of Munitions and another to create a super war cabinet of three, which would be independent of the Secretaries of War and Navy in the control of actual war operations.

President Wilson sharply resented the utterance of Senator Chamberlain and declared he would exert his full power to defeat the measures. In his statement the President declared:

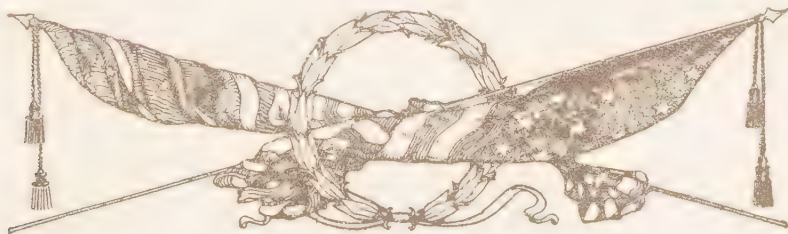
Senator Chamberlain's statement as to the present inaction and ineffectiveness of the Government is an astonishing and absolutely unjustifiable distortion of the truth.

As a matter of fact, the War Department has performed a task of unparalleled magnitude and difficulty with extraordinary promptness and efficiency. There have been delays and disappointments and partial miscarriages of plan, all of which have been drawn into the foreground and exaggerated by the investigations which have been in progress since the Congress assembled—investigations which drew indispensable officials of the department constantly away from their work and officers from their commands and contributed a great deal to such delay and confusion as had inevitably arisen. * * *

My association and constant conference with the Secretary of War have taught me to regard him as one of the ablest public officials I have ever known. The country will soon learn whether he or his critics understand the business in hand.

To add, as Senator Chamberlain did, that there is inefficiency in every department and bureau of the Government is to show such ignorance of actual conditions as to make it impossible to attach any importance to his statement. I am bound to infer that that statement sprang out of opposition to the Administration's whole policy rather than out of any serious intention to reform its practice.

The controversy stirred up the first political strife that had arisen since war was declared.



The New German Troops in France

By Walter Littlefield

AFTER the collapse of the Russian fighting machine the German press proclaimed as a consequence an almost immediate German offensive in the west. The press of the Allies and even their statesmen were not slow to take alarm and to speculate on the number of men that would be moved from the east to the west and to attempt to designate where the threatened blow would fall. The invasion of Italy was pointed out as an illustration of how Germany could strike with secrecy and with large bodies of troops. As in certain allied quarters the supposed movement of enemy troops westward has been discussed by alarmists with seven figures as the basis of their calculation, it may be well to examine the actual facts in the light of Teutonic man power, means of transportation, and probable objectives.

Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Minister of National Service, analyzing the enemy's strength, told the House of Commons in January that the Germans would be able to withdraw 950,000 men from the eastern front, and that the Austrians would be able to release enough to make the total 1,600,000. But as he gave no period during which this feat could be accomplished, his words were a warning for the future rather than for the immediate situation. The Italian Embassy at Washington was informed a few days before the Teutonic stroke into the Regione di Veneto, that forty-seven Austro-German divisions had been released from the eastern front for service in the west, but the destiny of these divisions and their composition has only recently become known. From Teutonic prisoners taken in Veneto it has been learned that although the Austrian reinforcements there came from the eastern front, the five or six German divisions in Italy came from the western, and that the Germans withdrawn from the east filled their places. Nor were the

forty-seven divisions removed en masse, but "in frame," as it were, their complement being made up by recruits already in the west. Moreover, the full force of a mobile German division today is no longer 20,000, but between 13,000 and 14,000. This is also true of an Austrian division.

While the foregoing movement of troops is theoretically confirmed as being the most economical in regard to transportation and supply—northern railways being used from east to west and southern lines from west to southeast, save in Austria, where the southern route via Vienna was evidently used from the Russian front to the Italian—it is also practically confirmed by information in the possession of the French General Staff. It is positively known, for example, that during October every company of the Woyrsch army contributed 20 men apiece, making 15,000 men in all, who were sent to bases in Belgium. On Oct. 16, 900 men of the 18th Landwehr Division also left for the same destination. On the 20th the 3d and 4th Landwehr Divisions each contributed 1,500 men.

Transfer a Slow Process

It is officially estimated that the movement westward amounted to a total of 10,000 Germans in October, 20,000 in November, and possibly 45,000 in December and January, with a declining ratio for the last month. To date, therefore, (Jan. 23, 1918,) the Germans have shifted about 75,000 men from the eastern to the western front. But they represent skeleton detachments of not more than fifty divisions, whose complement is now being provided by transfers and new recruits at their western posts, and which will ultimately reach a strength of probably not more than 650,000 or 750,000 men.

The German front in Russia, 450 miles long, was held by the Riga army with headquarters at Friedrichstadt, the VIII

Army, the X Army, the XII Army, the IX Army, and some Bavarian detachments encircling Pinsk—in all forty-eight divisions of infantry and ten of cavalry, with an aggregate maximum strength of 1,200,000 men. It is unnecessary, at this time, to give the strength of the Austrians, Bulgars, and Turks south on the remainder of the line, for only that of the Austrians is vital, and little of it will be left after deducting their engaged force in Italy from their total man power, in the proper place. Only one thing is certain, the 1,200,000 Germans on the Russian front have been reduced by 75,000 men, and can still further be reduced at a maximum rate of 20,000 or 25,000 men a month—a figure depending upon several elements, the attitude of Russia, the resources of transit, and the resources of food and munitions. There is no question of the west being well supplied with munitions, but how about the food daily required to support an additional army suddenly thrust upon it?

Two Concentration Areas

According to German strategy, which is necessarily based upon German tactics—for you have to get an army to a given place before it can be manoeuvred—there are two general points of concentration on the western front: These are from the North Sea to where the British link up with the main French army at St. Quentin, and the Verdun front, including the western side of the St. Mihiel salient. There is an exception, however, also one seeming paradox, both of which must be borne in mind. The railway facilities on the Lorraine front, between Metz and Strassburg, are nearly, if not quite, as great as those behind the Flanders and Aisne fronts, while the fact that from April 16 until the last of July, 1917, the Imperial Crown Prince employed seventy-one divisions in Aisne and Champagne would seem to show that the transportation service on the lower western front was of the best.

The fact is that nearly all these troops came from the northern part of the front, and their movements along the line were not dependent upon Germany's main railway systems. As to the Lor-

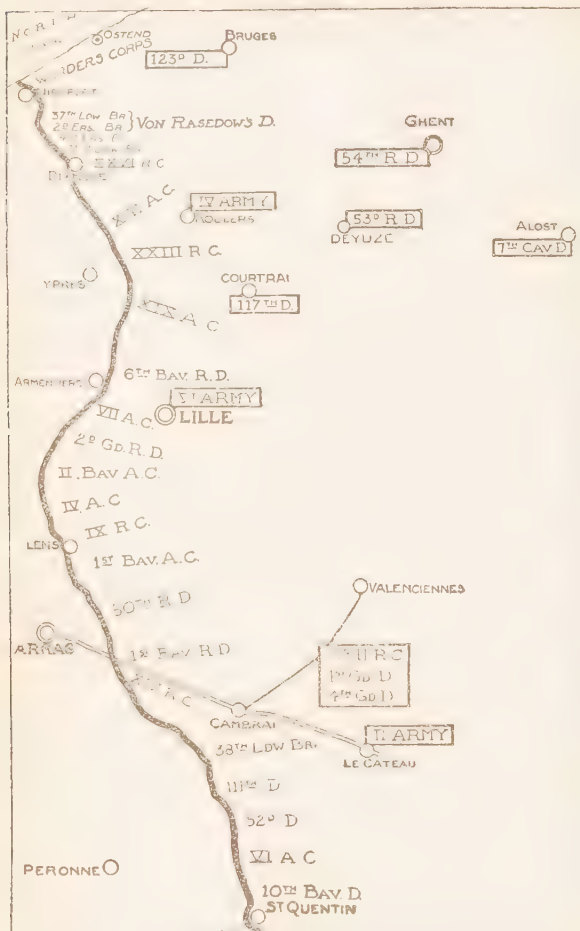
raine front, after September, 1914, German strategy has not, for very obvious reasons, seen fit to avail itself of the tactical advantages of this region. And to the southeast, in Alsace, with its mountains, we have a duplication in topography of the terrain of Ardenne, which is situated between the Departments of Aisne and Meuse, in the centre of which Verdun is situated.

Flanders and Verdun Fronts

Of the entire front, with all its salients of 460 miles, the British hold only about 135, but that 135 miles, save for the Verdun front from the Argonne Forest around to St. Mihiel, a distance of fifty-five miles, is more vitally exposed, both tactically and strategically, than the entire remainder of the front. The distribution of German railways and the casualties sustained in defensive operations prove this.

Now if we subtract from the entire line the vital front from the North Sea south to St. Quentin—held not only by the British Army but also for fifteen miles by the Belgian, and by some French detachments north of Ypres—plus the Verdun front, we have a remainder of 270 miles, which is normally held by the Germans at the rate of 5,000 men to the mile, making in all a total of 1,350,000 men, including reserves.

By drawing particular attention to the Flanders and Verdun fronts there is no desire to deprecate the front running through Aisne into Ardenne—north of the famous Chemin des Dames into Champagne—or that of Lorraine, but the strategy of the one and the tactics of the other have been fully indicated, and do not enter into the subject of the distribution of troops on a large scale, based on our present knowledge of Germany's plans. The Chemin des Dames seems to be as permanently lost to the Germans as is Verdun, while the tactical advantages of Lorraine have not, as has been said, since the beginning of the war appealed to German strategy. On the other hand, both the Flanders and the northern Aisne line and the line around Verdun can be in a few hours prodigiously reinforced from the great Rhenish depots of men and material—the for-



LOCATION OF GERMAN TROOPS TRANSFERRED FROM RUSSIA TO WESTERN FRONT. (JAN. 18, 1918.)

Key to abbreviations: A. C., Active Corps; R. C., Reserve Corps; I. D., Infantry Division; R. D., Reserve Division; Ldw., Landwehr; Ers., Ersatz, (Duplicate); Bri., Brigade; Bav., Bavarian; Gd., Guard.

mer from Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Coblenz, Mainz, and Frankfort, and the latter from Mannheim, Metz, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, and Strassburg, where the VII, IX, X, VIII, XIV, XIII, XVI, and XV Army Corps were so perfectly prepared for the war.

From the Sea to St. Quentin

The insignia on a prisoner's uniform reveals the number of his command, while his bases of supplies and concentration in the rear are known through letters found on him, by aerial observation, and through spies. It has thus been

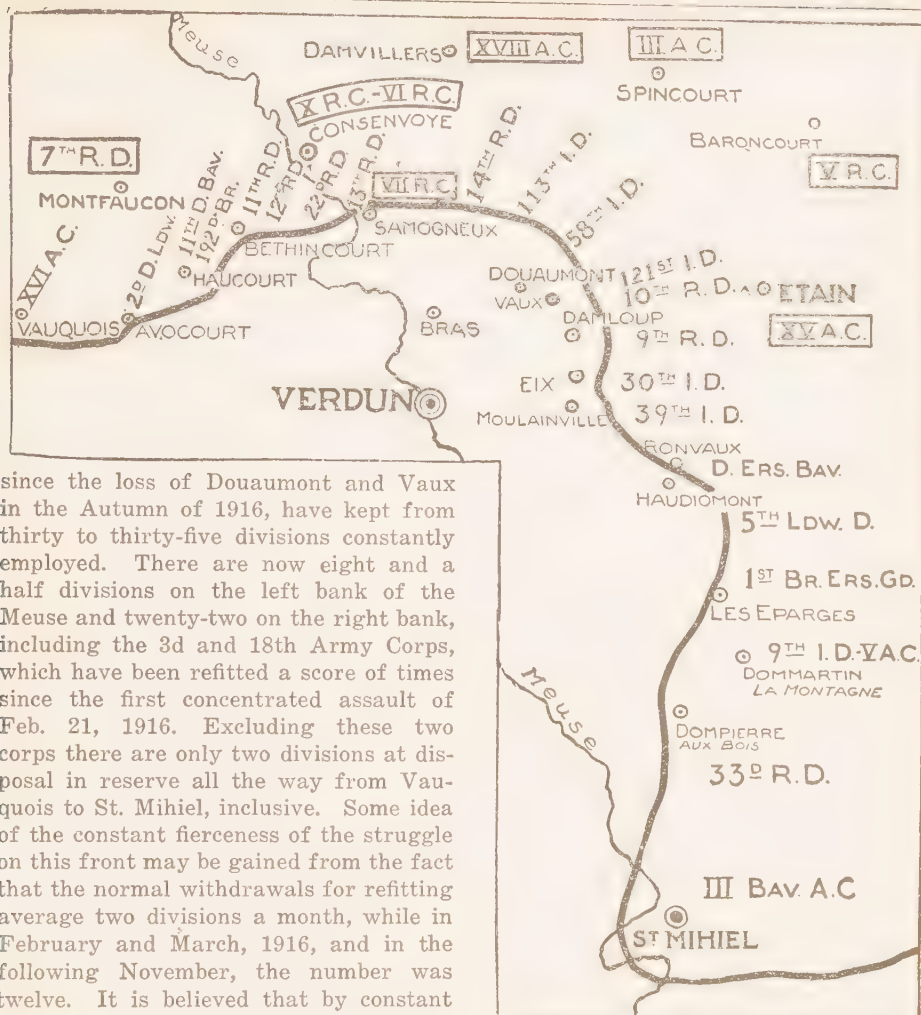
ascertained that the front from the sea to St. Quentin is held by the 4th, 6th, and 2d German armies, with headquarters respectively at Roulers, Lille, and Le Cateau, (the last formerly at St. Quentin.) These armies in the "ordre de bataille" given on the accompanying diagram are composed of forty divisions excluding cavalry. Now if these divisions are at full strength—as we must assume they are after a month or so of relative inactivity—they number not less than 800,000 of all ranks in the aggregate, and the number may represent in combatants 500,000 men and over 3,000 guns.

From north to south the German armies and special groupings include the Naval Corps, Werder's Corps, two and a half Landwehr and Ersatz (duplicate) divisions, facing the British naval battalions and the Belgians, and the 26th Reserve Corps facing the French north of Ypres. The remainder face the British. Toward the end of December the following troops were billeted in reserve: The 123d Division at Bruges, the 54th Reserve Division at Ghent, the 53d Reserve Division at Deynze, the 7th Cavalry Division near Alost,

the 117th Division at Courtrai, and the 22d Reserve Corps, the 1st Guard Division, and the 4th Guard Division at Valenciennes and Cambrai. Another reserve division was stationed in the villages east of St. Quentin, but since the beginning of the year it has been transferred elsewhere. Thus, there are about 1,000,000 men on or within immediate striking distance of the front in question—a front of 135 miles mainly held by the British.

German Forces at Verdun

On the Verdun front the Germans,



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF GERMAN DIVISIONS SHIFTED FROM RUSSIA TO VERDUN SECTOR. (JAN. 18, 1918).

For key to abbreviations see opposite page.

since the loss of Douaumont and Vaux in the Autumn of 1916, have kept from thirty to thirty-five divisions constantly employed. There are now eight and a half divisions on the left bank of the Meuse and twenty-two on the right bank, including the 3d and 18th Army Corps, which have been refitted a score of times since the first concentrated assault of Feb. 21, 1916. Excluding these two corps there are only two divisions at disposal in reserve all the way from Vauquois to St. Mihiel, inclusive. Some idea of the constant fierceness of the struggle on this front may be gained from the fact that the normal withdrawals for refitting average two divisions a month, while in February and March, 1916, and in the following November, the number was twelve. It is believed that by constant refitting all the German divisions here are kept at their maximum, and that at present there are no fewer than 600,000 men on or near this sector of fifty-five miles.

To recapitulate the German forces on the western front:

Movement of 75,000 men from the east as basis for	750,000
From the sea to St. Quentin	1,000,000
At Verdun	600,000
Elsewhere on the front	1,350,000
Total	3,700,000

From this sum should be subtracted the 65,000 or 70,000 men taken for use in Italy, while to it may in the future be added on the average not more than 35,000 a month from the eastern front, mili-

tary and transit conditions permitting, until the figure designated by Sir Auckland Geddes, 950,000, is reached. To what extent this figure may be later augmented in the west is not known—probably not in the proportion of from three to twenty-eight, which is characterizing present transits. And so the total of German man power immediately available for all military operations can hardly exceed the force on or near the western front, 3,650,000, plus the remainder on the eastern front, 1,125,000, which gives a total of 4,775,000 men.

Map of Germany's Railway System

FORCES BACK OF THE LINES — GERMAN ARMY DIVISIONS FROM THE EASTERN FRONT WERE LOCATED AS FOLLOWS IN JANUARY, 1918: AT HAMM, THE 41ST DIVISION; AT ISERLOHN, THE 199TH AND 4TH CAVALRY DIVISIONS; AT DUESSELDORF, THE 108TH DIVISION; AT COLOGNE, THE 21ST ARMY CORPS; AT AIX-LE-CHAPPELLE, THE 75TH AND 80TH RESERVE DIVISIONS; AT COBLENZ, THE 10TH LANDWEHR DIVISION AND 9TH LANDWEHR BRIGADE; AT SAARBURG, THE 89TH DIVISION AND 11TH LANDWEHR DIVISION; AT STUTTGART, THE 88D, 87TH, AND 86TH DIVISIONS.

SCALE OF MAP: 80 ENGLISH MILES TO THE INCH.



Total German Man Power

These are purely military figures. Let us see how they correspond with those of vital statistics obtained principally from German sources. The German man power available since the war began has been 14,000,000. There have been mobilized for active military service, including the entire class of 1919 recruits, 10,650,000; of these 4,000,000 have been definitely lost, as dead, prisoners, or permanently injured. (French and British experts say this figure will run into 6,000,000, but the minimum is here adopted.) The difference shows, in active service, 6,650,000 men. Now the difference between the military figure of 4,775,000 and the civil figure of 6,650,000, which is 1,875,000, is not so significant when we consider the military organization of the German Empire, and the fact that the military figure denotes the actual number of troops known to be on or near the various fronts, or preparing for them.

Recent Official Data

Colonel Repington of the British Army announces that "we must expect 'half a million fresh German fighters 'on the west front' and that 'there are 'now 150 German divisions, or about '2,250,000 men, on the west front, and 'about 79 divisions, or about 1,185,000 'men, on the east. From the latter number all those between 19 and 35 are being withdrawn for service on the Franco-British front."

Secretary Baker has information which has enabled him to announce that the German divisions on the western front in the middle of December numbered 154, or within one of the maximum of last July. The Italian General Staff has announced that there are fifty-two enemy divisions, of which seven are German, on the Italian front. In the rear there are said to be four Austro-Hungarian and four German divisions. This total of sixty divisions would give at full strength 1,200,000 men. Now this is hardly possible, as the French General Staff places Austria's total man power at only 1,239,000, thus distributed: One thousand one hundred and seventy battalions of infantry, 240 squadrons of cav-

alry, 2,950 field guns, 1,500 light howitzers, and 922 heavy guns.

German Railway Systems

Before the war Germany had in the west what may be described as two centres of railway concentration, one between the Rhine and the Belgian frontier, and the other between the Rhine and the Lorraine frontier, the latter flanked by Metz and Strassburg. Both terrains were a perfect network of strategic lines. Since the war began she had developed a third, between Metz and the Argonne. The character of this is unknown, but its availability is constantly being demonstrated on the Verdun front.

Between the two original terrains of railway concentration there is a wedge thrust between Belgium and France, whose vertex is at St. Quentin. Here also the railways have been greatly increased and expanded. The lines Cologne-Liège-Namur-Maubeuge-St. Quentin and Liège-Luxemburg-Diedenhofen each has four sets of rails, as also has the short line Treves-Luxemburg. The junctions at Metz, Mézières, Herson, and Marloie have greatly increased their number of sidings.

Aside from the foregoing systems or, in certain instances, included in them, there are five main arteries which are always kept open for military service. They radiate from the front to the great Rhine military stations, as follows: (1) Cambrai to Aix-la-Chapelle, via Valenciennes, Mons, Brussels, and Liège; (2) St. Quentin also to Aix, via Maubeuge, Namur, and Liège; (3) Laon to Aix, via Vervins, Givet, and Namur; (4) from beyond Rheims to Aix, via Reims, Mézières, Givet, Dinant, and Namur; (5) from beyond Verdun at least three lines, probably more, which lead directly or indirectly to Coblenz, Mainz, and Frankfurt. The central system of the trans-German lines from Russia is distributed at these three cities; the northern is concentrated at Cologne, which is connected with Aix by a four-rail line; the southern at some point between Saarbrück and the Rhine divides, and covers Strassburg and Metz.

Since the war began it is estimated that Germany's 37,441 miles of railway

have been increased to nearly 40,000. Of the total a mileage between 6,000 and 7,000 is available for military transportation east and west. Beyond the Russian frontier, 1,500 miles from the western front, the three systems reach Riga via Königsberg, and Grondo, Pinsk, and Lutzk via Warsaw.

In the first year of the war it was a comparatively easy matter to send troops from the west to East Prussia or Posen and back again, although each army corps required twenty-six trains; but now the Russian transit is added. There-

in lies the great obstacle to a rapid movement of troops from the east to the west. The rate of 75,000 men in about four months' time is not likely to be increased, particularly as the worst part of the journey is from the Russian front to the Russo-German frontier, and as long as Russia is what she is the occupied territory must be held by a strong arm. After all, would Germany, as Sir Auckland Geddes says, actually reduce her army in Russia, in present conditions, to 250,000 men (1,200,000 minus 950,000)? It seems extremely unlikely.

A Thousand Ships in the United States Navy

Secretary Daniels, giving evidence before the House Sub-Committee on Naval Affairs on Dec. 19, 1917, stated that the navy has more than a thousand ships in commission, as against 300 two years ago; that 424 were in course of construction, this figure not including 350 submarine chasers, and that contracts were being let for hundreds of other craft.

Mr. Daniels explained that of 496 contracts made since April 1 last, only 62 had been on a basis of cost plus 10 per cent. Of \$70,000,000 worth of contracts, exclusive of ships, \$26,600,000 had been on the 10 per cent. plus basis and \$43,400,000 in the usual way.

The Secretary praised the co-ordination between the personnel of the navy and the personnel of the Allies. One of the great problems, he said, was to furnish gun crews to merchant ships. "We made these reserve ships," said Mr. Daniels, "a school for gunners, and the efficiency with which these officers have taken hold of the young men and made the young men efficient is really one of the big things of the navy in this war.

We have put guns on every ship going into submarine war zones that requested it."

Rear Admiral McGowan, Chief of the Naval Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, who also gave evidence, said that since April 1 last \$317,000,000 had passed through his hands as Chief of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts for supplies exclusive of battleships, armorplate, and the like. Of this amount all had been expended after competitive bidding except about \$19,000,000. The present purchases of his bureau aggregated about a million a day, including Sundays. Excellent transportation facilities had been furnished by the railroads. While a fast freight service had not been maintained, there was a continuous service to the Government yards. This service was maintained because the railroads knew the navy had not abused the practice of marking trivial shipments "urgent." "We are still having our transportation handled expeditiously," he added. "We are getting 100 per cent. service from the railroads."



Military Events of the Month

From Dec. 18, 1917, to Jan. 17, 1918

UP to the latter half of January the Germans had given no sign of their supposed offensive on the western front, so generally advertised by their press when they began peace negotiations with the Russian de facto Government. The military operations of the month were principally confined to reconnaissance of various sorts on the part of the Allies—land and aerial raids, the searching out of German emplacements by mid-calibre gun-fire, and air excursions in force to the German military camps in the valleys of the Moselle and Rhine. On the other hand, there has been a certain concentration of movements on the part of the enemy on the Cambrai and Verdun sectors. As far as Cambrai is concerned both this activity and the British investigation of their recent defeat there prove that the preceding offensive was merely scotched and not paralyzed. Aerial observation at Verdun has shown that the Germans still maintain a potential offensive force there.

Alpine weather came to the Italian front just in time to prevent the enemy from deploying beyond the passes he had already captured and from taking new heights guarding others. The British and French, under Generals Plumer and Fayolle, have, meanwhile, left their prepared ground on the Adige and achieved important local results with the Italians on the Piave. The Austrian salient at Zenson on the right bank has been wiped out.

As for the more remote battle zones, save that in Palestine, the situation has shown little change. In the middle of January renewed activity by raid and artillery fire was reported from the Macedonian front, where Bulgar encampments northeast of Doiran and in the region of Monastir were attacked or bombarded. But so far Sarraïl's successor has given no other sign.

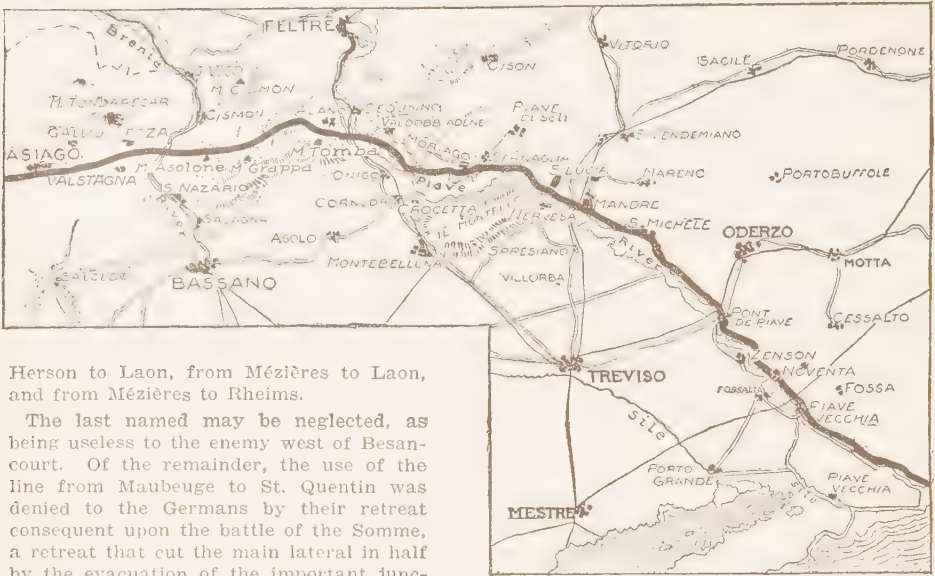
As the British-Egyptian army under General Allenby, with its French, Italian, and Arab auxiliaries, advances north

of Jerusalem on the road to Damascus and Aleppo, the resistance of the Turks becomes more pronounced. On Dec. 28 the elevations of Ras Arkus and Es Suffa, near the Jericho road, were taken only after stubborn fighting. Significant is the fact that between the time of the loss of Jerusalem and their retreat along the Jericho and Naballa roads, a dozen miles beyond the Holy City, in the middle of January, the Turks have lost over 3,000 in killed and severely wounded and less than 1,000 in prisoners.

The reports of war correspondents to the contrary notwithstanding, General Byng has been acquitted of all blame for events at Cambrai. Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, formally announced in the House of Commons on Jan. 15, that as a result of Field Marshal Haig's inquiry the General Staff and Government considered that the British command had not been surprised by the German attack in the Cambrai region on Nov. 30, and that all proper and adequate dispositions had been made to meet it.

An interesting report on the strategic importance of Cambrai after the German recovery, has been penned by Major C. J. C. Sweet, R. G. A. It may serve to explain the paradox as well as the result of Field Marshal Haig's inquiry. In part it reads as follows:

Cambrai is a place of considerable strategic importance, not so much on account of its significance as a manufacturing town and as a point of concentration for German troops as because of its position upon the network of railways that lies behind the German front. * * * At the end of 1914 the railway line from Lille to Rheims was, except for a few miles from Barry-au-Bac to Rheims, entirely in German hands, and it formed the main lateral communication behind the enemy front. It was fed by no fewer than seven double lines of rail from Belgium and the German bases, lines which ran from Tournai to Lille, from Valenciennes to Douai, from Valenciennes to Cambrai, from Maubeuge to St. Quentin, from



BATTLE LINE IN ITALY, JANUARY, 1918

Herson to Laon, from Mézières to Laon, and from Mézières to Rheims.

The last named may be neglected, as being useless to the enemy west of Besan-court. Of the remainder, the use of the line from Maubeuge to St. Quentin was denied to the Germans by their retreat consequent upon the battle of the Somme, a retreat that cut the main lateral in half by the evacuation of the important junction of Tergnier.

The advance upon Cambrai not only cuts the main lateral again, but renders the feeder from Valenciennes practically useless to the enemy. It must be realized that the actual capture of a railway station is unnecessary, as an advance to within a few miles of it enables artillery to be brought up within range, and a sustained fire of heavy shell upon such a large target is easily sufficient to render it untenable. Efficient observation can be secured from kite-balloons, or the target can be engaged from the map if necessary, rendering the artillery independent of the weather.

The lines of supply to the German armies between Lille and Rheims are thus reduced to four, and their lateral communication is rendered useless from north of Cambrai to south of Tergnier. A long detour is necessary to traffic passing from the northern to the southern sector, or vice versa. Upon such strategic facts rests the real importance of an advance, such as the Cambrai success, rather than upon square miles of territory recovered from the enemy, or upon the number of prisoners and the quantity of stores captured.

On the last day of the old year heavy fighting was resumed on the Cambrai front, where a couple of miles south of Marcoing the Germans were driven out of some trenches they had recently occupied, and Berlin promptly acknowledged the touch. On the following day the Germans, having brought up more guns, attempted to shell the British out, but

failed. On Jan. 4, however, they were more successful, particularly along the Canal du Nord, and the next day they ousted the British from some positions on the Hindenburg line, east of Bullecourt. On the 8th the British recovered all the positions they had lost earlier in the month.

And so it has been throughout the period covered by this review. And what has been true of Cambrai has also been true of other British salients—observation raids and a consolidation of positions, with the imperative conclusion that the British are beginning to practice French tactics by not keeping strong forces of men unnecessarily exposed on their first line.

By Dec. 29 all Belgium and Northern France were under deep snow with the thermometer considerably below freezing point. It was reported on Jan. 9 that Hindenburg had ordered the destruction of 130 villages in Aisne, principally east of St. Quentin. It had recently been learned that the Germans were experimenting with new direct fire 14-inch guns on roller tractors and that these guns had been placed along the Oise River and Canal and the Feronnelle River. The villages said to have been destroyed lie between their emplace-

ments and the front on the St. Quentin Canal.

As the French gradually advance their positions east of the Meuse, northeast of Verdun, the German salient with its vertex at St. Mihiel becomes more important, for its angle embraces the southern end of the Plain of the Woivre—the watershed of the Meuse-Moselle, which is flanked by Metz and Verdun. On Jan. 9, the French troops penetrated on a mile front the eastern leg of the salient north of Seichpray, demolished several German defenses recently erected, and returned with over 100 prisoners. Three days later the Germans tried a liquid fire attack against the French positions to the west, on the right bank of the Meuse, at Chaume Wood, but were dispersed by artillery fire. Another German assault was dispersed a couple of days later on the left bank, at the Côte de l'Oie.

In its general aspects there has been little change in the Regione di Veneto for a month. In the north, from the Setti Comuni, down the valley of the

Brenta, through the passes of Monte Grappa between the Brenta and the Piave, the enemy is still trying to force his way to the plains. On the east he is still trying to secure further footing on the right bank of the Piave. The principal events of the month have been the great snowstorm, which lasted from Dec. 23 till Dec. 31, blocking the enemy's lines of communication not only with the Tyrol but also with the bases beyond the Isonzo; the activities of the French and British on the front, the former in the Monte Tomba region and the latter at Il Montello; and the driving across the Piave, particularly at Zenson, of the enemy from the right bank.

On Dec. 30 the French, after careful artillery preparation, gained Austrian positions between Osteria di Monfenera and Maranzine, and captured 1,348 men, sixty machine guns, seven field pieces, and a number of trench howitzers.

On Christmas eve the British in a raid directed across the Piave from Il Montello, captured their first Austrian prisoner.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From
December 16, 1917, Up to and Including January 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

Congressional inquiries into the military and naval conduct of the war, and into shipping, railroad, and food problems, were held.

Announcement was made on Dec. 20 of the creation of a new American department in the French Government, headed by Jules Cambon, to give attention to the requirements of the American expeditionary forces and other American activities in France.

The Government assumed control of the railroads on Dec. 28. Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo was named by President Wilson as Director General. On Jan. 4 President Wilson addressed Congress on the Government's position and recommended legislation to finance the carriers and protect the stockholders during the war period. Immediately after his address the railroad control bill was introduced in both House and Senate.

Announcement was made on Dec. 30 that Mrs. Norman Whitehouse had been appointed by the Committee on Public Information to go to Switzerland and place before the people there America's side of the war.

Regulations governing the registration of German enemy aliens were issued by the Department of Justice on Dec. 30, and the week of Feb. 4 was set aside for the work.

Press censorship regulations issued by the Committee on Public Information, on Dec. 30, removed the ban on disclosing the identity of troops in the Pershing expeditionary force.

Major Gens. William L. Sibert, William A. Mann, and R. M. Blatchford were relieved of duty in France and assigned to commands at home.

Rear Admiral Fletcher was recalled from duty in the war zone. He was replaced by Rear Admiral Wilson on Jan. 4.

American aviators dropped bombs over the

German lines on Jan. 5, in reprisal for the killing of two American woodcutters in a German bombing expedition.

The United States Supreme Court, in a decision handed down on Jan. 7, upheld the constitutionality of the army draft law.

President Wilson addressed Congress on Jan. 8, outlining America's war aims.

Dr. H. A. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator, issued an order on Jan. 16 directing all factories except those engaged in the production of foodstuffs to suspend operations for a period of five days beginning Jan. 18, and to remain closed on Monday of each week from Jan. 28 to March 25, inclusive.

Daniel Willard resigned as Chairman of the War Industries Board, Jan. 16.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The sinking of the American steamer Harry Luckenbach was announced on Jan. 7. Eight members of the crew were lost. The sailing vessel Monitor was sunk near the Canary Islands.

England's losses for the week ended Dec. 19 included fourteen ships of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended Dec. 26, eleven; for the week ended Jan. 2, eighteen; for the week ended Jan. 9, eighteen, and for the week ended Jan. 16, six. The British armed steamer Stephen Furness was sunk in the Irish Channel on Dec. 22. Six officers and ninety-five men were lost. Three British torpedo-boat destroyers were sunk by torpedoes or mines off the Dutch coast on the night of Dec. 22, with the loss of thirteen officers and 180 men; on Jan. 4 the British hospital ship Riva was sunk in the British Channel. Three members of the crew were lost. A British torpedo-boat destroyer was sunk in the Mediterranean Sea on Jan. 7.

The Norwegian ship Ingrid II. was sunk on Dec. 24. Only four members of the crew were saved. Announcement was made on Dec. 27 that five Norwegian ships had been sunk and thirty sailors lost. The steamer Vigrid was sunk on Jan. 3, and five members of the crew were killed. Twenty-two Norwegian ships, with a tonnage of 32,755, were lost in December by submarines or mines.

The French cruiser Château Renault was sunk in the Mediterranean Sea on Dec. 14, and the submarine which attacked her was later destroyed. France lost nine ships of over 1,600 tons in the week ended Dec. 22 and ten in the week ended Dec. 29. Losses in other weeks amounted to only one or two ships.

French destroyers sank two submarines in the Gulf of Taranto on Dec. 20. An American liner sank two German submarines off the English coast on Dec. 27. A statement was issued by the British Admiralty on Dec. 20, announcing that the average rate of destruction of U-boats was 1.25 a day, or 38 a month, while the

German rate of construction was .75 a day, or about 23 a month.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Dec. 20—German troops in Lorraine repulsed with heavy losses in attack on French lines near Reillon; British lose advanced position northeast of Hargicourt.

Dec. 22—British repulse attacks near the Bapaume-Cambrai road and southeast of Armentières.

Dec. 23—Germans drive in British advanced posts on a 700-yard front northeast of Ypres.

Dec. 28—French repulse German surprise attack near Veho.

Dec. 30—Germans attack Welsh Ridge; are repulsed in the centre, but penetrate British lines north of La Vacquerie and south of Marcoing.

Jan. 1—British repulse German raid northeast of Loos.

Jan. 4—Germans force back four British advanced positions in the Cambrai region.

Jan. 5—British repulse German attacks east of Bullecourt.

Jan. 9—French penetrate German positions on a front of a mile and to a depth of half a mile in front of Flirey and westward to St. Mihiel; 130 villages, mostly in the vicinity of St. Quentin, reported razed by the Germans.

Jan. 12—Two German attacks, accompanied by liquid fire, driven back by French before Chaume Wood.

Jan. 16—Artillery fighting on the Alsatian front between the Thur and Doller Rivers.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

Dec. 18—British seize high ground east of Abu Dis.

Dec. 20-21—British cross the Nahr el Auja and seize six villages near the mouth of the river, and capture Ras ez Zandy, two miles northeast of Bethany.

Dec. 28—British repulse Turkish attacks north and northwest of Jerusalem and advance two and a half miles on a nine-mile front.

Dec. 29—British drive back Turks two miles on a thirteen-mile front north of Jerusalem, taking Ras Arkus, Es Suffa, Ana-taerram, Kulundia, and Beitunia.

Dec. 30—British advance three miles along the Nablus road, and occupy El Bireh.

Dec. 31—British occupy Beitin, El Balua, El Burj, Janieh, and Ras Kerker, and reach Kuleh on the coastal sector.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Dec. 17—Austro-Germans repulsed near San Marino; British launch an attack south of Monte Fontana Secca, but are repulsed.

Dec. 19—Teutons storm Monte Asolone; Italian attacks east of Monte Solarolo break down.

Dec. 21-22—Italians retake ground lost in the region of Monte Asolone.

Dec. 24—Teutons pass Italian positions in the Asiago sector in the region of Buso Valbella, but are stopped at rear positions; Italians expel Austrians from their foothold on the Piave Vecchio, south of Gradenigo.

Dec. 25—Teutons capture Col del Rosso and adjoining heights on the Asiago Plateau.

Dec. 26—Italians recapture Col del Rosso and Monte Valbella, but are forced to give them up; Teutons advance beyond Sosso.

Dec. 31—French infantry, aided by British and Italian artillery and airplanes, successfully storm Monte Tomba positions between Osteria di Monfenera and Maranzine.

Jan. 2—Italians disperse flotilla loaded with Austrian troops attempting to cross the Piave River at Intestadura.

Jan. 5—Italians disperse Teuton troops in the Seren and Calcino Valleys.

Jan. 7—British patrols cross the Piave River at various points; Italians bombard enemy transports and moving columns on the Asiago Plateau.

Jan. 15—Italians deliver surprise attacks in the Monte Asolone region and east of Capo Sile.

Jan. 16—Italians repulse Austrian counterattacks in the Monte Asolone region and east of Capo Sile.

AERIAL RECORD

London was raided by German airplanes on Dec. 18. Ten persons were killed and seventy injured. One German machine was brought down and another was believed to have been destroyed. Another raid occurred on Dec. 21, when one German machine was brought down.

Italian and British airmen destroyed eleven Austro-German airplanes in a fight near Treviso on Dec. 26.

Padua was bombarded on Dec. 28. Thirteen persons were killed and sixty injured. In a second raid, Dec. 30, three persons were killed and three injured, and two churches and many other buildings were damaged. A third raid was made on Dec. 31, when five persons were wounded, the façade of the Padua Cathedral was torn down, and the basilica of the Santo and the Municipal Museum damaged.

Eighteen patients were killed when the Teutons dropped bombs on two hospitals in Castelfranco, Veneto, Jan. 1.

The British bombarded Mannheim on Dec. 24. On Jan. 4 they dropped bombs on Denain, Ledeghem, and the Menin-Roulers railway station. Karlsruhe was bombarded on Jan. 14.

French aviators bombarded many factories in Alsace on Jan. 7.

Berlin announced that the Germans had lost eighty-two German machines in December and the Allies 119.

NAVAL RECORD

Sir Eric Geddes announced in the British

House of Commons on Dec. 17 that one British and five neutral merchantmen, a British destroyer, and four armed trawlers were sunk in the North Sea on Dec. 12 by German destroyers.

Yarmouth was bombarded from the sea on Jan. 14. Five persons were killed and eight injured.

RUSSIA

A Government of Commissioners was formed for the Caucasus, and E. P. Gegechkari, leader of the Social Democrats, was chosen President, Dec. 19.

Peace negotiations between the Central Powers and the Bolshevik Government were begun at Brest-Litovsk on Dec. 22. Count Czernin, in behalf of the Central Powers, proposed an immediate peace without forcible annexations and indemnities. A provisional agreement was reached on Dec. 30 on important points, including the liberation of prisoners of war, resumption of commercial relations and treaty relations, and the German naval delegation at Petrograd reached an agreement with the Bolshevik Government for raising the blockade of the White Sea. On Dec. 31, a hitch occurred in the negotiations when Germany refused to withdraw her troops from the occupied portions of Russia which sought independence. Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, declared Jan. 3 that the Government of Russian workers would not consent to the German peace proposals, but the next day, accompanied by other delegates, he started for Brest-Litovsk and pourparlers were resumed on Jan. 11. On that day Baron von Kühlmann announced that, owing to non-acceptance by all the enemy powers, the Central Powers had withdrawn their offer to conclude a general peace without forcible annexations or indemnities. At the suggestion of Trotzky, the armistice was extended for another month, beginning Jan. 12, and on Jan. 14 the conference adjourned at the behest of von Kühlmann, the delegates of the Central Powers having finally refused to evacuate Courland, Lithuania, Riga, and the islands in the Riga Gulf. Turkey offered free passage of the Dardanelles to Russia, on Jan. 5, in return for Russian evacuation of Turkish territory and the demobilization of the Russian Black Sea Fleet.

Rumanians on the southwestern Russian front joined the Ukrainians in their opposition to the Bolshevik Government, and Lieut. Gen. D. G. Tcherbatcheff, commander of the Russian forces in Rumania, was appointed Commander in Chief of the whole Ukrainian front, Dec. 20. On the same day the Ukrainian Rada sent a negative reply to the Bolshevik ultimatum, demanding that the Ukrainians cease to assist General Kaledine. On Dec. 24, the Bolshevik Government com-

plied with the demand of the Ukrainian Government for the release of the Ukrainian revolutionary staff, which had been arrested on suspicion of being in a plot to give General Kaledine Red Cross supplies. A Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates was established in Ukraine, in opposition to the Rada. It was supported by the Petrograd Council of People's Commissaries. On Jan. 3, the Ukrainian Government sent an ultimatum to the Bolsheviks demanding that they withdraw their troops. An armistice was declared on Jan. 6, and the opposing factions agreed to compromise their differences. Hostilities broke out again, however, and a pitched battle occurred in the streets of Odessa between Ukrainian and Bolshevik troops on Jan. 17.

Chinese troops occupied Harbin, Dec. 26, and imprisoned the Bolshevik force.

Private banks were seized by the Bolsheviks on Dec. 27.

General Kaledine was re-elected Hetman of the Cossacks, Dec. 30.

Rumanian troops were reported to have occupied the Bessarabian town of Loevo on Jan. 2, and to have arrested some Bolshevik leaders, and to have shot others. The Rumanian Minister, Constantine Diamandi, was arrested in Petrograd on Jan. 14, together with his staff, but they were all released on Jan. 16 as the result of a protest by the entire diplomatic corps. The Bolshevik Government sent an ultimatum to Rumania demanding the release of the Bolsheviks arrested in that country for striving to cause disaffection in the Rumanian Army. On Jan. 16 it was reported Lenine ordered that King Ferdinand of Rumania be arrested and sent to Petrograd for imprisonment.

Premier Clemenceau refused to grant passports to Petrograd to Socialist members of the French Chamber of Deputies.

Bessarabia declared its independence as the Moldavian Republic to form part of the Russian Federated Republic, Dec. 30.

The republic of Finland was recognized by Denmark and Norway on January 10, and by Switzerland on Jan. 17.

Announcement was made on Jan. 13 of a revolt of the Black Sea Fleet at Sebastopol, in which four Admirals and fifty-six other officers were slain.

MISCELLANEOUS

A Union Government was returned and conscription confirmed in Canada by elections held on Dec. 18.

Swiss troops on duty on Lake Constance fired on the German lake steamer Kaiser Wilhelm, which entered Swiss territorial waters, on Jan. 2.

Secretary Lansing made public telegrams sent by Count von Luxburg, the German Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, to the Berlin Foreign Office, revealing German intrigue in Argentina. The messages exposed plans for a secret treaty with Chile and Bolivia and for concessions to Argentina in submarine warfare, and mentioned President Irigoyen as a friend of Germany.

Vice Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss was appointed First Sea Lord in England on Dec. 26, to succeed Sir John Jellicoe. A Naval General Staff was created.

Earl Reading was appointed British High Commissioner and Special Ambassador to the United States.

Announcement was made on Dec. 19 that General Sarraill had been recalled as commander of the allied armies at Saloniki. He was succeeded by General Guillaumat.

More than 300 members of the Minority Socialist Party were arrested in Germany on Christmas Eve.

Premier Lloyd George spoke in the British House of Commons on Dec. 20, announcing that complete restoration of the territories occupied by the Central Powers and full compensation for the losses caused were the fundamental bases for peace. On Jan. 5 he addressed the Trade Union Conference in London on war aims.

The Austrian lower House adopted a resolution introduced by the Czechs and South Slavs on Dec. 20, calling for a peace based on the principles of no annexations or indemnities and for the use of Russia's good offices in conveying the proposal to the Entente Governments.

On Dec. 21 a Government bureau for studying questions relating to peace was opened in Berlin, with Dr. Karl Helfferich at the head.

The German Social Democratic Party adopted a resolution indorsing the principle of self-determination and untrammelled expression of will.

President Wilson addressed the United States Congress on Jan. 8 on America's war aims. His statements were indorsed in a declaration issued by British labor representatives the following day.

The British Labor Party issued an appeal to the Russian people and to the people of Central Europe on Jan. 15, accepting the principles of self-determination of peoples and no annexations or indemnities for the British Empire.

Persia opened negotiations with both the Russians and Turks for the evacuation of the country, Jan. 6.

The Hungarian Cabinet resigned, Jan. 16, on account of failure to obtain necessary support for its military program.

Joseph Caillaux, ex-Premier of France, was arrested on Jan. 14. The next day Secretary Lansing made public intercepted dispatches of Count von Bernstorff showing Caillaux's treasonable relations with Germany. Two of his associates, Deputy Louis Loustalot and Paul Comby, a lawyer, were also arrested.

The Month's Submarine Warfare

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 13, 1918]

BRITISH ADMIRALTY figures show that the German U-boat campaign has, with due allowance for weekly fluctuations, continued to maintain its average of destructiveness. Losses of British merchant vessels by submarine and mine during the last five weeks have been:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended Dec. 16, 1917.	14	3	1
Week ended Dec. 23, 1917.	11	1	1
Week ended Dec. 30, 1917.	18	3	—
Week ended Jan. 6, 1918.	18	3	4
Week ended Jan. 13, 1918.	6	2	2
	—	—	—
Total for five weeks...	.67	12	8
	—	—	—
Total previous five weeks.	55	27	5

Incomplete figures for French, Italian, and other sinkings indicate that these losses have been also about the average. In the week ended Dec. 30 nine French ships over 1,600 tons were destroyed. In the week ended Jan. 12 five French vessels were destroyed and two Italian.

The following figures in terms of tonnage were obtained from a reliable source in London:

Tonnage of British seagoing ships, over 1,600 tons, existing in August, 1914.....	16,841,519
Loss by enemy action and otherwise, less new construction, purchases, and captures.....	2,750,000
Remaining Jan. 1, 1918.....	14,091,519

These important figures tell the story accurately of the results of the submarine campaign against British shipping.

During the year 1917 there were 1,000 trawlers used as mine sweepers around the British Isles. They swept an average of 3,000 square miles daily, and during the year they netted 4,600 German mines.

The Navy Department on Dec. 29 made public full details of the sinking of a German submarine by the destroyers Fanning and Nicholson on Nov. 24, 1917. The report reads in part:

At about 4:10 P. M., while escorting a convoy, Coxswain David D. Loomis, lookout of the Fanning, sighted a small peri-

scope some distance off the port bow, extending about a foot out of water and visible for only a few seconds. The Fanning immediately headed for the spot, and about three minutes after the periscope had been sighted dropped a depth charge. The Nicholson also speeded to the position of the submarine, which appeared to be heading toward a merchant vessel in the convoy, and dropped another depth charge.

At that moment the submarine's conning tower appeared on the surface between the Nicholson and the convoy, and the Nicholson fired three shots from her stern gun. The bow of the submarine came up rapidly. She was down by the stern, but righted herself and seemed to increase her speed. The Nicholson cleared, the Fanning headed for the U-boat, firing from the bow gun. After the third shot, the crew of the submarine all came on deck and held up their hands, the submarine surrendering at 4:20 P. M.

The Fanning approached the submarine to pick up the prisoners, with destroyers keeping their batteries trained on the boat. A line was got to the submarine, but in a few minutes she sank. The line was let go, and the crew of the U-boat jumped into the water and swam to the Fanning.

Sinking of the Jacob Jones

The detailed story of the sinking of the United States destroyer Jacob Jones by a German submarine on Dec. 6, 1917, was also given out by the Navy Department. Lieut. Commander David W. Bagley reported that the torpedo struck abreast of a fuel-oil tank, and immediately three large compartments were flooded, the deck over the fuel-oil tank blown off, and the ship and fittings damaged in other ways. The ship quickly settled by the stern, and the engine room was soon flooded. As the radio antennae and mainmast were carried away, and electric power failed immediately, it was not possible to use the radio apparatus. Two signal shots were fired from one of the guns. Immediately after the ship was torpedoed, and it was realized that she would sink, all efforts were bent toward launching rafts and boats, also splinter mats and lifebelts.

As the ship settled, the commanding

officer ran along the deck and ordered everybody to jump overboard. Most of the men who were not killed by the explosion got clear of the ship and reached rafts or wreckage, although a few were seen to be swimming at a considerable distance from the ship, having probably jumped overboard after the torpedo struck the vessel. Eight minutes after being struck the destroyer sank stern first. About fifteen minutes after the ship sank, the submarine came to the surface, approached within half a mile of the rafts, and picked up two survivors, although at the time only one was seen to be taken aboard. The submarine then submerged and was not seen again. Immediately after the sinking the commanding officer, who jumped overboard as the ship sank and was picked up by the motor dory, had efforts made to get all survivors on the rafts and get the rafts and boats together. He then began to make arrangements to reach the nearest land in the motor boat, so as to bring assistance to the survivors on the rafts.

After a very trying trip, during which it was necessary to steer by the stars

and by the direction of the wind, the boat was picked up at 1 o'clock the next afternoon by a small patrol vessel. The senior officer of the station to which this patrol vessel belonged informed Lieut. Commander Bagley that the other survivors had all been rescued.

Nearly three months after the event, the story of a four-hour battle between a German submarine and the American steamer J. L. Luckenbach was given out by the Navy Department. The commander of the naval guard on the steamer reported that the Luckenbach, although hit several times by shells, reached port safely. The submarine fired 225 shots and the Luckenbach 202. In the midst of the battle wireless distress calls sent out by the Luckenbach were picked up by an American destroyer, which replied that it would take two hours to reach the scene, and advised the steamer not to surrender.

Two hours and twenty minutes later the destroyer had arrived close enough to fire its first shot at the submarine, which submerged ten minutes later and disappeared.

Plural Marriages in Germany

A New "Morality" Promulgated in Order to
"Fill the Country's Empty Cradles"

THE world has been slow to accept the reports of the last year or more to the effect that the German Government was tacitly encouraging bigamy or polygamy for the purpose of increasing the future man power of the empire. The evidence on the subject, however, has now reached the point where it becomes tangible. In addition to numerous stories of refugees and letters from women in Germany there are several pamphlets and leaflets which have been widely distributed among the German soldiers without interference from their officers.

One of these pamphlets, in its second edition, bears the date 1917, and is published at Cologne by the firm of Oskar

Müller. It is entitled "The Secondary Marriage as Only Means for the Rapid Creation of a New and Powerful Army and the Purification of Morality." The author, Carl Hermann Torges, says that he is well over 70 years old and has "traveled almost every sea, and worked through life with open eyes." So he "appeals for unprejudiced examination of his proposals, the adoption of which may be expected to lead logically to the desired improvements."

The pamphlet is based upon the future needs of the German Army, because "the military strength of a people depends in part upon the number of men able to bear arms." Germany's heavy losses in the war must be made good,

and at the same time every effort must be made to meet the decline in the birth rate, which was lamented before the war. The writer declares that "the bachelordom of today is a cancer which must be extirpated." He denies that the expense of married life is the main reason why men remain unmarried, and he deals at some length with the economic training of women for marriage. He then leads up to his main proposals with a chapter which declares roundly that "the conception of immorality is relative," and that "good morals are only what the upper classes of society approve." The "facts" are said to give Germany "the justification, in case of necessity, to put the stamp of morality upon what today seems immoral." "In any case, if the falling off in births is to be counteracted, bachelordom must be reduced to the minimum which the circumstances require."

The main proposals are stated as follows:

Women in all classes of society who have reached a certain age are, in the interests of the Fatherland, not only authorized but called upon to enter into a secondary marriage, which is supported by personal inclination. Only a married man may be the object of this inclination, and he must have the consent of his married wife. This condition is necessary in order to prevent the mischief which otherwise might surely be expected.

The offspring of these lawful secondary marriages bear the name of their mother, and are handed over to the care of the State, unless the mother assumes responsibility for them. They are to be regarded in every respect as fully equal members of society. The mothers wear a narrow wedding ring as a sign of their patriotism. The secondary marriage can be dissolved as soon as its object has been attained.

Elsewhere Herr Torges says that he thinks that the objects of his new institution can be fulfilled in twenty years, and that secondary marriages might then be abolished. He ends his pamphlet as follows:

The difficulties consist solely in ethical scruples, which, notwithstanding the issue of the proper regulations by the State, will continue to operate until conscience has disposed of them. Thus this question becomes a religious question, which can be solved only with the help of the clergy. It rests, therefore, with the women and the clergy, assisted by the State, to determine whether Germany shall be able not only to maintain herself on her present

pinnacle of morality, but by her own strength to stand up in the future as in the present to the pressure of enemies who are increasing numerically.

The leaflets distributed to the troops are more simple and direct in their appeal. One entitled "Empty Cradles, a Soldier's Duty," is translated as follows:

Soldiers, a grave danger assails the Fatherland by reason of the dwindling birth rate. The cradles of Germany are empty today; it is your duty to see that they are filled.

You bachelors, when your leave comes, marry at once the girls of your choice. Make her your wife without delay.

The Fatherland needs healthy children.

You married men and your wives should put jealousy from your minds and consider whether you have not also a duty to the Fatherland.

You should consider whether you may not honorably contract an alliance with one of the million of bachelor women. See if your wife will not sanction the relation.

Remember, all of you, the empty cradles of Germany must be filled.

The Aargauer Volksblatt, a Swiss Catholic organ, in December, 1917, published a strong denunciation of the pamphlet on "Secondary Marriages." It declared that several millions of copies of the pamphlet had been distributed *gratis* to the German soldiers in the trenches and to all classes of German women at home, and that the pamphlet had been in circulation for more than six months without a single German newspaper making any protest. The pamphlet was therefore described as a piece of official propaganda "against which the whole civilized world must rise up in indignation." Incidentally, the Aargauer Volksblatt regards this scheme for "breeding soldiers" as a peculiar insult to Catholicism.

The Swiss journal criticises the German pamphlet from every point of view—as utterly immoral, utterly anti-Christian, and as "a brutal insult to the dignity of women." It continues:

We assert that if the German Nation, and all German women in particular, do not repudiate with furious indignation this filthy propaganda on the part of a State which is utterly materialized and has fallen away altogether from every kind of Christian civilization, they are assuming a disgrace that can never be wiped out. We note with satisfaction that the circulation of the pamphlet was im-

mediately forbidden in Austria, although Austria is hardly a garden of lilies and has lost far more men in this war than Germany has lost. * * *

It is deeply regrettable that a nation should think of having recourse to such methods in order to force its domination upon Europe—dedicating children yet unborn to a future massacre of the peoples. This theory proves better than anything else that those peoples are right who say that the German people must be freed from Prussian hegemony by a decisive defeat, and must be cut off from the possibility of bringing yet again such a terrible blood-bath upon mankind. Painful though it may be, such grave aberrations of an utterly Godless doctrine of power, parading under a mask of piety, compel one to draw hard and unflinching conclusions; for above the welfare of a nation stands, after all, the welfare of human society—above all, the moral order.

Before the war both the birth rate and the death rate in Germany were very high, but the net result was an annual addition of about a million to the coun-

try's population. In 1916, according to the figures given by the advocates of lateral marriages, there was an actual decrease of something like 300,000. The causes were not only death in battle, increased infantile mortality, and epidemics, due to underfeeding among adult civilians. There was a marked decrease in the marriage rate, which fell in 1916 by 40 per cent. of the pre-war figures, and has fallen continuously ever since the beginning of the war. Still another cause was the enormous decline in the birth rate, even among married couples who were not separated. The scarcity of food and the exacting kinds of manual labor demanded of women in wartime have had a serious effect upon the productive vitality of the whole nation. The imperialists' plan to revert to concubinage, however, is meeting with silent but determined opposition on the part of legal German wives.

The Caillaux Case in France

Evidence That Led to the Imprisonment and Trial of the Former French Premier

JOSEPH CAILLAUX, former Premier of France, who has long been under suspicion of treasonable activities against his country's prosecution of the war, was at length arrested in Paris on Jan. 14, 1918, and taken to the common prison known as La Santé. The event created an enormous sensation, and was regarded throughout the world as the most important act thus far in the vigorous war policy of the new Premier, M. Clemenceau, who had once served as Foreign Minister in Caillaux's Cabinet. The arrest was due in part to a cablegram from Mr. Lansing, American Secretary of State, furnishing evidence that as far back as 1915 M. Caillaux had been in secret communication with the Berlin Foreign Office.

Caillaux's political career had come to an end immediately after his wife, on March 16, 1914, had entered the office of the Paris Figaro and shot and killed

the editor, Gaston Calmette. The sensational trial which followed, and which was said to mark the lowest point of political morals in modern France, ended in the acquittal of Mme. Caillaux. The great social and financial influence of M. Caillaux continued unbroken. He went into the war as an officer in the Paymaster's department, but within two months he had given grave offense of some kind to both the British and French commands, and was punished by two weeks' confinement in a fortress. Soon after his release, in November, 1914, he sailed for South America and spent most of the Winter in Argentina.

It was believed at the time that he was there on a mission for the French Government, as the possibility of the existence of a pro-German Frenchman had not yet dawned upon the mind of France. Even three years later, when the United States revealed the intercept-

ed dispatches of Ambassador von Bernstorff regarding Caillaux's activities in Argentina, their nature was a surprise. While these dispatches were not conclusive in themselves, they appeared to indicate that Caillaux was at that time in connection with the Berlin Foreign Office through Count Luxburg, the German Minister at Buenos Aires, with the object of concluding peace at any price, so as to permit the resumption of his business enterprises.

Luxburg's dispatches were not sent direct to Berlin, but came through Count von Bernstorff at Washington, who is supposed to have used the Swedish Legation for forwarding them in code. Following is the text of the chief message:

Buenos Aires telegraphed the following:

"Caillaux has left Buenos Aires after a short stay and is going direct to France, evidently on account of the [group undecipherable] scandal, which he regards as a personal attack upon himself. He speaks contemptuously of the President and the rest of the French Government, with the exception of Briand. He sees through the policy of England perfectly. He does not anticipate the complete overthrow of France. He sees in the war now a struggle for existence on the part of England. Although he spoke much of the 'indiscretions and clumsy policy' of the Wilhelmstrasse and professed to believe in German atrocities, he has in essentials hardly changed his political orientation.

"Caillaux welcomed indirect courtesies from me, but emphasized the extreme caution which he is obliged to show, as the French Government, he said, had him watched even here.

"He warns us against the excessive praise bestowed upon him by our papers, especially the *Neue Freie Presse*, and desired, on the other hand, that the Mediterranean and Morocco agreements should be adversely criticised. Our praise injures his position in France. Caillaux's reception here was cool. His report about Brazil had nothing new. On his return to France he will begin to reside in his own constituency. He fears Paris and the fate of Jaurès. BERNSTORFF."

Another message which von Bernstorff forwarded was from Havana and read:

Tol, Rio de Janeiro, telegraphs:

"Steamer *Araguaya* left Buenos Aires Jan. 30. The Captain is carrying important papers. Capture very desirable. Caillaux is on board. In case of capture Caillaux should in an unobtrusive way be treated with courtesy and consideration. Can you inform our cruisers?

"BERNSTORFF."

The instructions of the German censorship to the German press on June 16, 1917, read:

For political reasons, it is urgently requested that nothing be written about the former French Prime Minister Caillaux, and that his name be not mentioned under any circumstances.

Meanwhile M. Caillaux's close relations with German diplomatists in 1915 remained unknown to the world, and he returned to France to resume his work in the Chamber of Deputies, where he had a considerable following. The true nature of his anti-war activities did not become a subject of full-fledged public suspicion until his visit to Italy in December, 1916. The French Ambassador at Rome then communicated to M. Briand, Prime Minister, the fact that M. Caillaux was carrying on an active pacifist propaganda among the Italian Government officials and at the Vatican. M. Briand telegraphed that the Italian Government should feel "absolutely free to act as it sees fit in order to put an end to these intrigues."

On Dec. 22, 1916, the French Naval Attaché at Rome sent his Government a long report of a conversation between Caillaux and an Italian Government official, in which Caillaux predicted that he would shortly be called to power in France and would then sign a peace with Germany. The Attaché's report continued:

He promised that the whole world would be astonished by the advantages which Germany thought of giving to Italy and France; all the bill would be paid by Russia and the Balkans. What did Germany want? The Bagdad line, which she had conquered. She then wanted to make a greater Bulgaria and a great European Turkey. How did that disturb us? Our field of action was in Africa. Serbia would disappear, but that really was all she deserved. Rumania would also disappear, but, after all, it was better that she should pay the breakage bill than we.

The Naval Attaché also reported that M. Caillaux and his wife had been in secret conversation with several of the strongly pacifist prelates at the Vatican.

These dispatches were not given to the French public until the subterranean doings of M. Caillaux had continued another year. In the Summer of 1917 the in-

trigues of Bolo Pacha went on until his arrest in September. About the same time the French Army Intelligence Service uncovered the seditious activities of a pacifist paper called the *Bonnet Rouge*, which had been employed by Caillaux in times past. Miguel Almereyda, the editor, was arrested, and talked of dramatic disclosures that he might make concerning the "Oriental matter." Before he had a chance to make them some one murdered him in his cell. All this occurred while Malvy, Caillaux's old associate, was Minister of the Interior and charged with the duty of suppressing foreign intrigue. He had done nothing to stop it. His dereliction was a cause of the fall of the Ribot Ministry.

Gradually Caillaux's presumptive connection with all these disloyal activities began to be apparent, and M. Clemenceau came into power because he was

believed to be the man to save France from the poison of German intrigue and the peril of defeat. A resolution to deprive M. Caillaux of his parliamentary immunity and place him on trial for high treason was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies, and on Dec. 22, 1917, it was finally passed by a vote of 417 to 2, amid scenes of intense public interest. A similar resolution was adopted with regard to Deputy Louis Loustalot. The vote against Caillaux was almost unanimous, despite the fact that he had just addressed the Chamber in his own defense, declaring: "Never have I tried, directly or indirectly, to come into contact with our enemies. Never have I used subterranean paths to succeed in a foreign policy." At the present writing (Jan. 20) the fate of M. Caillaux apparently depends upon whether he shall be tried before a civil or a military court.

American Soldiers' Graves in France

One of the illustrations in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE shows the graves of the first three soldiers of the American expeditionary force who fell on the French front. After a visit to this sacred spot, Henry Bordeaux, the French novelist, wrote in the Revue Hebdomadaire:

Later on a monument will rise there; later on the name of that obscure village that I cannot reveal now will be known and will resound across the ocean. Pilgrims will come in throngs, even from over the seas, to contemplate the horizon and breathe the air impregnated with the atmosphere of sacrifice and glory that makes peoples strong and individuals audacious and persevering.

Those graves are situated along the stone wall of a little Lorraine village, a tiny village right up next to the front. It is nearly intact, and some of the inhabitants are still sticking to their fire-sides. The church clock marks the hour, though the church bell rings no more.

A shell bursts in the neighborhood from time to time and the peasants pause to listen to the explosion, then go on with

their work. There are cows in the sheds and poultry scratching about the barnyard with assurance.

The church is on a hillside, near a cluster of farm buildings that seem to have been erected upon the site of an ancient stronghold. Stretching away from the buildings there is a high stone wall, alongside which is a line of graves marked with wooden crosses, from which fly the French Tricolor. They are the tombs of French soldiers killed, most of them, at the end of August, 1914, when the Germans, after the battle of Morhange, tried to invade this part of Lorraine, but were repulsed.

There are three more graves, isolated from the rest, in front of the wall where it rises before the buildings, freshly dug, with chrysanthemums not yet faded scattered over them. These are the tombs of the first American soldiers killed during the war on this front for the liberation of the world.

Corporal Gresham and Soldiers Enright and Hay were buried on Nov. 4 in the little village close to the scene of the fight.

Review of the Military Events of 1917

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts and of the United States Naval Institute

IN spite of the disastrous collapse of Rumania in the Fall of 1916, it may truly be said that the military situation was more favorable for the Entente Allies at the beginning of 1917 than at any time since the overturn in 1915. In December, 1916, there had been a change of Government in Great Britain, brought about by dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war, especially the Somme offensive, in which the losses had been out of proportion to the gains. The Asquith Ministry had been superseded by the new War Council, headed by the energetic Lloyd George. Heavy artillery and great quantities of munitions had been prepared. The British military control was in accord with the French Staff, and unity of purpose was thus insured for 1917 on the western front.

"The Russian Army was better equipped in guns, in machine guns, in airplanes, and in munitions than it had ever been during the whole period of the war. For the first time in the whole course of the war the Russian gunners had plenty of ammunition—this year the Russian Army began and was ready with the best equipment any Russian army ever had, and naturally our expectation was that, with a well-equipped and powerful Russian Army pressing on the east, a well-equipped British and French army pressing on the west, and a well-equipped Italian army pressing in Italy, we should have been able to bring such pressure to bear upon the Prussian Army as to inflict a decisive defeat."

These quotations are from Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons Dec. 20, 1917, and they describe the high hopes in official circles at the beginning of 1917. Naturally, these views were shared by the peoples in the countries of the Entente Allies.

Profiting by the experience of the

first unfortunate British expedition up the Tigris, an adequate British army was approaching Bagdad at the beginning of the year. At the same time, from the north, strong Russian forces were working down through Asia Minor and Persia, to co-operate with this British expedition. Bagdad was captured, without serious opposition, by General Maude's British army March 11, 1917, and, counting upon the expected junction with the Russian armies, it was thought that the German "bridge" to the East would soon be broken.

Suddenly the Russian revolution broke forth. The Czar was deposed March 15, and all Russia was paralyzed, so far as any military efficiency was concerned. The gravity of the Russian situation was not realized at first. After some rioting and fighting in the streets, there was very soon a semblance of a regular Government, which misled the officials of the Entente Allies, and many optimistically assumed that the revolution had been anti-German.

The Allied Offensive of 1917

Consequently, all eyes were fixed upon the western front, where in the same month (March) the long-prepared allied offensive was launched against the German positions. As a result of the costly Somme offensive, in the Fall of 1916, there were various awkward bends in the German positions, notably a vulnerable salient in the vicinity of Noyon. It had been planned to mass the new powerful artillery against these sectors from Arras to Soissons, and to make the great assault upon these vulnerable defenses.

Here a new and surprising situation developed, one of the most remarkable even in this war, which has broken away from all precedents. Hindenburg had anticipated that the attack of the Allies would be in this region, and he had with-

drawn to more favorable positions behind the exposed salients. He had left small parties in his trenches to keep up an appearance of defense, and he had moved back his men, his guns, and all his material safely to his prepared new positions before the serious assaults of the Allies had begun.

That the Germans were able to accomplish this, on a front of some sixty miles, unsuspected and unmolested, with the air full of hostile airplanes, is another proof of the fallacy of the belief that aircraft have put an end to surprises in war. Such movements on a large scale have happened so often in this war without being observed that the limitations of the present airplanes as scouts are now evident. Outside of the drawbacks imposed by unfavorable weather, the increased effectiveness of anti-aircraft guns, and camouflage, it must be remembered that, behind all positions in a modern fighting line, there are constant streams of transport trains moving back and forth, under cover of which advances and withdrawals of men and material may be concealed. It was by taking advantage of all these elements of concealment that the Germans were able to make this withdrawal in safety. An attack in force by the Allies while this movement was going on would have been dangerous for the Germans.

The Battle of Arras

But this manoeuvre was not suspected—and the British offensive was started as planned with a heavy bombardment and an advance of troops against the German positions. The easy gains at first aroused suspicions of a trap, but, as the advance went on, it became evident that the Germans had actually yielded terrain without an attempt at defense—leaving for the British a devastated shell-pitted territory. At first this retreat was misunderstood, and there was great exultation in England. Gradually the German defense stiffened, and early in April the British advance first met serious opposition.

To overcome this, a heavy concentration of British artillery and troops was made against the sector between Lens and St. Quentin. These assaults, which

were begun on April 9 and kept up for weeks, have been known as the battle of Arras. At times there were conspicuous local successes, (Vimy Ridge, &c.,) but all the gains were at too great a cost, and this series of actions, like the battle of the Somme, faded away into raiding tactics before the month of May was over.

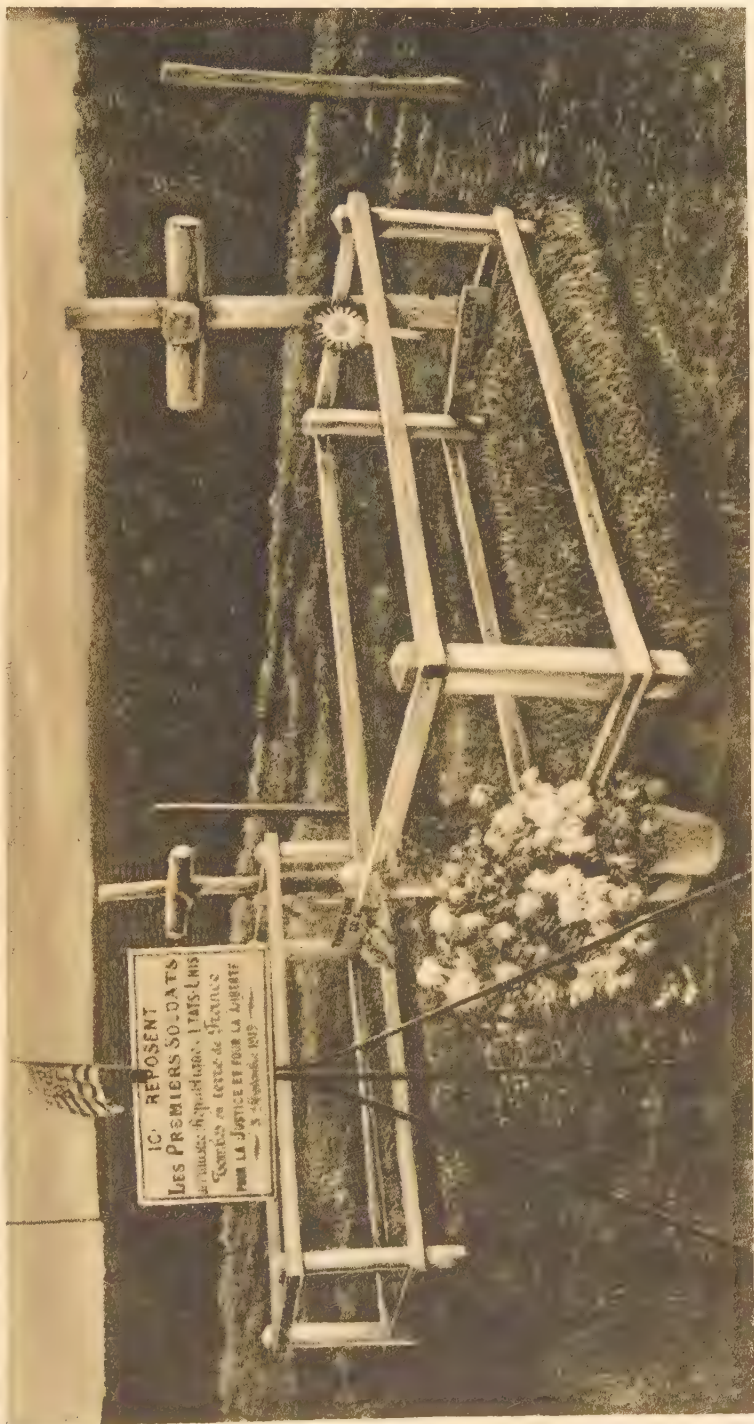
To co-operate with this British attack the French made a sudden and successful assault between Soissons and Rheims, (April 16, 1917,) and their troops scored a spectacular success, taking 17,000 prisoners and seventy-five guns in three days. This initial success was under command of the impetuous General Nivelle, but, when the balance was struck of gains and losses, the French losses were found to have been so great, in proportion to the gains, that General Nivelle was superseded by General Pétain, (May 15, 1917,) who is now in supreme command on the western front.

In the offensives of 1917 the Allies first encountered the so-called "elastic defense" of the Germans, where there were no longer set lines of trenches, but irregularly disposed pits and concrete shelters—the so-called "pillboxes." There is no denying the fact that this method of defense has proved very difficult to overcome, and it is probable that it has decreased the proportion of German losses. These defenses stretch back for miles in a succession of prepared positions, and it is only by applying a new meaning to the word "line" that this portion of the front can now be called the "Hindenburg line."

Blowing Up Messines Ridge

The only other attempt at an offensive by the Entente Allies on the western front, in the first half of the year, was blowing up the Messines salient just south of Ypres, (June 7, 1917.) The position included the towns of Wytschaete and Messines. It is said that preparations for this mine explosion had been going on for nearly two years. A million pounds of high explosives were detonated, and the German salient was blotted out of existence. But there was no serious massing of troops against this

GRAVES OF FIRST AMERICANS KILLED IN FRANCE



The French inscription reads: "Here lie the first soldiers of the illustrious Republic of the United States who fell on French soil for justice and liberty, Nov. 3, 1917." The graves are those of Thomas Enright and Merle D. Hay. The third of the three men who were killed was James B. Gresham.

(© The New York Times.)

AMERICAN SOLDIERS CAPTURED BY THE GERMANS



This photograph has been reproduced from a German magazine and shows some of the first American soldiers taken prisoner being cross-examined by German officers.
(British Official Photograph from Underwood & Underwood.)

point, and no real tactical result followed the first attack.

In May began a great effort of the Italians to follow up their victory of 1916 at Gorizia, and to win Trieste and the Trentino. Their armies made advances over the Isonzo and into the Carso, with offensives on the Asiago Plateau, which aroused great popular enthusiasm in Italy for "Nostra Guerra" to win "Italia Irredenta."

Disintegration in Russia

In the meantime, things had gone very badly in Russia. It is no exaggeration to say that the Russian armies were for four months a debating society, imposing rules and restrictions on orders for duty. In Petrograd there was still a semblance of an orderly Government, with the revolutionist Kerensky at its head. This man undoubtedly had great personal influence, and early in July he went out to the Russian armies, and inspired them to make a feverish offensive in Galicia. Helped by the surprise at such an unexpected attack, and probably also by withdrawals of Teutonic troops to other fronts, the Russians made great gains for awhile, including the capture of Halicz. But when Austro-German reinforcements were brought up against them, the Russian soldiers again became demoralized, and many of them refused to fight, marching away in Galicia without firing a shot. Since this time the Russian armies have been negligible as a factor in the military situation.

As in the French Revolution, only in much less time, the first orderly attempts at government in Russia were swept aside, and the extremists gained control. This ascendancy of the Russian Reds, or Bolsheviki, completed the demoralization of the Russian armies from a military point of view. All ranks and authorities were abolished, and no such thing as discipline existed any longer.

Ruthless Submarine Warfare

On the sea Germany had cast away all respect for international law, and on Feb. 1, 1917, a campaign of unrestricted U-boat warfare was begun against enemies and neutrals alike. This had

been carefully planned, and from the first of the lawless undertaking the submarines proved themselves the most dangerous commerce destroyers in all history. The methods which had been used against them in narrow waters by the allied navies, and too hastily assumed to be sufficient, were found of little value in checking the activities of the submarines on the high seas. Sinkings were recorded on a scale that threatened a great decrease of the merchant tonnage of the world, and it became evident that the U-boat was the most dangerous weapon possessed by the Teutonic Allies. To stop their ravages became the greatest task of the Entente Allies.

Yet this successful use of the U-boats, in defiance of the laws of humanity, soon became a boomerang, because it forced the United States to break off relations with Germany. The most hardened German advocates of ruthless submarine warfare cannot claim that anything has been accomplished by the U-boats sufficient to offset making an enemy of the United States. Soon after this enforced break the German Government was convicted, by the Zimmermann note, of deliberately plotting to disrupt the territory of the United States. This last outrageous act of the German Government united all Americans in the declaration of war against Germany which followed, (April 6, 1917.)

Our Position in the War

The position of the United States is perfectly clear. We had nothing to do with making the conditions which brought on the war. We had committed no hostile act, but had preserved a strict neutrality, and we had attempted to bring about peace between the warring groups. After long patience our nation has been driven into the war by the repeated hostile acts of the German Government, not only by brutal defiance of humanity on the seas, but by proved attempts to incite Mexico and Japan to war with us and take away our territory. Our aims have been so plainly stated that there is no question of selfish gain or conquest. For our entrance into the

war the German people must hold the German Government responsible.

Our first act in the war was to send the help of our navy to the campaign against the illegal submarine warfare, which had been the original cause of our entering the war. The services rendered by Admiral Sims and the American destroyers (in European waters May, 1917) were promptly recognized. A new stimulus was given to the defense against the submarines, and this was much needed.

In response to the urgent appeals of the special mission of the Entente Allies, American troops were sent to France in June, and there followed a steady stream of transports throughout the rest of the year. This dangerous transfer of troops has been wonderfully well handled by the United States Navy.

The Battle of Flanders

As the seriousness of the submarine danger developed, the value of the Belgian coast to the Germans became evident. Early in the war, in the exultation at keeping the Germans from Calais, the strategic value of this strip of coast as a base had not been realized. But, by the middle of 1917, Zeebrugge began to assume large proportions as a tactical objective. The scene of the allied offensive was transferred to Flanders. French troops were sent to this sector to reinforce the British, and on July 31 a new offensive was started on a twenty-mile front from Dixmude to Warneton. This has been called the battle of Flanders, and here some of the most desperate fighting of the year took place.

Ever since the advance along the Belgian coast, in 1914, the Germans have held fast to the position where their line stretches to the sea on the Yser, north of Nieuport. In fact, the only change in this region in 1917 was a German surprise attack, (July 10,) unsuspected by the British aircraft. By keeping their gain the Germans improved their position at this point.

In August the great offensive of the British and French in Flanders won only local successes. Their attacks did not endanger the German positions suf-

ficiently to cause a retreat on the coast, and further south the Germans were able to hold Lens against all attacks. By the first week in September there was a lull in the battle of Flanders.

Italians in the Julian Alps

On the Italian front there had been much activity in the Summer of 1917, and on Aug. 18 began the "great Italian offensive" in the Julian Alps. Here early Italian successes were thought by the Italian people to be the precursors of great victories, and the ambition of the nation leaped toward renewed empire on the Mediterranean.

On the Russian front, throughout the Summer of 1917, the Germans had been chary of provoking hostilities on the southeastern front, but in the north they took advantage of the military and naval weakness of the Russians, easily capturing Riga, (Sept. 2, 1917,) and afterward Dagö Island and Oesel Island at the entrance of the Gulf of Riga, (October, 1917.) Occupying these points of strategic importance increased the German domination of the Baltic Sea.

There had been a lull in the battle of Flanders, but from Sept. 20 the Allies made repeated assaults beyond Ypres. As before, there were local gains. Langemarck, the Ypres-Menin road, &c., are familiar names. But the battle deteriorated into floundering through seas of mud, and the command of the Passchendaele "ridge" is the only strategic result that can be claimed.

The Invasion of Italy

On the Italian front the dreams of Italian conquests were suddenly destroyed by a Hindenburg drive, which was as much of a surprise as those earlier in the war. As in 1916, the collapse of the Russian armies had permitted reinforcement of the Austrian armies, and these replenished forces were launched against the Italians, (Oct. 24, 1917,) in an assault that won back the conquests of two years and a half in as many weeks. Not only were all the Italian gains swept away, but the drive continued far into Venetia.

The first reports of these overwhelming Italian defeats implied demoraliza-

tion of the Italian armies by German propaganda. But the real situation was stated in *L'Homme Libre*, the French Premier Clemenceau's paper, (Nov. 23, 1917,) with the evident intention of giving the truth to the French people. Under the circumstances, this article may be accepted as practically official. It described a faulty disposition of Cadorna's armies,* one facing north, the other facing east, with a gap between in the region of Tolmino. Against this undefended sector was directed the massed assault of the Austro-German armies. The consequent rout of both Italian armies is thus explained. There had been no preparation of positions for defense by the overconfident Cadorna, and the disastrous retreat continued across the Tagliamento, with constantly increasing losses in men and guns, to the Piave, where a stand was at last made. The awful toll of losses in this short campaign (Oct. 24-Nov. 15) rose to 250,000 prisoners and over 2,000 guns.

It is interesting to note that, in this Italian defeat, there was another case of a surprise concentration of great bodies of troops and artillery undetected by the airplane scouts, though the Italian air service is known to be one of the best.

Unity of Military Control

In this extremity Italy appealed for help to Great Britain and France, and both nations responded, after an agreement for "unity of control" had been reached. This agreement made Italy for the first time really one of the Entente Allies, and the operations of the British, French, and Italian Armies were co-ordinated.

It is now known that the strength of the Austro-German Army was much exaggerated in the first reports. It is doubtful if there ever was any great numerical superiority over the Italian armies. Evidently, after the stand of the Italians, with their right on the Piave and their left in the northern mountains, it was necessary for the Teutons to bring up reinforcements and also their heavy guns, which had been unable to keep up with the rapid advance. Here the season

of the year became a great factor. Unusually mild conditions allowed the Austrians to increase their pressure on the Italians in the mountainous regions, and they won many Italian positions and took a toll of prisoners (17,000) in the first half of December. Then severe cold and heavy snows were reported, and the situation changed to the advantage of the Italian defense.

British Attack at Cambrai

In November the battle of Flanders had waned into raiding tactics, but the British had been preparing for a new offensive against the German positions near Cambrai. The plan of assault was novel and ingenious. Taking advantage of darkness and misty weather, a large number of tanks had been aligned for attack, unsuspected by the Germans. Artificial smoke had been added to the concealment of the mist, and in the early dawn of Nov. 20, without any warning from artillery preparation, the sudden British attack, with these tanks to break down entanglements for the infantry, scored a complete surprise and won German positions for a depth of five miles.

Unfortunately, there had been no provision for a strong mobile force to follow up any such success, and the result of the attack was to throw out a salient some twelve miles wide and five miles deep into the German positions. Of course, this salient was very vulnerable, and the question of just what terrain to hold should have been carefully considered. Instead of this, the British attempted to consolidate all their gains. They allowed themselves to be occupied by the attacks in the direction of Inchy and Bournonville, and the Germans in turn were enabled to make a surprise attack on the southern flank of the salient near Gonzeaucourt, (Nov. 30-Dec. 1.) Here the German troops even penetrated to places where construction was going on behind the lines in fancied security. It was at this point that American engineers, so occupied, were involved in the fighting.

As a result of this counterattack, and because of artillery concentrations on the exposed portions of the salient,

* "Nostra Guerra," CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, January, 1918.

(Bourlon Wood, &c.,) the British were compelled to relinquish a great part of their gains and to abandon any threat against Cambrai. The score was nearly even as regards prisoners and captured guns. So great an overturn from the first reports of victory aroused a popular demand for an inquiry, which was promised by the War Office. For the rest of the month of December there was no activity on the western front, except by artillery and airplanes.

Capture of Jerusalem

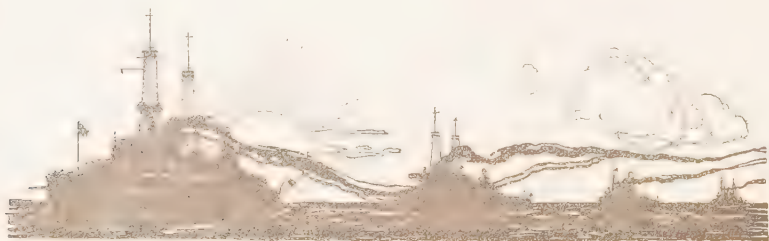
In the East the British expedition from Egypt had worked up through Palestine, and General Allenby's army captured Jerusalem, (Dec. 10, 1917.) Although this cannot be called of great tactical importance in a military sense, yet it must be remembered that Jerusalem is one of the sacred cities, and its capture has had a moral effect in the East.

On the seas the Germans persevered in their submarine campaign, and in spite of optimistic statements at different times by the British Ministers the U-boats continue to do great damage. It was only by increasing vigilance that sinkings could be kept from crippling ocean transportation. There was great dissatisfaction in Great Britain concerning naval conduct, resulting in changes in the British Navy. Sir Eric Geddes, a man of proved energy and resourcefulness, became First Lord of the Admiralty, (Nov. 1, 1917,) and Admiral Wemyss succeeded Admiral Jellicoe as First Sea Lord, (Dec. 26, 1917.) British naval critics express the conviction

that these changes have been of great benefit to their navy.

Russo-German Armistice

A formal armistice was signed between the Teutonic allies and the Russian Bolshevik Government, to be operative from Dec. 17, 1917, to Jan. 14, 1918. As this article deals only with military events, it is only proper to comment on the armistice as regards its influence on the military situation. Most of the press characterized the Russian Reds as pro-German agents. This did not prove to be the case, and consequently the Russian situation took on a somewhat more favorable aspect in a military sense. In the conditions of the armistice the Russian revolutionists insisted that the Germans were "not to carry on operative military transfers on the front from the Baltic to the Black Sea, except such transfers as were already begun up to the moment of signing this agreement." At first it was hastily assumed that this was inoperative, as great transfers of troops had already been started. The point was missed that, if the Bolsheviks had been pro-German agents, they would not have insisted on this condition in the armistice. Then, in the peace negotiations, the Russian Reds refused the German terms, which implied continued occupation of Russian territory—and friction followed between the Teutons and the Russians. This was a distinct improvement of the military situation, as it compelled the Teutonic allies to retain troops on the Russian fronts and delayed the release of prisoners held by the Russians.



Making America's Army Efficient

Secretary Baker's Statement

SEARCHING investigation of the work of the War Department began to engage the attention of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs during the first weeks of 1918. The criticisms made by Senators and by the press evoked from the Secretary of War a statement which, while a defense of his department, also threw light on the progress made in getting America's armies ready for active service. Appearing as a witness before the Senate committee on Jan. 10, Mr. Baker summarized the achievements of the War Department as follows:

1. A large army is in the field and in training; so large that further increments to it can be adequately equipped and trained as rapidly as those already in training can be transported.

2. The army has been enlisted and selected without serious dislocation of the industries of the country.

3. The training of the army is proceeding rapidly and its spirit is high. The subsistence of the army has been above criticism; its initial clothing supply, temporarily inadequate, is now substantially complete, and reserves will rapidly accumulate. Arms of the most modern and effective kind—including artillery, machine guns, automatic rifles, and small arms—have been provided by manufacture or purchase for every soldier in France, and are available for every soldier who can be gotten to France in the year 1918.

4. A substantial army is already in France, where both men and officers have been additionally and specially trained and are ready for active service.

5. Independent lines of communication and supply and vast storage and other facilities are in process of construction in France.

6. Great programs for the manufacture of additional equipment and for the production of new instruments of war have been formulated.

7. No army of similar size in the history of the world has ever been raised, equipped, or trained so quickly. No such provision has ever been made for the comfort, health, and general well-being of an army. The health reports for December, for a variety of reasons, became suddenly less favorable than for the preceding months; but the unfavorable conditions have been met and improvement is already apparent.

Army Numbers 1,539,485

In opening his statement the Secretary said: "In April, 1917, the regular army comprised 5,571 officers and 121,797 enlisted men; the National Guard in Federal service, approximately 3,733 officers and 76,713 enlisted men, and the reserve, 4,000 enlisted men. At that time approximately 2,573 officers were in the reserve on inactive duty, so they could not properly be considered in estimating the strength of the army."

"On Dec. 31, 1917, the regular army consisted of 10,250 officers and 475,000 enlisted men, the National Guard of 10,031 officers and 400,900 enlisted men, the national army of 480,000 men, and the reserve of 84,575 officers and 72,750 enlisted men."

"In other words, in nine months the increase has been from 9,324 officers to 110,835 officers; from 202,510 to 1,428,650 men."

"During the war with Spain, the army of the United States at its maximum strength aggregated 272,000 men and officers. The army now in the field and in training is, therefore, roughly, six times as great as the maximum number under arms in the Spanish-American war. The number already in the military service is one and a half times as large as any force ever mobilized by this nation."

The Secretary of War spoke of the operation of the draft law, in creating the major part of the army, as having proved itself "the economical and efficient way of selecting soldiers." He continued:

"For the training of officers two series of training camps were held, from which about 45,000 officers were commissioned from civil life. This was nearly eight times as great as the number of officers in the regular army in April."

"For the training of the soldiers sixteen cantonments have been built, costing \$134,000,000, with an average profit to

the contractors of 2.98 per cent. These cantonments contain water and sewage facilities, refuse disposal plants, laundries, storehouses, barracks, exchanges, Post Offices, and practically all necessary conveniences, comforts, and safeguards for soldiers.

"The death rate in our forces in the United States, from mid-September to the end of December, averaged 7.5 per thousand, and is slightly less than would have been the death rate of men of the same age at home. In 1898 the death rate per thousand was 20.14, or nearly three times as great. Our death rate in the army during the year 1916, just before the war, was 5 per thousand. Leaving out the deaths due to measles and its complications, our rate among all troops in the United States since Sept. 1 has been about 2 per thousand. That will be the average for the year."

Summary of Expenditures

Regarding the money put at the disposal of the War Department, the Secretary said that in 1915 Congress appropriated for the War Department \$158,000,000; for 1916, \$203,000,000; for 1917, \$403,000,000; for 1918, \$7,527,338,716. Of the appropriation for 1918, the Secretary said, \$3,200,000,000 was for the Ordnance Department. Contracts had already been placed for \$1,677,000,000. On April 1, 1917, the Ordnance Department comprised ninety-seven commissioned officers, while it now had 3,004 officers, and, besides, 26,120 enlisted personnel.

"In addition to the selection and training of this new force, the making of great contracts, and the follow-up necessary in the manufacturing processes, a continuous study of new weapons and instrumentalities had been kept up, a constant contact kept with trained men abroad studying the operation of ordnance material in battle and accordingly modifying designs and plans here by reason of observation and experience," the Secretary said. "The trench warfare material alone involves contracts of \$282,000,000. Some of the contracts cover instruments so modern that our industries had to be adapted to their manufacture.

"For the Quartermaster General's De-

partment in 1918 \$3,018,000,000 was appropriated, or more than four times as much as the 1915 appropriations for all Governmental purposes. On April 1 there were 347 officers in the Quartermaster Corps, while on Jan. 1 last there were 6,431 officers.

"On the first day of January, 1918, nearly \$2,000,000,000 of the appropriation had been obligated by contracts or disbursements. In the woolen goods section alone the co-operation of over 300 mills was involved. This section alone has purchased over 19,000,000 blankets, 20,000,000 yards of overcoating, and over 30,000,000 yards each of shirting flannel and suiting, involving an expenditure of over \$345,000,000. In cotton goods the department has contracted for 250,000,000 yards of various cotton cloths."

Growth of Aviation Corps

The Aviation Division of the Signal Corps on April 1, 1917, Mr. Baker said, consisted of 65 officers and 1,120 men, while on Jan. 1 last it comprised 3,900 officers and 82,120 men. For this division an appropriation was provided aggregating \$744,000,000 for this year.

The Engineer Department, for which, in 1917, \$53,000,000 was appropriated, was allowed in 1918 an appropriation of \$390,000,000, or about 700 per cent. increase. The Secretary added: "There have been organized, trained, and equipped technical troops of foresters, stevedores, and railroad construction and operation men, aggregating about 120,000, many of whom have been operating in France for some months."

Mr. Baker went into the reorganization of the War Department on Dec. 15, when the War Council was created. "The purpose of the council," he explained, "is that its members, being free from the burdens of detail administration, can take a large supervisory view of all questions of organization and supply, and give to the Government the highest value of their talents and experience." After going into the functions of the Council of National Defense, which he described as "a conciliation of conflicts and a survey of the national needs and resources," the Secretary said that the council's work

had been effective. "It has served and is still serving its purpose," he said. "The General Munitions Board and its successor, the War Industries Board, were organized by the Council of National Defense to:

"1. Assign priorities as among the several departments of the Government and the allied Governments in their demands upon the industries of the country.

"2. Advise as to supplies of materials and labor.

"3. Advise on questions of price.

"4. Secure industrial and labor co-operation.

"5. Avoid enhancement of prices, confusion of industry, exhaustion of labor, and generally to prevent all avoidable evils which might result from the speed and magnitude of the new operations.

"The initial rush needs of our army are substantially supplied," Mr. Baker went on. "The technical corps has been expanded and reorganized upon industrial and efficient lines. The co-ordination of ally needs with our own purchases has been effected. An agency exists to prevent conflicts and to adjust those which cannot be prevented. By the co-operation of all interests and all people in the country, the nation is now organized and set to its task with unanimity of spirit and confidence in its powers. More has been done than anybody dared to believe possible."

Reorganizing the General Staff

The creation of a Military War Council, announced on Dec. 15, 1917, was followed by further steps in reorganizing the direction of the army. The council consists of

The Secretary of War.

The Assistant Secretary of War.

The Chief of Staff, (General Tasker H. Bliss.)

The Quartermaster General, (Major Gen. H. G. Sharpe.)

The Chief of Artillery, (Major Gen. Erasmus M. Weaver.)

The Chief of Ordnance, (Major Gen. W. Crozier.)

The Judge Advocate General, who is also Provost Marshal General in Charge of the Selective Draft, (Major Gen. E. H. Crowder.)

Although General Bliss reached the retirement age on Dec. 31, the President decided that he should remain Chief of Staff of the Army, with Major Gen. Bidle as Assistant Chief.

Major Gen. George W. Goethals, it was announced on Dec. 18, was recalled to active duty and appointed Acting Quartermaster General in place of Major Gen. Sharpe. Major Gen. Weaver was relieved by Brig. Gen. Barrette, who became Acting Chief of Coast Artillery, and Brig. Gen. Charles Wheeler became Acting Chief of Ordnance, assuming the duties of Major Gen. Crozier. General Bliss, Chief of Staff, and Major Gen. Crowder, Judge Advocate General, other members of the council, retained their present posts.

The powers of General Goethals were enlarged by his appointment on Jan. 7 as Director of War Department Transportation and Storage in addition to his duties as Acting Quartermaster General. All War Department bureaus previously independent in regard to transportation were directed to co-ordinate their demands through General Goethals, who in turn was henceforth to deal with the Director of Railroads, the Shipping Board, and other centralized agencies for transportation or storage.

Ordnance Reorganization

The Ordnance Department was reorganized by consolidating the five separate organizations among which the functions of the department had so far been distributed, and assigning to the Chief of Ordnance an administrative advisory staff to assist him. This staff was divided into four operating branches, with the principal business functions handled by competent business men. The four divisions are in charge of procurement, production, inspection, and supply. Colonel Samuel McRoberts, formerly executive manager of the National City Bank of New York, was placed at the head of the Procurement Division. The new plan, under which it was proposed to make the bureau a great working unit, was modeled somewhat after the British Ministry of Munitions and represented one of the most radical changes in the administration of the War Department since America entered the war.

Important changes were also made in various commands. Secretary Baker formally announced on Jan. 2 the return

to the United States of Major Gens. William Mann, William L. Sibert, and Richard M. Blatchford, who had been in active command of troops of the American expeditionary army in France. General Mann was assigned to command the Eastern Department; General Sibert to the Southeastern Department, and General Blatchford to serve in the training

camps. Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard succeeded General Sibert in command under General Pershing and Major Gen. Charles T. Menoher replaced General Mann in command of the "Rainbow Division." There were also numerous changes in the commands of the various cantonments, all with a view to increased efficiency.

Major Gen. Crowder on the Draft Law

The large reservoirs of man power available in the United States for use against Germany were disclosed in the first comprehensive report on the operation of the selective draft law, which was submitted by Major Gen. Crowder, Provost Marshal General, and made public on Jan. 3. The General stated his conviction that, in all probability, it would be possible to meet America's military needs by calling to the colors hereafter only the men included in Class 1 of draft registrants. He estimated that the men in this classification accepted for service would reach 1,000,000. By amending the draft law so as to include all men who reached their twenty-first birthday after June 5, 1917, General Crowder believed that at least 700,000 men could be added yearly to the available class. In the interest of fair distribution of the military burden he proposed that the quotas of States or districts be determined on the basis of the number of men in Class 1 and not upon population.

Class 1 comprises single men without dependent relatives, married men who have habitually failed to support their families, who are dependent upon wives for support or not usefully engaged, and whose families are supported by incomes independent of their labor, unskilled farm laborers, unskilled industrial laborers, registrants by or in respect of whom no deferred classification is claimed or made, registrants who fail to submit questionnaire and in respect of whom no deferred classification is claimed or made, and all registrants not included in any other division of the schedule.

General Crowder gave these figures of the draft results:

Registrants.	Number.	Ratio P. C.
Total	9,586,508	100
Not called by board.....	6,503,550	67.84
Called by boards.....	3,082,949	32.16

Of the men called by boards, 252,294 failed to appear, being 8.18 per cent. Commenting on these, General Crowder expressed the opinion that there were not more than 50,000 "real slackers." Up to late December only 5,870 arrests had been made of those who had sought to evade registration, and of that number 2,263 were released after having registered. There remained only 2,095 cases to be prosecuted.

A total of 1,057,363 men was certified for service and 687,000 were named in the first call. The Provost Marshal General was ready to supply percentages of this quota more rapidly than the War Department was able to clothe and equip the men.

Discussing the question of extending the age limits for compulsory military service, General Crowder said: "The two most important preliminary inquiries are: What are the numbers of available men in the additional age groups? Which groups can we least afford to draw from?" He stated the available numbers as follows:

MALE POPULATION AVAILABLE, 1918.

	Numbers.
31-45 years, both inclusive, (est.)...	10,683,249
21-30 years, both inclusive, not yet called	6,503,550
18-20 years, both inclusive, (est.)...	3,087,063
Arriving at age 21 between June, 1917, and June, 1918, (est.).....	1,000,000

Inasmuch as most (96 per cent.) of the 18-20 group are not married and most (77 per cent.) of the age 31-45 are married, it will serve sufficiently the purpose

to estimate the number of single persons available in each of the groups, and then to take the probable number of acceptances as shown by the percentage of acceptances in the first draft. This estimated result is as follows:

PROBABLE ACCEPTABLE MEN IN AGE GROUPS

	Gross Number.	Prob. Per. C't of Ac- ceptables.	Net Numbers.
Single males, 21-40, (estimated)	3,525,472	39.41	1,389,388
Single males, 21-30, not yet called	3,354,086	39.41	1,321,845
Single males, 18-20, (estimated)	2,963,581	39.41	1,167,947
Single males arriving at age 21, (estimated)	960,000	39.41	378,336
Total	10,803,139	....	4,257,516

Tables accompanying the report showed many striking results of the draft. Of the 457,713 called up for examination, 76,545 were certified for military service, having voluntarily waived their right to exemption as aliens. Even of the 381,168 exempted, 40 per cent. went out on other grounds than their alien status.

Of the men examined, 730,756, or 23.7 per cent., were rejected for physical reasons. That, it was pointed out,

showed an encouraging improvement in the physical condition of the young men of the nation since the civil war days, for at that time the draft authorities rejected 32 per cent. of all men called on physical grounds.

About half of all the men called, or 1,560,570, claimed exemption. The claims of 78 per cent. of these were granted, showing in the opinion of officials that very few fraudulent claims were filed. Of those exempted, 74 per cent. were released because of dependent relatives, 20 per cent. because they claimed alien birth and nationality, and only 6 per cent. on vocational grounds.

Voluntary enlistment in the regular army of men within the draft age closed on Dec. 15, 1917. When the War Department began the enlistment of the regular army to war strength in April, it set out to obtain 183,898 men. With the close of recruiting offices on Dec. 14, it had obtained 337,247 men, or 153,349 more than war strength.

Except in the American expeditionary force under General Pershing, President Wilson has ruled that in all cases where a court-martial passes sentence of death the penalty is not to be carried out until it has been reviewed by the War Department at Washington.

Selective Draft Law Declared Constitutional

The United States Supreme Court on Jan. 7, 1918, passed upon seven cases arising under the selective draft law, and decided all, excepting those involving the charge of conspiracy, adversely to the men drafted or subject to draft. The constitutionality of the Draft act was sustained against every contention. The decision turned on the construction to be placed on the language of Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution, which provides that Congress has power "to declare war * * * to raise and support armies * * * to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces * * * to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers. * * * " Regard-

ing the contention that Congress has no power to exact enforced military duty by the citizen, the opinion, which was written by Chief Justice White, said:

This but challenges the existence of all power, for Governmental power which has no sanction to it and which can only be exercised provided the citizen consents is in no substantial sense such a power. It is argued, however, that, although this is abstractly true, it is not concretely so because, as compelled military service is repugnant to a free Government and in conflict with all the great guarantees of the Constitution as to individual liberty, it must be assumed that the authority to raise armies was intended to be limited to the right to call an army into existence, counting alone upon the willingness of the citizen to do his duty in time of public need—that is, in time of war. But the premise of this proposition is so devoid of foundation that it leaves not

even a shadow of ground upon which to base the conclusion.

It may not be doubted that the very conception of a just Government and its duty to the citizen includes the reciprocal obligation of the citizen to render military service in case of need and the right to compel it. To do more than state the proposition is absolutely unnecessary in view of the practical illustration afforded by the almost universal legislation to that effect now in force.

The history of draft laws in England and in the American Colonies was given briefly to lead to the statement that one of the first necessities on account of which the Constitution was formed was to provide means of raising armed forces. The decision continued:

The seceding States wrote into the Constitution which was adopted to regulate the Government which they sought to establish in identical words the provision of the Constitution of the United States. And when the right to enforce that instrument, a selective draft law which was enacted not differing in principle from the one here in question, was challenged, its validity was upheld, evidently after great consideration by the courts of Virginia, of Georgia, of Texas, of Alabama, of Mississippi, and of North Carolina, the opinions in some of the cases copiously and critically reviewing the whole grounds which we have stated.

The argument based on the Fourteenth

Amendment was disposed of by the court in the following language:

To avoid all misapprehension we direct attention to that amendment (Fourteenth) for the purpose of pointing out how completely it broadened the national scope of the Government by causing citizenship of the United States to be paramount and dominant.

The contentions that the Draft act delegated to State officials Federal powers, that it vested administrative officers with legislative discretion, and that it conferred judicial powers were all brushed aside by the courts as being wholly without merit. The argument as to religious convictions being a plea against the operation of the draft law was not honored with any discussion by the court, and was simply stated as being a part of the argument for the drafted men. The opinion concluded:

Finally, as we are unable to conceive upon what theory the exaction by the Government from the citizen of the performance of his supreme and noble duty by contributing to the defense of the rights and honor of the nation as the result of a war declared by the great representative body of the people can be said to be the imposition of involuntary moral servitude, in violation of the prohibitions of the Thirteenth Amendment, we are constrained to the conclusion that the contention to that effect is refuted by its mere statement.

An American Camp in England

The principal camp of the United States Army in England is located in one of the most ancient cities of the British Isles. It is a "passing" camp, so called because our men go there after landing on British soil and undergo a sort of quarantine for a week or so; then, their whole unit having been assembled, they depart to be trained in France. The camp is policed by United States marines. The Colonel commanding is an old West Pointer, and his adjutant, a Captain of Marines, is from Annapolis. A number of British officers and soldiers have been assigned to assist the Americans. The camp is described as follows by a British observer:

AS the visitor strolls through the sinuous streets of an ancient city of England he at once notices that a change has come over this quiet place, for it is full of bustle and animation, and the English that is spoken is not uttered with the local intonation. Strange to say, the voices are those of Southerners, and the ear soon becomes accustomed to the "drawl" of the Marylander, of the Alabaman, of the Tennessean, and of the Virginian. Here and there one can detect the "burr" of the Iowan and of the Ohioan. It is but seldom that the peculiar sound of the New Englander's speech strikes the ear. Sauntering along lazily are the "liberty" men—liberty men in

another sense, also, for they come to fight for liberty. They are all young men, clean shaved, clad in well-fitting uniforms, their chinstraps being worn at the back of their heads, if it is permissible to record such a jest. If anything, these lads look solemn, and their features seldom relax into a smile. Whatever their thoughts, they seem to be in dead earnest and in a contemplative mood. Occasionally there goes by an older man who recalls the pictures representing Roman centurions.

If you address them, they answer briefly and to the point. A few "regulars" there are—very few; they belong to that corps d'élite, the United States Marines. Some of them have already seen service in France, and they are employed as police. Their duties are light, it is pleasing to be able to record, for very few "Sammys" take advantage of the fact that "firewater" can be had in the town. At the entrance to the camp three marines are pacing the road, swinging their clubs with all the zest and with the artistic dexterity of a New York east side policeman. The camp is merely a "passing" one; men come there after landing on British soil, and undergo a sort of quarantine for about a week, when they depart to be trained on French territory.

"We don't mind staying here for the Winter, but next Spring must see us off. We don't want to miss the big drive, and a big drive it is going to be next Spring. Cuba, the Philippines, won't be in it with that drive," says a fine Marylander, a Sergeant in the aforesaid marines. Police duty is not to the liking of the American "Cheeks"; he is a "fighter from Fight-town," he complacently remarks. Another thing noticeable in the town is the complete entente which visibly exists between the Americans, the townspeople, and the British Tommies. While mentioning this fact, it may be added that the American officers are emphatic and sincere in their praise of their British confrères, who have helped and are still helping them with zeal and chivalry. Our officers are known as liaison offi-

cers; to the British Tommies they are "Elizas"—their best attempt at pronouncing the French word. It is one more word to be added to what may be called the "Napoo" language, or, rather, dialect. The officers of both nationalities have a mess in common, and young America asks a British Major if it is not a good thing to take hot-water bottles into the trenches as a protection against cold feet. The wily Major is not to be trapped, and so he solemnly asserts that "Personally, I prefer a hot brick; but you have to bring your own heater with you."

A stroll through the lanes of the cantonments compels the visitor to admire the way in which the British authorities have paved the way for our latest allies. A "pharmacy," where the boys can get a pill every day if they want one—"for in wartime a man can have a pill for a sore throat, a broken leg, or any other thing he thinks he has got," remarks the guide—an isolation ward, two or three hospitals, "dry" canteens, messrooms, bathrooms, banks, an express company, clubs, chapels, everything has been provided. The principal medical officer in charge relates an interesting bit of statistics. "I saw long ago that we were going to come in, and so I went to work at once—2,000 of us, that was the number then; 20,000 of us now." In a way, the camp looks something akin to a mining town in Colorado, with its huts as "banks." The only bank not to be found is one wherein poker chips or dice are rattled.

"We are up against a new problem," continues the P.M.O. "We have to think in large numbers now." There is a deal of meaning in that pithy sentence. And, to crown all, he pays our authorities the following compliment, or rather tribute: "Your people have done more than well by us. The camp they have handed over to us is more compact, better built, and healthier than any of our camps at home. The sanitation is absolutely perfect." "That's so," remarks the Colonel. Praise from Sir Hubert indeed!

Railroads Under Government Control

Story of the Drastic Remedy Adopted to Relieve an Impossible Situation Imperiling Our War Activities

THE inability of the railroads of the United States to meet the requirements of the nation's war program under existing conditions led, on Dec. 26, 1917, to the Federal Government's abrupt assumption of full control, and to the adoption of immediate measures to unify the many competing lines in a single national system, to make good the deficiencies in equipment, and generally to secure the free flow of vital freight through the arteries of trade and industry.

The railroad system of the United States is the largest in the world. It is owned by 441 distinct corporations, comprising about 650,000 shareholders. In round numbers, it consists of 260,000 miles of railroad, representing a property investment of \$17,500,000,000, in the operation of which an army of 1,600,000 employes is engaged. The outstanding capital is approximately \$16,000,000,000, of which over \$5,000,000,000 is represented by funded debt. The rolling stock comprises 61,000 locomotives, 2,250,000 freight cars, 52,000 passenger cars, and 95,000 service cars. This great property passed under the nation's control by the President's simple act of issuing, on Dec. 26, a proclamation taking possession of the railroads and vesting their control in the Secretary of the Treasury, William G. McAdoo, as Director General.

The President derived his power from Section 1 of the act of Aug. 29, 1916, which says:

The President, in time of war, is empowered, through the Secretary of War, to take possession and assume control of any system or systems of transportation, or any part thereof, and to utilize the same, to the exclusion as far as may be necessary of all other traffic thereon, for the transfer or transportation of troops, war material and equipment, or for such other purposes connected with the emergency as may be needful or desirable.

The proclamation stated that possession was taken of the railroads as from

noon on Dec. 28, 1917, and that it applied to

each and every system of transportation and the appurtenances thereof located wholly or in part within the boundaries of the continental United States and consisting of railroads, and owned or controlled systems of coastwise and inland transportation, engaged in general transportation, whether operated by steam or by electric power, including also terminals, terminal companies and terminal associations, sleeping and parlor cars, private cars and private car lines, elevators, warehouses, telegraph and telephone lines, and all other equipment and appurtenances commonly used upon or operated as a part of such rail or combined rail and water systems of transportation.

The President further directed that the possession, control, operation, and utilization of such transportation systems shall be exercised by and through William G. McAdoo, who is hereby appointed and designated Director General of Railroads. Said Director may perform the duties imposed upon him so long, and to such extent, as he shall determine, through the boards of Directors, receivers, officers, and employes of said systems of transportation.

Until the Director General provided otherwise, these Directors and officers were to continue doing their work as usual, and all laws and regulations, Federal and State, were to remain in force. Street car and interurban systems were exempted by the proclamation. The property rights of stockholders and others interested in the systems taken over remained unimpaired. The payment of regular dividends and interest on bonds was permitted until the Director General should make new arrangements.

President Wilson's Explanation

Accompanying the proclamation President Wilson issued an explanatory statement, in the course of which he said:

This is a war of resources no less than of men, perhaps even more than of men, and it is necessary for the complete mobilization of our resources that the transportation systems of the country should

be organized and employed under a single authority and a simplified method of co-ordination which have not proved possible under private management and control.

The Committee of Railway Executives who have been co-operating with the Government in this all-important matter have done the utmost that it was possible for them to do; but there were differences that they could neither escape nor neutralize. Complete unity of administration in the present circumstances involves upon occasion and at many points a serious dislocation of earnings, and the committee was of course without power or authority to rearrange charges or effect proper compensations and adjustments of earnings. Several roads which were willingly and with admirable public spirit accepting the orders of the committee have already suffered from these circumstances, and should not be required to suffer further. In mere fairness to them the full authority of the Government must be substituted.

The public interest must be first served and, in addition, the financial interests of the Government and the financial interests of the railways must be brought under a common direction. The financial operations of the railways need not then interfere with the borrowings of the Government, and they themselves can be conducted at a great advantage. Investors in railway securities may rest assured that their rights and interests will be as scrupulously looked after by the Government as they could be by the Directors of the several railway systems. Immediately upon the reassembling of Congress I shall recommend that these definite guarantees be given.

The Secretary of War and I are agreed that, all the circumstances being taken into consideration, the best results can be obtained under the immediate executive direction of the Hon. William G. McAdoo, whose practical experience peculiarly fits him for the service and whose authority as Secretary of the Treasury will enable him to co-ordinate as no other man could the many financial interests which will be involved and which might, unless systematically directed, suffer very embarrassing entanglements.

Message to Congress

The Government plan was further outlined by President Wilson in an address to Congress in joint session on Jan. 4, 1918, recommending legislation to put into complete effect the new system of control and to guarantee to the holders of railroad stocks and bonds that their properties be maintained in as good repair and with as complete equipment as

before. The President recommended as a basis for compensation the average net income of the three years ended June 30, 1917, which, computed from the returns of the Interstate Commerce Commission, was \$1,049,974,977. This basis was assumed in the Administration Railroad bill introduced in both houses immediately after the President's address. It was estimated to amount to about 5½ per cent. yearly dividends.

Following are the more important passages in President Wilson's address to Congress:

It was in the true spirit of America, and it was right, that we should first try to effect the necessary unification under the voluntary action of those who were in charge of the great railway properties, and we did try it. The directors of the railways responded to the need promptly and generously. If I have taken the task out of their hands, it has not been because of any dereliction or failure on their part, but only because there were some things which the Government can do and private management can not. We shall continue to value most highly the advice and assistance of these gentlemen, and I am sure we shall not find them withholding it.

The common administration will be carried out with as little disturbance of the present operating organizations and personnel of the railways as possible. Nothing will be altered or disturbed which it is not necessary to disturb. We are serving the public interest and safeguarding the public safety, but we are also regardless of the interest of those by whom these great properties are owned, and glad to avail ourselves of the experience and trained ability of those who have been managing them.

It is necessary that the transportation of troops and of war materials, of food and of fuel, and of everything that is necessary for the full mobilization of the energies and resources of the country, should be first considered, but it is clearly in the public interest also that the ordinary activities and the normal industrial and commercial life of the country should be interfered with and dislocated as little as possible, and the public may rest assured that the interest and convenience of the private shipper will be as carefully served and safeguarded as it is possible to serve and safeguard it in the present extraordinary circumstances.

While the present authority of the Executive suffices for all purposes of administration, and while, of course, all private interests must for the present give way to the public necessity, it is, I am sure

you will agree with me, right and necessary that the owners and creditors of the railways, the holders of their stocks and bonds, should receive from the Government an unqualified guarantee that their properties will be maintained throughout the period of Federal control in as good repair and as complete equipment as at present, and that the several roads will receive under Federal management such compensation as is equitable and just alike to their owners and to the general public. I would suggest the average net railway operating income of the three years ending June 30, 1917. I earnestly recommend that these guarantees be given by appropriate legislation, and given as promptly as circumstances permit.

I need not point out the essential justice of such guarantees and their great influence and significance as elements in the present financial and industrial situation of the country. Indeed, one of the strong arguments for assuming control of the railroads at this time is the financial argument.

It is necessary that the values of railway securities should be justly and fairly protected, and that the large financial operations every year necessary in connection with the maintenance, operation, and development of the roads should, during the period of the war, be wisely related to the financial operations of the Government.

It is an obligation of public conscience and of public honor that the private interests we disturb should be kept safe from unjust injury, and it is of the utmost consequence to the Government itself that all great financial operations should be stabilized and co-ordinated with the financial operations of the Government.

No borrowing should run athwart the borrowings of the Federal Treasury, and no fundamental industrial values should anywhere be unnecessarily impaired.

In the hands of many thousands of small investors in the country, as well as in national banks, in insurance companies, in savings banks, in trust companies, in financial agencies of every kind, railway securities, the sum total of which runs up to some ten or eleven thousand millions, constitute a vital part of that structure of credit, and the unquestioned solidity of that structure must be maintained.

It is probably too much to expect that even under the unified railway administration, which will now be possible, sufficient economies can be effected in the operation of the railways to make it possible to add to their equipment and extend their operative facilities as much as the present extraordinary demands upon their use will render desirable without resorting to the National Treasury for the funds. If it is not possible, it will, of

course, be necessary to resort to the Congress for grants of money for that purpose.

Features of Railway Bill

The administration measure as presented in the Senate and House was prepared by the Department of Justice and members of the Interstate Commerce Commission. A hint of Government ownership was seen in the last section, which provided that "the Federal control of transportation systems, herein and heretofore provided for, shall continue for and during the period of the war and until Congress shall thereafter order otherwise." Ample provision was made for financing the railroads and guaranteeing them a net annual income equal to the average net income for the three years ended June 30, 1917.

In addition to providing ways for compensation of owners and financing the roads, the bill called for an appropriation of \$500,000,000 as a "revolving fund," to be used for expenses of control, for buying equipment and putting the railroads on an efficient basis as well as building barges and boats for inland and coastwise waterways to be used, if necessary, to supplement railroad transportation. A method was defined as to how the net railway income of the railroads was to be established. During Federal control, depreciation and maintenance of the railroad properties was to be included as part of the operating expenses. Should the railroads refuse to accept the compensation stipulated in the bill it was provided that they could present their claim for additional compensation to a board of three, to be appointed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. If the report of this board did not satisfy the carriers, they might appeal to the Court of Claims.

While the carriers were under Federal control, dividend-paying roads could not increase their dividends above the average of the regular dividends of the three-year period ended June 30, 1917. Railroads which paid no dividends during the stipulated period might pay dividends if the President approved. This section was interpreted as preventing the declaring of extra dividends, such as some railroads

had been accustomed to distribute as a "melon" to stockholders.

Effect on Stock Market

The stock market greeted President Wilson's plan for Government operation of the railroads during the war period with the wildest trading in railroad shares on Dec. 27 that had been witnessed in many years. There was a stampede of speculators to buy back stocks which they had previously sold short, the like of which old-time traders said they had never seen before in a railroad bull market. Initial sales in such conservative issues as Baltimore & Ohio, Chesapeake & Ohio, Delaware & Hudson, and the Union Pacific were made at prices from 4 to nearly 16 points above the final quotation on the preceding day, and while more order marked later business, the entire stock list ended the day with net gains running from 3 to more than 11 points. In the space of a few days the market value of stocks alone was written up by more than \$350,000,000 as a response to the guarantee of pre-war earnings.

The taking over of the railroads was favorably received in banking circles. The President's action was hailed as the turning point in the Government's attitude toward railroad corporations and holders of railroad securities. J. P. Morgan said:

In my opinion the President's action should be a great relief to the situation. The railroads, with every desire to help as much as possible in winning the war, have found themselves hampered by division of authority and by the competitive policy imposed on them by law. As this situation could only be relieved by Federal action it is a great satisfaction to see that action taken.

Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank and Chairman of the National War Savings Committee, said in a speech on Jan. 7:

I do not regard the breakdown of the railroads as an indictment of private ownership of railroads. Rather than that, it is an indictment of Government control of railroads in the form that we have had it. The breakdown did not come on Dec. 28; it started far back of that in the unfair treatment that railroads have had.

It lies in the impossible situation in which the railroads were placed, with in-

creasing costs of operation, rapidly increasing wages, higher cost of living in every particular, without any adequate increase in their income. It looks as if the railroads have passed permanently from private control in the form that we have known it. Whether or not that is a good thing must now remain to be seen.

The great thing that has been accomplished up to this moment is to wipe out the prohibitions that have been laid upon the railroads. These prohibitions, compelling competition, preventing co-operation, made them less efficient than they otherwise would have been, probably very much less efficient. We shall see how much more efficient they are with those prohibitions removed.

We have come into a new world, absolutely a new world, in which we have cut loose from experience, from all lessons of precedents. We are seeing the development of a type of State socialism the world over. We see not only our railroad control, but price-fixing, and fuel administration, the hand of the Government reaching into business in innumerable novel ways, the outcome of which no man can tell.

Imperative as a War Measure

The decision by President Wilson to extend the Government functions to cover the operation of the carriers was reached only because the vigorous prosecution of the war could not be effected while congestion in the country's principal arteries of trade was becoming daily more pronounced. The great increase in activity which the industrial centres of the East experienced as a direct result of the expenditures here by the Allies of more than \$3,000,000,000 for war supplies, accompanied by some marked shifting of the points of greatest density in traffic and by a very large addition to the normal passenger movement, put an extraordinarily large increase upon the Eastern roads, and, as nearly all the war freight was intended for shipment through a few points on the Atlantic seaboard, serious congestion had arisen at these terminals before the United States declared war. So heavy was the tonnage offered the lines reaching the principal ports that from time to time embargoes had to be laid through sheer inability of the carriers to accommodate all the thousands of loaded cars which were backed up awaiting transfer of their contents to ships. The unavoidable consequence of this con-

dition was the withdrawal of many thousands of cars from lines in other sections of the country which became locked in the traffic blockade for weeks at a time, and inability of the railroads to withdraw cars for the usual repairs.

Complications and the Remedy

Up to early Summer of 1917 the situation was uncomfortable but not dangerous. The railroads were handling a vastly augmented volume of business, and had they been able to get trains unloaded promptly at points of destination they would have been able to move new business about as fast as it was offered. The declaration of war by the United States suddenly added tremendous new burdens. It was not long before the railroads were called upon to carry thousands of carloads of lumber for the construction of cantonments; raw materials to mills and factories that were being turned to war work; finished products to the various Quartermasters' Departments, and thousands of men to the various training camps.

To meet the new difficulties the railroads named a War Board, to have headquarters in Washington, and agreed to abide by its orders. From that there soon grew up the evil of priority tags, every Government official attempting to speed up materials required for his department by obtaining preference for them over ordinary commercial freight. The priority freight soon far exceeded in volume that over which the freight handlers could exercise their own discretion, with the result that a much more serious transportation deadlock developed.

Numerous conferences were held in Washington between railway executives and Government authorities, which developed, first, the fact that railway men themselves could not agree on a way to increase the freedom of train movement by pooling facilities—at least while the old limitations of law and regulation were maintained—and, secondly, that they could not reach an understanding with the Administration. The President cut straight through the greater part of all artificial barriers by announcing his reluctant decision to have the Govern-

ment take over complete control of all the roads.

Director General's First Acts

Mr. McAdoo, as Director General of Railroads, issued his first order on Dec. 29, pooling all terminals, ports, locomotives, rolling stock, and other transportation facilities. This order was addressed to the railroad executives and employes who were called upon to co-operate. In a supplemental statement Mr. McAdoo announced the selection of Walker D. Hines of New York, Chairman of the Santa Fé, as assistant pro tempore to the Government's Director General. Alfred H. Smith, President of the New York Central, also was named as an assistant in charge of transportation in the Eastern and Northern districts.

The further specific announcement was made by Mr. McAdoo that immediate action must be taken to end congestion of traffic in the great railroad terminals in New York City and Chicago, because that situation had proved one of the most embarrassing to the railroads. All lines entering these centres or contributing to the traffic into them would henceforth, as part of the national system, have equal rights to the use of any trackage or water terminal facilities. Passenger as well as freight traffic was included in the plan to be put in operation at once, thus wiping out the identity of the great Pennsylvania terminal station in New York and placing at the disposal of all railroads which had in the past appeared as competing lines the use of the Pennsylvania tubes under the Hudson River.

Another important development was the abolition on Dec. 31 of the Railroads' War Board and the appointment by the Director General of an advisory board, or cabinet, to assist him. Mr. McAdoo announced the following as the personnel of the board:

JOHN SKELTON WILLIAMS, Controller of the Currency.

HALE HOLDEN, President of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad.

HENRY WALTERS, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Coast Line.

EDWARDS CHAMBERS, Vice President of the Santa Fé Railroad and head of the Transportation Division of the United States Food Administration.

THE UNITED STATES NAVY ON WAR SERVICE



An armed guard supplied by the navy for the protection of merchant vessels at practice.

(© Committee on Public Information.)



Crew of a German submarine surrendering to the U. S. destroyer Fanning, Nov. 24, 1917.

(© Committee on Public Information.)

AMERICAN WOMEN DOING WAR WORK



Operating a bolt-threading machine in a railroad workshop.

(Photo Paul Thompson.)



Sewing linen over the frame of an airplane wing.

(© Underwood & Underwood.)



Car conductors who have replaced men on the Broadway street cars in New York City.

(Photo Western Newspaper Union.)

WALKER D. HINES, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Santa Fé and Assistant to the Director General of Railroads.

Mr. Williams was assigned to deal with the financial problems involved in Government direction of the railroads, while specific duties involving traffic, transportation, and other phases of the problem were allotted to the other members. Mr. McAdoo announced that until further notice Mr. Holden would take over the office files and assume direction of the committees and sub-committees until then a part of the staff of the Railroads' War Board, including the Committee on Car Service of the American Railway Association. Mr. Holden was the only member of the Railroads' War Board appointed to the new cabinet of the Director General. The others, executive heads of great railroad lines, returned to their headquarters and assumed the duties they carried on before the Railroads' War Board was formed. They were Fairfax Harrison, President of the Southern Railway; Howard Elliott of the New Haven lines; Julius Kruttschnitt, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Southern Pacific, and Samuel Rea, President of the Pennsylvania.

Adjusting the Wage Problem

The labor phase of the great change was the subject of a conference on Jan. 4, 1918, between Mr. McAdoo and representatives of the four railroad brotherhoods as to the relations of the workers to the railroads while under Government control and demands for higher wages. In a statement, issued after the conference, Mr. McAdoo said:

As a result of the discussion I have determined to appoint a committee of four representative men, whose reputations will be a guarantee of fair dealing to all, to make a full investigation of the whole matter and report their findings and conclusions to me at the earliest possible moment. As soon as the committee makes a report the Director General will render a decision which will be effective as to wages from Jan. 1, 1918. Every railroad employe is now in effect a Government employe, and as much in duty bound to

give his best service to his country as if he wore the uniform of the United States Army and occupied the trenches at the front.

Mr. McAdoo's comment in giving out the statement was: "I am going to give them a square deal, and that is all they want and all that I can give."

Practical Effects of Change

Government control of the railroads began to make its effects manifest from the first moment. In addition to the order issued by the Director General pooling facilities, vigorous measures were taken to relieve congestion, which was especially bad in the Eastern States. Traffic was ordered to be moved by the shortest routes regardless of shippers' desires or the profit or convenience of individual lines. Coal was given the right of way, furnishing immediate relief to New York City, the New England States, and other sections which were suffering from a severe fuel shortage. Priority orders were annulled, many long-haul passenger trains were taken off to prevent interference with freight traffic. More than 250 passenger trains were cut out of the schedules of the Eastern roads. The Pennsylvania Railroad tracks, tube under the Hudson River, and station in New York were thrown open to traffic from roads that had been competing rivals, and hundreds of coal cars were rushed through the passenger tube to relieve a temporary fuel crisis.

Another far-reaching order issued by Mr. McAdoo was that dated Jan. 6 to the effect that after Jan. 21 consignees permitting freight to remain on cars beyond a certain time and thus adding to congestion at terminals would be subjected to demurrage rates more than double those formerly in effect. Orders were also sent by Assistant Director Smith, in charge of the Eastern district, for all empty box cars to be sent to wheat producing centres in order to move wheat without delay to the Atlantic sea-coast for shipment to England and France, so as to meet the food shortage in those countries.

Speeding Up the Shipbuilding Program

TO speed up the construction program of the United States Shipping Board and provide housing accommodation for the large numbers of workers employed at Government and private yards, the Secretary of the Treasury on Jan. 4, 1918, sent a request to Congress for an additional appropriation of \$800,000,000, making the total amount authorized \$2,100,000,000.

Previously to this step the Commerce Committee of the Senate had begun on Dec. 21, 1917, to investigate the serious delays which had retarded the work of the board and its subsidiary organization, the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the board, the man on whom the nation depends to carry out the new program, appeared before the Senate committee. He admitted that there had been delays, but declared that the reorganization of the board's Emergency Fleet Corporation for the first time gave the Chairman of the board proper authority and fixed responsibility where it belonged. The dual organization of the board and the corporation had been done away with, and the present General Manager of the corporation answered directly to the Chairman. In response to the committee's request for all data possessed by the Shipping Board on contracts and construction, Mr. Hurley presented a great mass of documents. The contents of these he summed up in a statement which he read to the committee soon after taking the stand.

Mr. Hurley's Statement

"When Admiral Capps and I joined the Emergency Fleet Corporation on July 27, 1917," said Mr. Hurley, "there were under contract 840,900 tons of wooden ships, 207,000 tons of composite ships, and 587,000 tons of steel ships. Since then additional contracts amounting to 3,378,200 tons of steel ships and 504,000 tons of wooden ships have been placed.

"In addition, the Fleet Corporation has rendered financial aid to and is directing the work of extension and development in forty-two yards. The re-

maining new yards are being constructed by private capital. A portion of the contracts placed since July 27 were prepared and practically closed by our predecessors.

"It must be borne in mind that this vast program of construction undertaken in the last nine months was superimposed on a navy program which was the equivalent in dollars, and therefore in shipbuilding effort, of the construction of 2,500,000 tons of merchant shipping. The navy program absorbed practically 70 per cent. of the eighteen prominent yards in existence at the beginning of the war with Germany, the remaining 30 per cent. of these yards being taken up with construction of merchant shipping for both foreign and American account, which was requisitioned under the order of Aug. 3. This tonnage is now being completed under the supervision and control of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

"When we compare the total tonnage under construction for both the navy and the Shipping Board with the greatest annual output of American yards prior to the war, which Homer Ferguson in a recent article puts at 615,000 tons, some conception of the magnitude of our undertaking will be had.

"The contracts of the Emergency Fleet Corporation have been let to 110 shipyards, of which thirty-six existed Jan. 1 and seventy-four have been created since. In addition the Emergency Fleet Corporation has requisitioned the vessels which are building in twenty-two yards in addition to the above, so that the Fleet Corporation is at present controlling work in 132 yards, of which fifty-eight are old and seventy-four are new.

"The big problem is to secure an adequate supply of experienced labor and competent shipyard organizations to direct it."

Creating New Shipyards

Mr. Hurley gave a list of the yards in existence on April 27, the capacity of which had largely been absorbed by the needs of the Navy Department for de-

stroyers and mine sweepers. He then proceeded with his statement.

"It was therefore necessary to meet the needs of the program to construct not only new yards for building wooden ships, but also to construct additional yards for the construction of steel ships. The plan developed by our predecessors to standardize ship design and to build these standard ships in large numbers in specially equipped yards, in which the assembly of material fabricated in structural steel and machine shops could be carried on is sound, and will give a tremendously increased ship production at relatively small expense for new construction, and without carrying with it excessive labor congestion at the yards.

"A considerable portion of the effort thus far has been toward completion of these fabricated and other newly organized plants, the sum expended for this purpose up to Dec. 1 being \$9,651,000. Progress of yard construction is such that we can promise fairly full operation during the Spring of 1918. The fact that hulls have actually been completed within sixty-four days on the Pacific Coast gives bright promise of the large capacity which these fabricated yards are bound to turn out.

"As an indication of the progress being made in explaining the shipbuilding capacity of the country, reports from various shipbuilding concerns for nine weeks beginning Oct. 6 show that out of 109 plants reporting the total number of employes for the week ended Oct. 13 was 102,769; for the week ended Dec. 8, 149,270, an increase of 45.2 per cent. during the nine weeks.

"It must be borne in mind that all shipbuilding effort is not confined to shipyards, but that a large portion of propelling machinery, winches, steering gears, and other accessories are built in manufacturing establishments, and these contribute thousands of operatives to the very respectable totals above. This increase in labor indicates the success we are having in adding a second and even a third shift to existing shipyards formerly running on a single turn.

"According to the figures of the construction department of the Fleet Cor-

poration, 1,427 ships of 8,573,108 deadweight tons are under construction or contract. Of these, 431 ships of 3,056,000 tons were already under construction or order by private or foreign owners when the commandeering order went into effect, Aug. 3, 1917. The new tonnage of steel ships ordered is represented by 559 ships of 3,965,200 deadweight tons. The wooden ships contracted for represent 379 bottoms of 1,344,900 deadweight tons, and there are in addition fifty-eight composite ships of 207 deadweight tons. The output of various yards will increase progressively as experience grows and man power is increased.

"As a record of accomplishment, let me add that since the commandeering order went into effect forty-nine vessels, of a total of 300,865 deadweight tons, have been completed and put into service."

Average Cost Per Ton

In addition to presenting this statement, Mr. Hurley gave the committee a tabulation showing the executed contracts, with the number of ships, their character, tonnage, total cost, and cost per deadweight ton. Taking up the fifty-eight composite ships, which are steel framed with wooden covering, Mr. Hurley showed that they would give 207,000 tons at a cost of \$27,732,000, or an average of \$133.97 a ton.

The data on 557 steel ships, of 3,914,200 tons, show that their total cost will be \$651,627,046, or an average price of \$166.48 a ton.

Sixty-five wooden ships are contracted for with concerns which furnish their own machinery. These ships will total 243,900 tons, at a total cost of \$34,070,000, or an average per ton cost of \$139.69.

Wooden ships to the total number of 298, of a tonnage of 1,045,000, and costing \$88,691,000, or an average of \$84.87 a ton, come under that class for which the Fleet Corporation is obligated to furnish the machinery.

Mr. Hurley declared that the United States lost at fewest fifteen ships, and probably more, through the Denman-Goethals conflict. He said General Goethals was about to issue the commandeering

ing order on July 13, under which ships then under construction for private or foreign owners would be seized and completed for the United States. But the controversy with Mr. Denman became acute about that time, and General Goethals did not issue the order. The result was that the fifteen ships being built on foreign account were completed and delivered before Mr. Hurley took charge and issued the order, which was dated Aug. 3.

Mr. Hurley said there was not an idle yard or vacant way in the country. Lack of man power had been the chief cause of delay, with shortage in material second in importance, which in turn was due largely to the transportation situation. Housing still presented a problem, because, when new shipyards arose, there was no place for the workers.

Asked how many vessels had been completed for which contracts were let by the board, Mr. Hurley said only one had been finished. Forty-nine vessels, he said, had come from yards already established since construction was commanded Aug. 3.

"When will the last ship called for in your program of 8,000,000 tons contracted for be delivered?" asked Senator Jones.

"I cannot say," Mr. Hurley replied. "That depends entirely on conditions. The first contract ship was finished a short time ago, within sixty-four days after construction was begun. The fabricated steel ship construction when fully under way will give a tremendously increased production."

Chief Causes of Delay

The inquiry was continued on Dec. 22, when Mr. Hurley was cross-examined. He said that Admiral Capps delayed the award of contracts approved by his predecessor for more than two months. These contracts provided for the fabrication plants, and while the country was demanding speedy construction of ships, Admiral Capps consumed two months in altering the plans that were ready for award by General Goethals when he resigned as the result of the controversy with Mr. Denman. Other delays in car-

rying out the ship program resulted from changing the specifications for wooden ships, on the basis of a report of a special committee headed by Charles A. Piez, the present General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Raymond B. Stevens, another member of the Shipping Board, testifying on Dec. 26, attributed the delay of several months in the Government's shipbuilding to strikes in shipyards and the reorganization of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation. He also thought part of the delay was caused by "an excessive caution against profiteering." He said that wage increases, totaling as much as 40 per cent. over those of one year ago in several instances, were made to settle the strikes. The Shipping Board also had resorted to a war premium of 10 per cent. as an inducement to get shipyard workers to put in six full days a week. Questioned in regard to the proposal to conscript labor for shipbuilding and munition making, Mr. Stevens said that such a step would be un-American and would bring about industrial slavery, which would not be tolerated by American workingmen.

Mr. Stevens admitted that strikes in shipyards had resulted in the loss to the Government of 536,992 working days, or the services of 20,000 men for a period of thirty days. Thirty of the 106 companies building ships for the Government were affected by these strikes, and agreements with the Longshoremen's and Seamen's Unions, which ended these troubles, had been signed by the Shipping Board. Sailors on merchant vessels were getting nearly double what they did before the war. Members of the committee dwelt at length on the war premium of 10 per cent., which Mr. Stevens said was being tried on the Pacific Coast to induce workingmen to put in a full week of six days, and thereby hasten production. This premium would become a permanent wage on Feb. 1, 1918, and an additional 10 per cent. premium would be offered if it developed that it could further stimulate production. To complete the shipping program for next year, 400,000 workmen would be required, as against 150,000 now engaged in this line of work.

WAR AIMS OF THE NATIONS

Definite Terms Stated by Leading Spokesmen of the Belligerent Powers—A Comparative Synopsis

THE beginning of the year 1918 was marked by an unprecedented clarification of the issues at stake in the world war. The foremost spokesmen of the warring groups made more definite statements than ever before as to the territorial and other adjustments on which an acceptable peace could be based. These speeches are here recorded practically in the order in which they were delivered, beginning with one by Count Czernin in December and followed by the Christmas peace proposal of the Central Powers. The demands of the Russian Bolsheviki in their negotiations at Brest-Litovsk will be found in the article on the Russian peace parleys. On the side of the Entente Alliéés the most important utterances were made by President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George.

For the convenience of the reader the text of these addresses is prefaced by a comparative synopsis of the American, British, and Russian peace programs, in which it will be seen that the three Governments are in substantial agreement; in other words, that the Allies, including Russia, present practically a united front to the Central Powers, so far as their peace terms are concerned.

American, British. and Russian War Aims Compared

President Wilson, Jan. 8, 1918	Premier Lloyd George, Jan. 5, 1918	Bolshevist Proposals to Central Powers at Brest- Litovsk, Dec. 2, 1917
I. Open covenants of peace and no more private international understandings.	We can no longer submit the future of European civilization to the arbitrary decisions of a few negotiators, trying to secure by chicanery or persuasion the interests of this or that dynasty or nation.	Peace conditions to be settled at a congress composed of delegates chosen by a national representative body, the condition being stipulated by the respective Parliaments that the diplomats shall sign no secret treaty; all such secret treaties are declared null and void.
II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except when closed by international action.	[Not mentioned.]	The freedom of commercial navigation; canceling all charters during wartime of enemy ships that torpedo commercial ships on the high seas; such acts to be forbidden by international agreement.
III. The removal of economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions.	Economic conditions at the end of the war will be in the highest degree difficult. There must follow a world shortage of raw materials, and it is inevitable that those countries which have control of raw materials will desire to help themselves and their friends first.	All belligerents to renounce commercial boycotts after the war or the institution of special customs agreements.

(Wilson continued)	(Lloyd George continued)	(Bolsheviki continued)
IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will reduce to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.	The crushing weight of modern armaments, the increasing evil of compulsory military service, the vast waste of wealth and effort involved in warlike preparation—these are blots on our civilization, of which every thinking individual must be ashamed.	Gradual disarmament on land and sea and the establishment of militia to replace standing armies.
V. Free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, with the interests of the population concerned having equal weight with the claims of the Government.	The German colonies are held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants and to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or Governments.	Restoration of the German colonies.
VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of political development.	The present rulers of Russia are now engaged in separate negotiations with their common enemy. Great Britain cannot be held accountable for decisions taken in her absence and concerning which she has not been consulted or her aid invoked.	Evacuation of all Russian territory now occupied by Germany, with autonomy for Poland and the Lithuanian and Lettish provinces.
VII. Belgium must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit her sovereignty.	The complete restoration, political, territorial, and economic, of independence of Belgium and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces. This is no demand for a war indemnity, such as that imposed on France by Germany in 1871.	The restoration of Belgium and indemnity through an international fund for damages.
VIII. All French territory to be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine righted.	Reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871.	Settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine problem by a free plebiscite.
IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.	The legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue to be satisfied.	Autonomy for the Italian population of Trent and Trieste pending a plebiscite.
X. The people of Austria-Hungary to be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.	Genuine self-government on true democratic principles for those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it.	Complete autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Wilson continued)	(Lloyd George continued)	(Bolsheviki continued)
<p>XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored, and Serbia accorded access to the sea; the relations of the Balkan States to be determined along lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of these States.</p>	<p>The restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and the occupied parts of France, Italy, and Rumania. The complete withdrawal of the Teutonic armies, and the reparation for injustice done. Justice to the men of Rumanian blood and speech in their legitimate aspirations.</p>	<p>Restoration of Serbia and Montenegro with indemnity through an international fund for damages, Serbia gaining access to the Adriatic. Other contested Balkan territory to be temporarily autonomous, pending plebiscites. Restoration of Rumanian territory with autonomy for the Dobrudja; the Berlin Convention concerning equality for the Jews to be put into full effect.</p>
<p>XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire to be assured a secure sovereignty, but other nationalities now under Turkish rule to be assured opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles opened as a free passage to all nations.</p>	<p>The maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine to have recognition of their separate national conditions.</p>	<p>Autonomy for Trukish Armenia. Neutralization of all maritime straits leading to inland seas, including the Canals of Suez and Panama.</p>
<p>XIII. An independent Polish State to include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, with access to the sea.</p>	<p>An independent Poland, comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form a part of it.</p>	<p>Autonomy for Poland.</p>
<p>XIV. A general association of nations to guarantee political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.</p>	<p>Equality of right among the nations, small as well as great. The sanctity of treaties to be re-established; territorial settlement, based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed, and some international organization to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of war.</p>	<p>[Not mentioned.]</p>
<p>[Persia not mentioned; Greece covered by reference to the Balkans.]</p>	<p>[Persia not mentioned; Greece covered by plan of Balkan settlement.]</p>	<p>Restoration of Persia and Greece.</p>
<p>[Not mentioned.]</p>	<p>It [the demand for reparation] is not an attempt to shift the cost of warlike operations from one belligerent to another. Reparation means recognition. Unless international right is recognized by insistence on payment for injury, done in defiance of its canons, it can never be a reality.</p>	<p>All belligerents to renounce indemnities; contributions exacted during the war to be refunded.</p>

Count Czernin on Austria's War Aims

President Wilson's Views Discussed

Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, delivered a noteworthy speech to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Delegation at Budapest, which was reported as follows in a telegram to Amsterdam on Dec. 7, 1917:

EMINENT Hungarian party leaders have addressed questions to me which I should like, as far as possible, to answer immediately.

Count Andrássy spoke with the warmth one might expect from him of the alliance with Germany, and he asked whether and how far we are at one with Germany in our war aims. I can answer this question positively. We are at one with Germany on the basis which holds good for Germany and Austria-Hungary; on the basis of a defensive war, which here in this exalted assembly found undivided approval, which was laid down in the German Reichstag as the guiding line for our war aims, and which, in my opinion, Baron von Kühlmann in his last speech very clearly and exactly stated when he said: "There is no other obstacle to peace than Alsace-Lorraine." Of course, when we compare our situation with that of our German allies, we should not forget one thing; that in certain respects we are in a better position than they are; we have practically our entire territory in our hands, whereas Germany's colonies are today in the hands of the enemy.

When I am now reproached from many sides with weakness in my policy, which is said to be in tow of Germany—whatever these phrases may be—when it is said that this policy forces us to continue the war longer than would otherwise be the case, and that we are even forced to fight for German aims of conquest, I say emphatically no. We are fighting for the defense of Germany, just as Germany is fighting for our defense. In this respect I know no territorial boundaries. If any one should ask whether we are fighting for Alsace-Lorraine, I would reply yes; we are fighting for Alsace-Lorraine, just as Germany is fighting for us and fought for Lemberg and

Trieste. I know of no difference between Strassburg and Trieste.

A "Bad Peace" for Italy

Count Andrássy questioned me about Italy, and I would like to reply quite frankly. Since the outbreak of war Italian policy has been going down an inclined plane. Gentlemen, you know that before the war Italy might have negotiated with us, because we were greatly interested in avoiding this unnecessary war. Italy could have concluded an agreement with us which to-day even in her wildest dreams she can hardly hope to attain. Since then, in twelve battles, Italy has lost hundreds of thousands of dead, milliards in treasure, and large tracts of her territory which are today in our hands. At the most, Italy can today only hope to reach the status quo ante bellum.

I must, however, go a step further, which brings me to what Count Karolyi said. If I understood rightly, he gave me to understand at the conclusion of his speech that I ought in all circumstances to be a pacifist à outrance. In connection with that idea he devoted some well-meaning words to my Budapest speech, but to my astonishment he referred only to the first portion of it, while he entirely passed over the second part. This second part, however, modifies the entire character of the speech. What Count Karolyi desires of me is that I should go security for the Italian adventure. In Count Karolyi's view I should today say to the Italians: "Continue the war as long as you like. Attack us as often as you will. Prolong the war according to your good pleasure. We guarantee that nothing shall happen to you."

Now, gentlemen, I am very far from taking this standpoint. I say quite

frankly, and so that Rome may hear it, that if Italy wantonly continues the war she will later get a bad peace. We owe that to the troops and to the people at home. Count Karolyi may rest assured that I have one aim, namely, the speediest possible conclusion of an honorable peace, but at the same time I refuse to give our enemies a premium on the prolongation of the war.

America's War Declaration

One gentleman asked me what I thought of the American declaration of war. The unconfirmed news leaves the possibility open that America may declare war upon us as well as upon our two allies, Turkey and Bulgaria; should that eventually occur, we shall, nevertheless, not regret anything we have done in the past.

Speaking of America, I would like to draw your attention to the speech by President Wilson, which in many respects is incomprehensible and unclear, but yet contains a noteworthy step forward. In one passage the President said: "We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands in all matters, great or small."

If we compare this conception with that of the Entente regarding the monarchy which is described by the catchword the right of nations to govern themselves, which, they claim, will be realized at the peace conference with the help of the Entente, I see in the statement of the President of the United States a great and important advance, an advance which we recognize and which it is greatly to our interest to nail down. If I may seize the opportunity to say one more word about that catchword—the right of nations to govern themselves—I would explain my standpoint on the subject as follows: The phrase the right of nations to govern themselves appeared rather late in this war in the discussion of war aims.

It is impossible to give a universally accepted definition of this catchword, as almost every one of the statesmen who are using it has based it on a different meaning, so that one can say that there are as many interpretations of this catchword as there are utterances on the subject.

Self-Rule of Small Nations

If we inquire into the origin of this phrase we find that it is connected with the war aim of the protection of small nations, which has been professed by the Entente from the beginning of the war—the small nations, that is, the small States which are alleged to have been the victims of violence on the part of the Central Powers, namely, Serbia, Montenegro, &c., for whose protection and salvation the Entente professed to have taken up arms. That was what he described as the right of small nations to govern themselves. In his note of Dec. 18, 1916, addressed to the belligerents, President Wilson still described as one of his principal peace aims the safeguarding of the rights and privileges of small States. Subsequently this was supplemented by President Wilson by the brutal formula that they are waging war also for the liberation from foreign domination of Italians, Serbians, Rumanians, Czechs, and Slovacs. The protection of small States receded into the background, while the forcible separation from the monarchy of certain nationalities stood in the foreground, namely, forcible separation, without the grant of the right of nationalities to govern themselves.

In his message of Jan. 22, 1917, President Wilson made some approach to the Entente standpoint in calling for internal reforms in certain States, thus drawing the internal political conditions of certain States into international discussion. At the same time he declared that none had the right to hand over nationalities from one Government to another as if they were the latter's property. In this message of the President of the United States the idea is expressed that the cession of parts of one State to another must not be brought about by force, and that the acceptance

by the peoples of their Governments is necessary.

A Complicated Question

The right of peoples to govern themselves is, therefore, here already rather a complicated *mixtum compositum* because of the right of a State to govern itself on account of its territory and, at the same time, however, the right of its nationalities to have a voice under international protection in their interpolitical relations. On April 11, 1917, the Russian Provisional Government declared that it disavowed any intention to dominate over other peoples or to take from them their national heritage. It vindicated the right of the belligerent States themselves to decide at the conclusion of peace the destiny of their peoples. That is, the right of States to govern their own nationalities.

I do not hesitate to declare that within my right I shall most decidedly reject all foreign influence on the arrangement of our internal conditions, and, on the other hand, I shall also reject the idea which might arise that certain internal questions might find an international solution. The relations of the component parts of the Hungarian Monarchy to each other are based on legal principles. The possibility of a change in those relations is provided in our constitutional institutions. Whenever wishes for such a change arise they must be solved in a constitutional manner, with the co-operation of the constituent bodies which guarantee the right of self-determination to the nations within both States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. I am unable to recognize the possibility of a different solution.

Central Powers' Terms for a General Peace

Czernin's Statement at Brest-Litovsk

Count Czernin, the Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary, acted as spokesman of the Central Powers in offering terms for a general peace at the first session of the Russo-German conference in Brest-Litovsk, Dec. 25, 1917. His statement was intended as a basis upon which the Entente Allies were to join in the peace negotiations then about to be undertaken with Russia. The Allies refused to take any notice of the offer, so when the conference met again, on Jan. 10, Dr. von Kühlmann announced that the Christmas peace terms of the Central Powers had been withdrawn and were henceforth null and void. Following is the text of Count Czernin's statement:

THE delegations of the allied (Teutonic) powers, acting upon the clearly expressed will of their Governments and peoples, will conclude as soon as possible a general peace. The delegations, in complete accord with the repeatedly expressed viewpoint of their Governments, think that the basic principles of the Russian delegation can be made the basis of such a peace.

The delegations of the Quadruple Alliance are agreed immediately to conclude a general peace without forcible annexations and indemnities. They share the view of the Russian delegation, which condemns the continuation of the war purely for aims of conquest.

The statesmen of the allied (Teutonic) Governments in programs and statements have emphasized time and again that for the sake of conquest they will not prolong the war a single day. The Governments of the Allies unswervingly have followed this view all the time. They solemnly declare their resolve immediately to sign terms of peace which will stop this war on the above terms, equally just to all belligerents without exception.

It is necessary, however, to indicate most clearly that the proposals of the Russian delegation could be realized only in case all the powers participating in the war obligate themselves scrupulously

to adhere to the terms, in common with all peoples.

The powers of the Quadruple Alliance now negotiating with Russia cannot, of course, one-sidedly bind themselves to such terms, not having the guarantee that Russia's allies will recognize and carry out those terms honestly without reservation with regard to the Quadruple Alliance. Starting upon these principles, and regarding the six clauses proposed by the Russian delegation as a basis of negotiations, the following must be stated:

Clause 1. Forcible annexation of territories seized during the war does not enter into the intention of the allied powers. About troops now occupying seized territories, it must be stipulated in the peace treaty, if there is no agreement before, regarding the evacuation of these places.

Clause 2. It is not the intention of the Allies to deprive of political independence those nations which lost it during the war.

Clause 3. The question of subjection to that or the other country of those nationalities who have not political independence cannot, in the opinion of the powers of the Quadruple Alliance, be solved internationally. In this case it must be solved by each Government, together with its peoples, in a manner established by the Constitution.

Clause 4. Likewise, in accordance with the declaration of statesmen of the Quadruple Alliance, the protection of the rights of minorities constitutes an essential component part of the constitutional rights of peoples to self-determination. The allied Governments also grant validity to this principle everywhere, in so far as it is practically realizable.

Clause 5. The allied powers have frequently emphasized the possibility that both sides might renounce not only indemnification for war costs but also indemnification for war damages. In these circumstances, every belligerent power would have only to make indemnification

for expenditures for its nationals who have become prisoners of war, as well as for damage done in its own territory by illegal acts of force committed against civilian nationals belonging to the enemy. The Russian Government's proposal for the creation of a special fund for this purpose could be taken into consideration only if the other belligerent powers were to join in the peace negotiations within a suitable period.

Clause 6. Of the four allied powers, Germany alone possesses colonies. On the part of the German delegation, in full accord with the Russian proposals regarding that, the following is declared:

The return of colonial territories forcibly seized during the war constitutes an essential part of German demands, which Germany cannot renounce under any circumstances. Likewise, the Russian demand for immediate evacuation of territories occupied by an adversary conforms to German intentions. Having in view the nature of the colonial territories of Germany, the realization of the right of self-determination, besides the above outlined considerations, in the form proposed by the Russian delegation, is at present practically impossible.

The circumstance that in the German colonies the natives, notwithstanding the greatest difficulties and the improbability of victory in a struggle against an adversary many times stronger and who had the advantage of unlimited import by sea, remained in the gravest circumstances faithful to their German friends, may serve as proof of their attachment and their resolve by all means to preserve allegiance to Germany, proof which by its significance and weight is far superior to any expression of popular will.

The principle of economic relations proposed by the Russian delegation in connection with the above six clauses are approved wholly by the delegations of the allied powers, who always have denied any economic restrictions and who see in the re-establishment of regulated economic relations, which are in accord with the interests of all people concerned, one of the most important conditions for bringing about friendly relations between the powers now engaged in war.



The Aim of the German Import

THE WAR AIMS OF THE GERMAN IMPERIALISTS, AS INDICATED IN THE PROPOSALS MADE AT BREST-LITOVSK TO THE RUSSIAN PEACE COMMISSIONERS AND IN VARIOUS UTTERANCES OF LEADING STATESMEN ARE ILLUSTRATED BY THIS MAP. THE MOST IMPORTANT EXTENSION OF GERMAN TERRITORY WOULD BE AT THE EXPENSE OF RUSSIA, SINCE GERMAN DESIRES TO RETAIN PERMANENTLY ITS CONTROL OVER POLAND AND THE BALTIC PROVINCES OF RUSSIA, IN A MELY, COURLAND, LIVONIA, AND ESTHONIA.



President Wilson's Proposed Settlement of the War

PRESIDENT WILSON'S PROGRAM OF WORLD PEACE IS SHOWN IN THE ACCOMPANYING MAP. AS WILL BE SEEN, IF THIS PROGRAM IS CARRIED OUT, SEVERAL LARGE AREAS IN EUROPE AND ASIA WOULD CEASE TO BE UNDER THE DOMINATION OF THE GERMAN, AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN, AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS AND WOULD COMMENCE CAREERS EITHER OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OR OF AUTONOMOUS DEVELOPMENT. THIS PROGRAM IS ALSO PRACTICALLY THAT OF THE BOLSHIEVSKI AND TO A LESS EXTENT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. AS EXPRESSED BY PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE.



Britain's War Aims Newly Defined

Address by David Lloyd George

[By Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES]

Premier Lloyd George's London address of Jan. 5, 1918, before the Trade Union Conference on man power, was regarded by all the belligerent nations as the most specific utterance of the Allies' war aims yet made, clarifying the issues that must still be fought out before peace could come. It was received with enthusiasm by the labor delegates. It unified Great Britain anew and won the workingmen's support for the Government's plan to mobilize 100,000 more men for the shipyards and 500,000 more for military service. President Wilson sent the Premier a telegram of congratulation and support. M. Clemenceau voiced the approval of France in an official dispatch of the same tenor. Pending an official reply by the Central Powers the German press comment was typified by the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger's remark: "The answer to this will be spoken by our armies in the west and by our U-boats." There was a worldwide feeling, however, that Lloyd George's speech had placed the onus on the enemy—that there must be a reply from the Berlin Government—and this was strengthened three days later by President Wilson's speech. Following is the full text of the Premier's address:

WHEN the Government invite organized labor in this country to assist them to maintain the might of their armies in the field, its representatives are entitled to ask that any misgivings and doubts which any of them may have about the purpose to which this precious strength is to be applied should be definitely cleared. And what is true of organized labor is equally true of all citizens in this country, without regard to grade or avocation.

When men by the million are being called upon to suffer and die, and vast populations are being subjected to sufferings and privations of war on a scale unprecedented in the history of the world, they are entitled to know for what cause or causes they are making the sacrifice.

It is only the clearest, greatest, and justest of causes that can justify the continuance, even for one day, of this unspeakable agony of the nation, and we ought to be able to state clearly and definitely not only the principles for which we are fighting, but also their definite and concrete application to the war map of the world.

We have arrived at the most critical hour in this terrible conflict, and before

any Government takes a fateful decision as to the conditions under which it ought either to terminate or to continue the struggle, it ought to be satisfied that the conscience of the nation is behind these conditions, for nothing else can sustain the effort which is necessary to achieve a righteous end to this war.

Consulted Many Leaders

I have, therefore, during the last few days taken special pains to ascertain the view and attitude of representative men of all sections of thought and opinion in the country.

Last week I had the privilege not merely of perusing the declared war aims of the Labor Party, but also of discussing in detail with labor leaders the meaning and intention of that declaration.

I have also had opportunity of discussing this same momentous question with Mr. Asquith and Viscount Grey. Had it not been that the Nationalist leaders are in Ireland engaged in endeavoring to solve the tangled problem of Irish self-government, I should have been happy to exchange views with them, but Mr. Redmond, speaking on their behalf, has, with his usual lucidity and force, in many of his speeches made clear what his ideas are as to the object and purpose of the

war. I have also had an opportunity of consulting certain representatives of the great dominions overseas.

I am glad to be able to say, as a result of all these discussions, that, although the Government are alone responsible for the actual language I purpose using, there is a national agreement as to the character and purpose of our war aims and peace conditions, and in what I say to you today, and through you to the world, I can venture to claim that I am speaking not merely the mind of the Government, but of the nation and of the empire as a whole.

We may begin by clearing away some misunderstandings and stating what we are not fighting for.

We are not fighting a war of aggression against the German people. Their leaders have persuaded them that they are fighting a war of self-defense against a league of rival nations, bent on the destruction of Germany. That is not so. The destruction or disruption of Germany or the German people has never been a war aim with us from the first day of this war to this day.

Most reluctantly, and indeed quite unprepared for the dreadful ordeal, we were forced to join in this war, in self-defense of the violated public law of Europe and in vindication of the most solemn treaty obligations on which the public system of Europe rested and on which Germany had ruthlessly trampled in her invasion of Belgium. We had to join in the struggle or stand aside and see Europe go under and brute force triumph over public right and international justice.

As to Democracy in Germany

It was only the realization of that dreadful alternative that forced the British people into the war, and from that original attitude they have never swerved. They have never aimed at a break-up of the German people or the disintegration of their State or country. Germany has occupied a great position in the world. It is not our wish or intention to question or destroy that position for the future, but rather to turn her aside from hopes and schemes of military domination.

Nor did we enter this war merely to

alter or destroy the imperial Constitution of Germany, much as we consider that military and autocratic Constitution a dangerous anachronism in the twentieth century. Our point of view is that the adoption of a really democratic Constitution by Germany would be the most convincing evidence that her old spirit of military domination has, indeed, died in this war and would make it much easier for us to conclude a broad, democratic peace with her. But, after all, that is a question for the German people to decide.

We are not fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital or the rich lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish.

It is now more than a year since the President of the United States, then neutral, addressed to the belligerents a suggestion that each side should state clearly the aims for which they were fighting.

We and our allies responded by the note of Jan. 10, 1917. To the President's appeal the Central Empires made no reply, and in spite of many abjurations, both from their opponents and from neutrals, they have maintained complete silence as to the objects for which they are fighting. Even on so crucial a matter as their intention with regard to Belgium they have uniformly declined to give any trustworthy indication.

Vague Terms of Central Powers

On Dec. 25 last, however, Count Czernin, speaking on behalf of Austria-Hungary and her allies, did make a pronouncement of a kind. It is, indeed, deplorably vague.

We are told that it is not the intention of the Central Powers to appropriate forcibly any occupied territory or to rob of its independence any nation which has lost its political independence during the war.

It is obvious that almost any scheme of conquest and annexation could be perpetrated within the literal interpretation of such a pledge. Does it mean that Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania will be as independent and as free to direct their own destinies as Germany

or any other nation? Or does it mean that all manner of interferences and restrictions, political and economical, incompatible with the status and dignity of free and self-respecting people, are to be imposed? If this is the intention, then there will be one kind of independence for the great nation and an inferior kind of independence for the small nation.

We must know what is meant, for equality of right among the nations, small as well as great, is one of the fundamental issues this country and her allies are fighting to establish in this war.

Reparation for the wanton damage inflicted on Belgian towns and villages and their inhabitants is emphatically repudiated. The rest of the so-called offer of the Central Powers is almost entirely a refusal of all concessions. All suggestions about the autonomy of subject nationalities are ruled out of the peace terms altogether. The question whether any form of self-government is to be given to the Arabs, Armenians, or Syrians is declared to be entirely a matter for the Sublime Porte. A pious wish for the protection of minorities, "in so far as it is practically realizable," is the nearest approach to liberty which the Central statesmen venture to make.

On one point only are they perfectly clear and definite. Under no circumstances will the German demand for the restoration of the whole of Germany's colonies be departed from. All principles of self-determination, or, as our earlier phrase goes, government by the consent of the governed, here vanish into thin air.

Not a Foundation for Peace

It is impossible to believe that any edifice of permanent peace could be erected on such a foundation as this. Mere lip-service to the formula of no annexations and no indemnities or the right of self-determination is useless. Before any negotiations can even be begun the Central Powers must realize the essential facts of the situation.

The days of the Treaty of Vienna are long past. We can no longer submit the future of European civilization to the ar-

bitrary decisions of a few negotiators trying to secure by chicanery or persuasion the interests of this or that dynasty or nation.

The settlement of the new Europe must be based on such grounds of reason and justice as will give some promise of stability. Therefore, it is that we feel that government with the consent of the governed must be the basis of any territorial settlement in this war. For that reason, also, unless treaties be upheld, unless every nation is prepared, at whatever sacrifices, to honor the national signature, it is obvious that no treaty of peace can be worth the paper on which it is written.

Belgian Restoration First

The first requirement, therefore, always put forward by the British Government and their allies, has been the complete restoration, political, territorial, and economic, of independence of Belgium and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces.

This is no demand for a war indemnity, such as that imposed on France by Germany in 1871. It is not an attempt to shift the cost of warlike operations from one belligerent to another, which may or may not be defensible. It is no more and no less than an insistence that before there can be any hope for stable peace, this great breach of the public law of Europe must be repudiated and so far as possible repaired.

Reparation means recognition. Unless international right is recognized by insistence on payment for injury, done in defiance of its canons, it can never be a reality.

Next comes the restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and the occupied parts of France, Italy, and Rumania. The complete withdrawal of the allied (Teutonic) armies, and the reparation for injustice done is a fundamental condition of permanent peace.

Must Reconsider Wrong of '71

We mean to stand by the French democracy to the death in the demand it makes for a reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871, when, without any

regard to the wishes of the population, two French provinces were torn from the side of France and incorporated in the German Empire.

This sore has poisoned the peace of Europe for half a century, and, until it is cured, healthful conditions will not have been restored. There can be no better illustration of the folly and wickedness of using a transient military success to violate national right.

I will not attempt to deal with the question of the Russian territories now in German occupation. The Russian policy since the revolution has passed so rapidly through so many phases that it is difficult to speak without some suspension of judgment as to what the situation will be when the final terms of European peace come to be discussed.

Russia accepted war with all its horrors because, true to her traditional guardianship of the weaker communities of her race, she stepped in to protect Serbia from a plot against her independence. It is this honorable sacrifice which not merely brought Russia into the war, but France as well.

France, true to the conditions of her treaty with Russia, stood by her ally in a quarrel which was not her own. Her chivalrous respect for her treaty led to the wanton invasion of Belgium, and the treaty obligations of Great Britain to that little land brought us into the war.

The present rulers of Russia are now engaged, without any reference to the countries whom Russia brought into the war, in separate negotiations with their common enemy. I am indulging in no reproaches. I am merely stating the facts with a view to making it clear why Great Britain cannot be held accountable for decisions taken in her absence and concerning which she has not been consulted or her aid invoked.

Prussian Designs Upon Russia

No one who knows Prussia and her designs upon Russia can for a moment doubt her ultimate intention. Whatever phrases she may use to delude Russia, she does not mean to surrender one of the fair provinces or cities of Russia now occupied by her forces. Under one

name or another (and the name hardly matters) those Russian provinces will henceforth be in reality a part of the dominions of Prussia. They will be ruled by the Prussian sword in the interests of the Prussian autocracy, and the rest of the people of Russia will be partly enticed by specious phrases and partly bullied by the threat of continued war against an impotent army into a condition of complete economic and ultimate political enslavement to Germany.

We all deplore the prospect. The democracy of this country means to stand to the last by the democracies of France and Italy and all our other allies. We shall be proud to stand side by side by the new democracy of Russia. So will America and so will France and Italy. But if the present rulers of Russia take action which is independent of their allies, we have no means of intervening to arrest the catastrophe which is assuredly befalling their country. Russia can only be saved by her own people.

We believe, however, that an independent Poland, comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form a part of it, is an urgent necessity for the stability of Western Europe.

Similarly, though we agree with President Wilson that a break-up of Austria-Hungary is no part of our war aims, we feel that unless genuine self-government on true democratic principles is granted to those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it, it is impossible to hope for a removal of those causes of unrest in that part of Europe which have so long threatened the general peace.

Turks May Keep Constantinople

On the same grounds we regard as vital the satisfaction of the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue. We also mean to press that justice be done to the men of Rumanian blood and speech in their legitimate aspirations. If these conditions are fulfilled, Austria-Hungary would become a power whose strength would conduce to the permanent peace and freedom of Europe instead of being merely an instrument to the pernicious military autocracy of Prussia that uses

the resources of its allies for the furtherance of its own sinister purposes.

Outside of Europe we believe that the same principles should be applied. While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine are, in our judgment, entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions.

What the exact form of that recognition in each particular case should be need not here be discussed beyond stating that it would be impossible to restore to their former sovereignty the territories to which I have already referred.

Much has been said about the arrangements we have entered into with our allies on this and on other subjects. I can only say that as the new circumstances, like the Russian collapse and the separate negotiations, have changed the conditions under which those arrangements were made, we are, and always have been, perfectly ready to discuss them with our allies.

Colonies to Settle Own Future

With regard to the German colonies, I have repeatedly declared that they are held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such colonies. None of those territories are inhabited by Europeans. The governing consideration, therefore, must be that the inhabitants should be placed under the control of an administration acceptable to themselves, one of whose main purposes will be to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or Governments.

The natives live in their various tribal organizations under chiefs and councils who are competent to consult and speak for their tribes and members and thus to represent their wishes and interests in regard to their disposal. The general principle of national self-determination is, therefore, as applicable in their cases

as in those of the occupied European territories.

The German declaration that the natives of the German colonies have through their military fidelity in war shown their attachment and resolve under all circumstances to remain with Germany is applicable, not to the German colonies generally, but only to one of them, and in that case, German East Africa, the German authorities secured the attachment, not of the native population as a whole, which is and remains profoundly anti-German, but only of a small warlike class, from whom their askaris, or soldiers, were selected. These they attached to themselves by conferring on them a highly privileged position, as against the bulk of the native population, which enabled these askaris to assume a lordly and oppressive superiority over the rest of the natives.

By this and other means they secured the attachment of a very small and insignificant minority, whose interests were directly opposed to those of the rest of the population and for whom they have no right to speak. The German treatment of the native populations in their colonies has been such as amply to justify their fear of submitting the future of those colonies to the wishes of the natives themselves.

Finally, there must be reparation for the injuries done in violation of international law. The peace conference must not forget our seamen and the services they have rendered to and the outrages they have suffered for the common cause of freedom.

One omission we notice in the proposal of the Central Powers which seems to us especially regrettable. It is desirable and essential that the settlement after this war shall be one which does not in itself bear the seed of future war. But that is not enough. However wisely and well we may make territorial and other arrangements, there will still be many subjects of international controversy. Some, indeed, are inevitable.

Economic conditions at the end of the war will be in the highest degree difficult owing to the diversion of human effort to warlike pursuits. There must follow

a world shortage of raw materials, which will increase the longer the war lasts, and it is inevitable that those countries which have control of raw materials will desire to help themselves and their friends first. Apart from this, whatever settlement is made will be suitable only to the circumstances under which it is made, and as those circumstances change, changes in the settlement will be called for.

So long as the possibility of a dispute between nations continues—that is to say, so long as men and women are dominated by impassioned ambition and war is the only means of settling a dispute—all nations must live under a burden, not only of having from time to time to engage in it, but of being compelled to prepare for its possible outbreak.

The crushing weight of modern armaments, the increasing evil of compulsory military service, the vast waste of wealth and effort involved in warlike preparation—these are blots on our civilization of which every thinking individual must be ashamed. For these and other similar reasons we are con-

fident that a great attempt must be made to establish, by some international organization, an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes.

After all, war is a relic of barbarism, and, just as law has succeeded violence as a means of settling disputes between individuals, so we believe that it is destined ultimately to take the place of war in the settlement of controversies between nations.

If, then, we are asked what we are fighting for, we reply, as we have often replied, We are fighting for a just and a lasting peace, and we believe that before permanent peace can be hoped for three conditions must be fulfilled: First, the sanctity of treaties must be re-established; secondly, a territorial settlement must be secured, based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed, and, lastly, we must seek, by the creation of some international organization, to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of war. On these conditions its peoples are prepared to make even greater sacrifices than those they have yet endured.

Ex-Premier Asquith's Restatement of Britain's Aims

Mr. Asquith, in commenting on one of Mr. Lloyd George's speeches in Parliament about the middle of December, 1917, took occasion to define anew the end for which Great Britain was fighting.

We are all agreed [he said] that we must equip ourselves by every appropriate means to resist the new dangers which threaten us both on sea and on land—on sea the submarine menace; on the land, the power of Germany which she had not in such a degree a year ago before the defection of Russia. I do not believe there is any faltering, or any disposition to falter, in giving the Government all the necessary power and resources for the purposes. But I think it right to say what I think it is most important to say at this moment, that we ought at the same time to make it increasingly clear by every means in our power and by every agency that we can employ that the end and the only end for which we are fighting is the attainment

of security—not an apparent or ostensible security, but the attainment of security for liberty and justice in the world, through the free confederation of States, great and small, standing on a level footing and possessing equal rights.

That may seem to be a reannouncement of what has become almost a commonplace. But why do I attach so much importance to restating it now? For this reason. No one who has followed closely what has been and is going on in Russia can have any doubt, I think, as to the urgency and, indeed, the primary necessity for a moral to accompany a material campaign. No doubt there has been a lavish expenditure of gold in the actual and direct work of corruption. That will not carry you very far. Far

more effective and important—I am speaking not only of Russia, but of Italy and of the neutral countries—has been the enemy's insidious and unscrupulous, adroit, and persuasive propaganda. Every artifice, literary, historical, pictorial, histrionic, has been employed to blacken our record, to distort our aims, and to represent the cause of the Allies in this war as the cause of plutocracy and imperialism. Partly as the result, the successful result, of the labor of these missionaries of mendacity, partly from sheer ignorance there is among the democracies of Europe, and not only in neutral countries, widespread misconception which is often honestly entertained of our real and ulterior purposes.

It is true that the spokesmen of the Allies have made and repeated an explicit declaration from the very beginning of the war which, if listened to and believed, ought to clear the way of doubts and suspicions. These were the admirable series of propositions which the Prime Minister himself enunciated only a few months ago in Glasgow. I myself have been, and I am, doing what I can in that direction. As far back as the month of September, 1914, I made a statement of allied aims at Dublin, and I used words which I venture to cite again, as they are just as true today. After saying that the idea of the cause of the Allies was to translate the idea of public right from abstract into concrete terms, explaining in several sentences how that was to be done, I used this language: "It

means finally, or it ought to mean, perhaps by a slow and gradual process, the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambitions, for groupings and alliances, and a precarious equipoise, the substitution for all these of a real European partnership, based on the recognition of equal rights, and established and enforced by common will."

That was the League of Nations—with this amplification, which we must now make since the United States have joined, that it is not a European, it is a world-wide partnership. A League of Nations was no new idea, engendered in the stress and strain of the war. It was not a belated afterthought of statesmen who thought it expedient in order to deceive the world, to varnish selfish and ambitious purposes with a veneer of idealism. It was the avowed purpose from the very first so far as we here are concerned, of the Government, the people of the United Kingdom, and of the empire. It was the purpose for which we entered the war, the purpose for which we are continuing the war, the purpose for which we shall prosecute the war to its due end. I wish it were possible, I hope it may be possible to bring home to the minds of all peoples—Allies, neutrals, and the enemy—to make them realize that it is that, and nothing less than that, but nothing more than that, we are fighting for. It is because we know we are fighting for that, neither more nor less, that we go on with a clear conscience, with clean hands, and with an unwavering heart.

Italian Premier's Statement of Issues

Vittorio Orlando, the Prime Minister of Italy, delivered a speech in the Chamber on Dec. 12, 1917, in which he said:

The Central Empires say that they desire peace, but they keep their peace conditions hidden in a cloud through which one catches sight of appetites more or less insatiable.

The rest of the world has a single program, representing at the same time a maximum and a minimum. It does not wish to be the prey of these appetites nor the marked-down victim of these threats. It does not desire any vain and apparent, if not actually dis-

honorable, peace, but a struggle for a final peace which shall forever make impossible the renewal of the acts of violence and atrocities which have threatened humanity with a return to barbarism, for a peace which in the future organization of Europe will assure to all peoples, whether great or small, social and economic conditions in the inviolable unity of their national conscience. On these bases we are ready for peace, as we have always been.

President Wilson's War Aims Speech

Text of Address to Congress on Jan. 8, 1918,
Defining Objects for Which We Are Fighting

The terms upon which Germany could obtain peace were given to the world by President Wilson on Jan. 8 in a memorable address before the United States Congress. With scant preliminary notice—barely enough to enable the two houses to assemble in joint session—the President appeared at the Capitol and set forth a program of fourteen conditions that must be complied with before the United States would cease fighting. In conjunction with Premier Lloyd George's similar utterance, it laid the war aims of the Entente Allies for the first time clearly before the world. It was followed by an almost unprecedented outpouring of favorable comment in all the allied countries, and was attacked with equal unanimity by the press of the Central Powers. Following is the complete text of the speech:

GENTLEMEN of the Congress:—
Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite program for the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all, either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the population with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied—every province, every city, every point of vantage—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested

originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

Incident Full of Significance

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Powers speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective Parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan States, which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held with open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German

Reichstag of the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

Issues of Life and Death

But whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definite terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for

these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind, and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

Days of Conquest Gone By

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular Governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us

to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are, in effect, partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.

Fourteen Peace Conditions

The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program, and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sin-

cere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea,

and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

Partnership with the Allies

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the Governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight, and to continue to fight, until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace, such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of specific enterprise, such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of

justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the New World in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

Comment in Allied and Enemy Countries

THE President's message was cabled officially to all the great news-distributing centres of the civilized world. For several hours on the day of its delivery five men were kept locked up in a small room on the third floor of 20 Broad Street, New York, waiting for the release of the speech. The room was the office of Walter S. Rogers, Director of the Foreign Press Division of the Committee on Public Information, and the five men were two navy officers of the Press Bureau, two telegraph opera-

tors, and a stenographer. When the signal of release came they began cabling the message to news associations in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and South America. In addition, it was sent to American Ministers at many places where it was more convenient that the diplomatic authorities make it public.

In the United States the members of Congress, with scarcely an exception, took their stand with President Wilson, and the press throughout the land supported his ideas with striking unanimity.

Leaders of thought in all circles of American life took the same attitude in their comments.

In Great Britain the President's address was greeted with enthusiasm as putting the seal of American approval upon the war aims of the European Allies and as showing virtually the same spirit as the recent speech of Premier Lloyd George. The President's words concerning freedom of the seas in war as well as in peace times were generally treated in the manner of *The Westminster Gazette*, which declared that this idea had no terrors for England provided Mr. Wilson's project for a satisfactory league of nations were first realized; but that under present conditions it would mean the disarming of sea power without any corresponding diminution of military power on land, to the great advantage of the militarists and the great disadvantage of all other powers, America included.

British labor organizations surprised the world, and the Central Powers most of all, by the promptness with which they indorsed President Wilson's message and declared their unqualified support of a continuation of the war on these lines. Arthur Henderson and other leaders, representing the whole body of organized labor in England, drew up a manifesto next day declaring that the democracies of the world now had a program to which they could subscribe.

France applauded the message as a masterly expression of French war aims, and *Le Temps* and other leading papers expressed their gratitude to President Wilson for "presenting the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine as a necessary condition for a general peace, and not merely as a special claim for the French people." *La Liberté* declared that President Wilson's words would make his name popular to the remotest villages of France.

In Petrograd the President's utterance was published in full and widely commented upon. The press of the various revolutionary factions was divided on the subject. The *Pravda*, the official organ of the Bolshevik Party, denounced President Wilson as a representative of American capitalism, and threw suspi-

cion upon all the friendly words in his message. Lenine, however, telegraphed the message to Trotzky at Brest-Litovsk, where it undoubtedly had some influence upon the attitude of the Russian leader in his negotiations with the Germans. In contrast to the hostile comment of the *Pravda* there was praise in the less radical revolutionary organs. The *Izvestia*, official organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, regarded the American document as a recognition of the Bolshevik efforts for a general peace and a great victory on the way toward democratic amity.

Italy evinced practically complete adherence to President Wilson's peace program, though there were a few guarded reservations by those who thought that Italy's aspirations for control of the Adriatic were not sufficiently supported. The *Osservatore Romano*, organ of the Vatican, conceded the importance of the speech and regarded it as a further step along the way which had been indicated by the Pope.

German comment on the President's address was almost universally hostile, with the exception of Socialist organs, such as *Vorwärts*, which gave it qualified approval on certain points. The annexationist press was bitter and printed only selected portions of the text, garbling the remainder. The *Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger* called the message "a peace program of hypocrisy," and added that if President Wilson desired to be really just he should also have demanded the freedom of Ireland, India, Egypt, Malta, Cyprus, Gibraltar, Morocco, and Tripoli. The *Mittags Zeitung* reflected the attitude of the whole Pan-German press by saying:

We shall never permit that President Wilson, through an unjust and frivolous declaration of war, should have obtained the right to play the rôle of arbiter in Europe at the conference table. We would object to this all the more, as he is only England's second. There can be no difference among us as long as the enemy keeps on talking about the surrender of German territory, be it Alsace, Posen, or Danzig. The sword is still talking. Yet a little while and the London and Washington programs will rid themselves of

those undebatable points which today make controversy wholly superfluous.

The Vienna press was equally hostile,

resenting President Wilson's attitude on Poland as violently as Germany rejected his words regarding Alsace-Lorraine.

"With Iron Fist and Shining Sword"

The Kaiser's Address to His Troops

Emperor William addressed the German Second Army on the French front, Dec. 22, 1917, saying that if the Allies would not accept peace as offered by Germany they would have to be made to accept it with iron fist and shining sword. The speech as cabled from Amsterdam was as follows:

IT has been a year full of events for the German Army and the German Fatherland. Powerful blows have been delivered, and your comrades in the east have been able to bring about great decisions. There has been no man, no officer, and no General on the whole eastern front, wherever I have spoken to them, who has not frankly admitted that they could not have accomplished what they have if their comrades in the west had not stood to a man. But for the calm and heroic warriors on the western front the enormous deployment of German forces in the east and in Italy never would have been possible. The fighter in the west has exposed heroically his body so that his brothers on the Dvina and the Isonzo might storm from victory to victory. The fearful battles on the bloody hills around Verdun were not in vain. They created new foundations for the conduct of the war.

The tactical and strategical connection between the battles on the Aisne, in the Champagne, Artois, and Flanders and at Cambrai, and the events in the east and in Italy is so manifest that it is useless to waste words on it.

With a centralized direction, the German Army works in a centralized manner. In order that we should be able to deliver these offensive blows, one portion of the army had to remain on the defensive, hard as this is for the German soldier. Such a defensive battle, however, as has been fought in 1917 is without parallel. A fraction of the German Army accepted the heavy task, covering its comrades in the east uncondi-

tionally, and it had the entire Anglo-French Army against itself.

In long preparation the enemy had collected unheard-of technical means and masses of ammunition and guns in order to make his entry into Brussels over your front, as he proudly announced. The enemy has achieved nothing.

The most gigantic feat ever accomplished by an army and one without parallel in history was accomplished by the German Army. I do not boast. It is a fact and nothing else. The admiration you have earned shall be your reward and at the same time your pride. Nothing can in any way place in the shade or surpass what you have accomplished, however great and overwhelming it may be.

The year 1917 with its great battles has proved that the German people has in the Lord of Creation above an unconditional and avowed ally on whom it can absolutely rely. Without Him all would have been in vain.

"Every one of you had to exert every nerve to the utmost. I know that every one of you in the unparalleled drumfire did superhuman deeds. The feeling may have been frequently with you: "If we only had something behind us; if we only had some relief!" It came as the result of the blow in the east, where it is seen that the storms of war are at present silenced. God grant that it may be forever!

Yesterday I saw and spoke to your comrades near Verdun, and there, passing through all minds like the scent of

the morning breeze was the thought: "You are no longer alone." The great successes and victories of the recent past, the great days of battle in Flanders and before Cambrai, where the first crushing offensive blow delivered upon the arrogant British showed that despite three years of war and suffering our troops still retained their old offensive spirit, have their effect on the entire Fatherland and on the enemy.

We do not know what is still in store for us, but you have seen how in this last of the four years of war God's hand has visibly prevailed, punished treachery, and rewarded heroic persistence. From this we can gain firm confidence that the Lord will be with us in the future also. * * *

If the enemy does not want peace, then we must bring peace to the world by battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace.

"Forward with God!"

The Kaiser on Jan. 1, 1918, addressed the following New Year order to the German Army and Navy:

A year of heavy and important battles has come to a close. The gigantic battles which raged from Spring to Fall on Belgian and French soil were decided in favor of your glorious arms. In the east the offensive spirit of our armies, by powerful blows, achieved great successes. Our arms there are now at rest. Brilliant victories in a few days destroyed the Italian offensive preparations of years.

In co-operation with my army, my fleet has again proved its efficiency by daring enterprises. The submarines are unswervingly performing their difficult and effective work. Filled with pride and admiration, we survey the heroic band of our colonial troops.

The German people in arms has thus everywhere, on land and sea, achieved great deeds. But our enemies still hope, with the assistance of new allies, to defeat you and then to destroy forever the world position won by Germany in hard endeavor. They will not succeed. Trusting in our righteous cause and in our strength, we face the year 1918 with firm confidence and iron will. Therefore, forward with God to fresh deeds and fresh victories!

Crown Prince Lauds Army

The German Crown Prince, in a New Year order to his army, said:

The year 1917 has gone down into history, and with it the deeds of arms of my army. The French Army stood ready on the Aisne and in Champagne to deliver a great, decisive blow. An overwhelming superiority of men, arms, and ammunition was counted upon to force a victory for the enemy.

The assault sanguinarily collapsed before your faithfulness and bravery. You thereby broke the enemy's strength and paved the way to victory for the German arms in Russia and Italy.

In a tenacious struggle, relying only upon your own strength and your self-sacrifice and courage, in difficult battles on the Chemin des Dames, in Champagne, and on the blood-sodden ground of Verdun you protected the rear of the advancing armies in the east and the south. In loyal comradeship you also fought in Flanders and near Cambrai for Germany's honor.

Proud, and with a thankful heart, I behold you, my brave, resolute leaders and my heroic troops. With an unstained shield and a sharp sword we stand on the threshold of the new year around the Imperial War Lord, ready to strike and win, God with us.



Russia's Parleys for Separate Peace

Proceedings of the Brest-Litovsk Conference and Text of Russian and German Peace Programs

THE Bolshevik Government at Petrograd with Nikolai Lenine as Premier and Leon Trotzky as Foreign Minister, continued in control of Russia's foreign relations and had putative direction of the internal affairs of the distracted country during the period under review—the month ended Jan. 15, 1918. The chief activities of the Government as affecting world history were directed to the prosecution of peace negotiations with the representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Domestic conditions throughout Russia grew rapidly worse from the day the Bolsheviks seized control. The reports were meagre and often contradictory, but it was clear that the Government, although it was forced to confront civil insurrection in the Ukraine and among the Don Cossacks, and was unable to repress the anarchy which ran riot in all populous centres, was concentrating its main thought on the peace negotiations, in the hope that if a satisfactory peace were obtained the domestic disorders would be controlled.

Protests of the Allies

When the Leninists had begun their move for a separate peace in the first days of December the allied representatives at Petrograd had filed emphatic protests. General Lavergne, head of the French mission at the Russian Staff Headquarters, addressed this note to the Bolshevik Government:

The Premier and War Minister of France have charged me to make the following declaration to you: "France does not recognize the power of the Commissaries of the People. Trusting in the patriotism of the high Russian command, it counts upon the firm resolution of the military leaders to repel every criminal pourparler and to keep the Russian Army facing the common enemy." Besides, I am charged to call your attention to the fact that the question of an armistice is a Governmental question, whose discussion cannot be taken up without the pre-

vious consent of the allied Governments. No Government has the right to discuss separately the question of an armistice or of peace.

The protest of the United States was made by Colonel Quert, the American Military Attaché, and was addressed to General Dukhonin, Commander in Chief, in these words:

Acting by virtue of instructions received from my Government and transmitted through the Ambassador of the United States at Petrograd, I have the honor to bring to your knowledge the fact that the United States, an ally of Russia, pursuing with her the war which is the struggle of democracy against autocracy, protests energetically and categorically against any separate armistice that might be concluded by Russia.

Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, while awaiting final instructions from his Government, published a declaration in which he brought out the fact that Trotzky's note had been delivered to the representatives of the allied powers nineteen hours after the order had been given to the Commander in Chief on the Russian front to open immediate negotiations for an armistice and for peace. "The allied Governments," he added, "thus find themselves in the presence of a fait accompli on a subject concerning which they have not been consulted. It is furthermore impossible for the embassy to reply to the notes of a Government which his own Government has not recognized."

In response to the Entente protests Trotzky issued a notice in which he said that the allied representatives had addressed their official words to an ex-commander, as Dukhonin had been deposed by the Council of Commissaries; that they had been urging the General to pursue a policy diametrically opposed to that of the Council of Commissaries, and that such a situation was intolerable.

The Bolshevik Government proceeded forthwith to send emissaries to the enemy

and arrange an armistice, which was signed on Dec. 15, 1917, at Brest-Litovsk. A liberal abstract from that document

was given in these pages a month ago, but the full official text as finally promulgated is now presented below.

Text of the Armistice Between Russia and the Central Powers

PREAMBLE

The following is the text of the agreement concluded for an armistice between the plenipotentiary representatives of the chief army commands of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, of the one part, and of Russia, of the other part, for bringing about a lasting and honorable peace for all the parties:

TEXT

Article I.—The armistice takes effect from Dec. 17, 1917, at noon, (Dec. 4, 1917, at 2 P. M., Russian time,) and is to remain in force until Jan. 14, 1918, at noon, (Jan. 1, 1918, at 2 P. M., Russian time.) The contracting parties have the right on the twenty-first day of the armistice to give seven days' notice to terminate it, and if this be not done, then the armistice will automatically remain in force until one of the contracting parties gives such seven days' notice.

Article II.—The conditions of the armistice shall apply to all the land and air fighting forces of the said powers on the land front

comprised between the Black Sea and the Baltic; and they shall likewise apply to the Russo-Turkish theatres of war in Asia.

The contracting parties undertake, for the period that the armistice is in force, not to reinforce the troops on said fronts or on the islands in Moon Sound; and this also refers and applies to their formation into military units. No regrouping in preparation for an offensive is permitted.

Further, the contracting parties undertake that until Jan. 14, 1918, they will not put into operation any transfer of troops from the front between the Black Sea and the Baltic—that is to say, such transfers as had not been begun before the time when the armistice agreement was signed.

Finally, the contracting parties undertake not to assemble troops in the Baltic ports east of 15 degrees longitude east of Greenwich, and in the ports of the Black Sea during the period in which the armistice remains in force.

Article III.—On the European front the most advanced entanglements on each side of the positions of each of the contracting parties shall be considered as the lines of demarkation. At such places where no closed-in positions exist the lines of demarkation on both sides shall be considered as existing midway between the most advanced occupied points on each side, and the intervening zone shall be considered as neutral. Moreover, navigable rivers which separate opposing positions shall be considered as neutral, and they shall not be navigated except for previously agreed traffic of a mercantile nature. In sectors where positions are separated from each other by a great distance, lines of demarkation shall be agreed upon by armistice commissions without delay, and they shall be made distinguishable.

In the Russo-Turkish theatres of war in Asia, the lines of demarkation, as well as traffic over them, shall be regulated by agreement between the high commands on both sides.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN TROOPS

Article IV.—For the development and strengthening of friendly relations between the nations of the contracting parties, organized intercourse between troops shall be permitted under the following conditions:

1.—Intercourse is permissible for pourparlers and for members of Armistice Commissions and their representatives. Each one of them having this object in view must be in possession of an order made out by a corps commander or a corps committee at least.



RUSSIAN FRONT AT THE TIME OF THE ARMISTICE

2.—On every sector of a Russian division, organized intercourse may take place at from two to three points. For this purpose centres for intercourse on divisional fronts are to be established between the lines of demarkation and are to be distinguished by white flags. Intercourse there is only to be allowed by day between sunrise and sunset. At the intercourse centres there must not be present at any one time more than twenty-five unarmed persons from each side. The exchange of news and newspapers is to be permitted. Open letters may be handed in for dispatch. The sale and exchange of wares of everyday use is to be permitted at the intercourse centres.

3.—The interment of the dead in the neutral zone is permissible. More precise details are to be arranged in each case by the divisional commanders on both sides or by the higher service field posts.

4.—As regards the return of men who have been discharged from military service in one country, and who have their homes beyond the lines of demarkation of the other country, this question can only be the subject of discussion at the negotiations for peace. This also applies to men belonging to Polish detachments.

5.—All persons who, contrary to the conditions contained in Clauses 1 to 4, shall cross the line of demarkation of the opposite side will be placed under arrest, and will be delivered up again only at the conclusion of peace or at the end of the period of armistice.

6.—The contracting parties undertake to bring to the notice of their respective troops by strict orders and detailed explanation the necessity for the observance of the conditions of intercourse and the consequences resulting from their contravention.

NAVAL PROVISIONS

Article V.—With regard to naval operations, the following conditions were agreed to:

1.—The armistice extends to the whole Black Sea and the Baltic Sea to the east of the Meridian 15 degrees east of Greenwich, namely, to all sea and air forces belonging to the contracting parties within these regions.

With regard to the extension of the armistice to the White Sea and to Russian coastal waters in the Northern Arctic Ocean, a special agreement will be established after consultations between the naval staffs of the contracting parties.

All attacks upon mercantile and naval vessels belonging to the contracting parties in the above-named seas shall cease at once as far as possible. In this agreement shall be included a special condition concerning the prohibition of naval attacks upon each other by the contracting parties in other seas.

2.—Attacks by sea and by air upon ports and coasts belonging to the contracting parties in all naval war zones shall be prohibited. Similarly ships of one of the contracting parties are prohibited from entering the ports and from approaching the coasts occupied by another contracting party.

3.—Flights are prohibited over the ports or over the coasts of both contracting parties in all the naval war zones. Flights over the line of demarkation are also prohibited.

4.—The line of demarkation is established as follows:

In the Black Sea: The line—Olinka Lighthouse, mouth of St. George's Channel of the Danube, Cape Geros.

In the Baltic Sea: Røgeul, on the western coast of the Island of Worms, Bogsher Island, Wenika, Hegarne.

A detailed line of demarkation in the region between the Islands of Worms and Bogsher must be established by the special commission for the armistice in the Baltic Sea.

Russian warships have the right of free navigation to the Aaland Islands in all weathers and under all ice conditions.

Russian warships may not pass the indicated demarkation line to the south, and the warships of the four Central Powers may not pass it to the north.

The Russian Government gives a guarantee that all the allied warships which are in, or will enter, the indicated region will be submitted to the conditions of this agreement.

5.—Commercial navigation is permitted in the region indicated by Clause 1. The establishment of safe navigation for merchant ships in this region is to be left to the special commission for the armistice in the Baltic and Black Seas.

6.—The contracting parties undertake during the armistice in the Baltic and the Black Sea not to prepare active naval operations directed against each other.

SPECIAL STIPULATIONS

Article VI.—In order to avoid accidents and misunderstandings on the front infantry firing practice is prohibited nearer than 5,000 yards from the demarkation line. The use of land mines shall be stopped. The air forces and observation balloons shall be kept 10,000 yards distant from the demarkation line. Work on positions behind the front-line entanglements is to be allowed, with the exception, however, of such work as might serve as preparation for an attack.

Article VII.—In order to give effect to their agreement and for the correct observance of the same from the moment of its application special commissions are established in the following places:

1.—At Riga for the Baltic.

2.—At Dvinsk for the front from the Baltic to the Dvina.

3.—At Brest-Litovsk for the front from the Dvina to the Pripet.

4.—At Berditcheff for the front from the Pripet to the Dniester.

5.—At Koloczvar, } for the front from
and } the Dniester to the
6.—At Fokshani } Black Sea.

(The boundaries in the regions of the front between Sections 5 and 6 are fixed by mutual agreement.)

7.—At Odessa for the Black Sea.

The right of unimpeded and uncontrolled communication by telegraph is reserved to the commissions. Both contracting parties will construct cables to the middle of the neutral zone between the lines of demarkation.

In the Russo-Turkish theatre of war such commissions will also be established after an agreement by the Commanders in Chief on both sides.

Article VIII.—The agreement for the cessation of hostilities dated Dec. 5, 1917, and all other agreements concluded up to the present on separate sectors of the front, with regard to an armistice or a cessation of hostilities, are considered as annulled from the moment that the present agreement becomes effective.

Article IX.—The contracting parties immediately after the signature of the present armistice agreement will begin peace negotiations.

Article X.—Taking their stand upon the freedom and independence and territorial inviolability of the neutral portion of the Persian Empire, the Turkish and Russian High Commands are both prepared to withdraw their troops from Persia. They will immediately enter into communication with the

Persian Government in order to arrange details for their evacuation, and also for the guaranteeing of the above-mentioned principle and for the establishment of other necessary measures.

SUPPLEMENT

Supplementary to, and in extension of, the armistice agreement, the contracting parties have agreed on the most speedy settlement for the immediate exchange of civilian prisoners and of prisoners of war who are unfit for further military service. The first question to be considered is the sending back to their homes of women and of children under 14 years of age. The contracting parties will at once institute practical means for the amelioration of the condition of prisoners of war on both sides. This must be one of the most agreeable tasks in which the Governments will engage.

In order to promote the negotiations for peace, and in order to heal the grievous wounds inflicted upon civilization by the war, measures will be devised for the re-establishment of cultural and economic relations between the contracting parties. To this end the following will contribute: The re-establishment of postal and commercial intercourse, the sending of books and newspapers and the like within the limits allowed by the armistice.

For the settlement of the details, a mixed commission consisting of representatives of all the contracting parties shall shortly meet in Petrograd.

Brest-Litovsk, Dec. 15, 1917.

Accepted in principle, under reserve of final formulation.

(Signed)

First Session of the Brest-Litovsk Conference

After the signing of the armistice preparations were made quickly for the peace parleys, but meanwhile some attention was given by the Government to the disorders throughout the country. The Foreign Minister, Trotzky, took offense at the efforts which were being made by the American Red Cross Mission to Rumania to relieve the distress in that country by sending them seventy-five motor car ambulances. The cars were ordered shipped via Rostoff-on-the Don, which is in the heart of the Cossack country, where civil war against the Bolsheviks was raging. Trotzky suspected that the automobiles were intended for General Kaledine, who was leading the revolt, and took occasion at a meeting of the Soviets to denounce the

effort and likewise Mr. Francis, the American Ambassador, who was co-operating in it. This episode was used to create prejudice against the Allies and to strengthen the Bolshevik Government's apparent determination to force a separate peace. It was fully explained by the American Ambassador that the shipment had no relation to the internal affairs of Russia. The Bolshevik Government, however, made no disavowal of the charges.

Before the first peace conference assembled there was fraternization on all fronts between the Russian and German soldiers, and some trade sprang up. A delegation of German officials at once left for Petrograd, and many German military uniforms were seen on the

streets of that city, where conferences were begun looking to the resumption of commercial intercourse. The report of the first conference, however, threw a shadow across the deliberations; it appeared that the Germans were not finding the Russians as amenable to their demands as they had anticipated.

Meeting of Peace Conference

The official report of the conference at Brest-Litovsk, as given out through German sources, was as follows:

"Today, (Saturday, Dec. 22, 1917,) at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the peace negotiations were begun at a solemn sitting. The meeting was attended by the following delegates:

"Germany—Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, Foreign Minister; Herr von Rosenberg, Baron von Hock, General Hoffmann, and Major Brinckmann.

"Austria-Hungary—Count Czernin, Foreign Minister; Herr von Meref, Freiherr von Wisser, Count Collerda, Count Osaky, Field Marshal von Chiserles, Lieutenant Polarny, and Major von Gluise.

"Bulgaria—Minister Popoff, Former Secretary Cosseff, Postmaster General Stoyanovich, Colonel Gantjiff, and Dr. Anastasoff.

"Turkey—Former Minister of Foreign Affairs Neslmy Bey, Ambassador Hakki, Under Foreign Secretary Hekmit Bey, and General Zekki Pasha.

"Russia — Joffe Kamineff, Bisenko Pokrosky, Karaghan Lubinski, Weltman Pawlowich, Admiral Altvater, General Tumorri, Colonel Rokki, Colonel Zeplett, and Captain Lipsky.

"Prince Leopold of Bavaria, as Commander in Chief of the German forces in the East, welcomed the delegates and invited Hakki Pasha, as the senior delegate, to open the conference. Hakki Pasha, after an expression of a desire for a satisfactory result, declared the negotiations formally open, and proposed Dr. von Kühlmann as the presiding officer. The German Foreign Minister was unanimously elected Chairman.

Kuhlmann Outlines Plans

"The most important speech before the delegates was made by Dr. von Kühlmann. He said:

"The purpose of this memorable meeting is to terminate the war between the Central Powers and Russia and re-establish a state of peace and friendship. In

view of the situation it will be impossible in the course of these deliberations to prepare an instrument of peace elaborated in its smallest details. What I have in mind is to fix the most important principles and conditions upon which peaceful and neighborly intercourse, especially in the cultural and economic sense, can be speedily resumed, and also to decide upon the best means of healing the wounds caused by the war.

"Our negotiations will be guided by the spirit of peaceable humanity and mutual esteem. They must take into account, on the one hand, what has become historical, in order that we may not lose our footing on the firm ground of facts, but, on the other hand, they must be inspired by the great and new leading motive which has brought us here together.

"It is an auspicious circumstance that the negotiations open within sight of that festival which for centuries past has promised peace on earth, good-will to men. I enter upon the negotiations with the desire that our work may make speedy and prosperous progress.

"The German Foreign Minister proposed the following rules, which were adopted:

"Questions of precedence will be decided according to the alphabetical list of the represented powers.

"Plenary sittings will be presided over by the Chief Representative of each of the five powers in rotation.

"The following languages may be used in the debate: German, Bulgarian, Russian, and Turkish.

"Questions interesting only part of the represented powers may be discussed separately.

"Official reports of the proceedings will be drafted jointly.

"At von Kühlmann's suggestion the chief Russian delegate stated the main principles of the Russian peace program in a long speech, which coincided on the whole with the well-known resolutions of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates."

The Russian Peace Demands

In the German account of the conference as sent out—even in Germany—the real demands of the Russians were altered and considerably emasculated. The last nine paragraphs were not made public until several days later. The text of the whole fifteen demands of Russia is as follows:

1.—Evacuation of all Russian territory now occupied by Germany, with autonomy for Poland and the Lithuanian and Lettish provinces.

- 2.—Autonomy for Turkish Armenia.
- 3.—Settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine problem by a free plebiscite.
- 4.—The restoration of Belgium and indemnity through an international fund for damages.
- 5.—Restoration of Serbia and Montenegro with a similar indemnity, Serbia gaining access to the Adriatic. Complete autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 6.—Other contested Balkan territory to be temporarily autonomous, pending plebiscites.
- 7.—Restoration of Rumanian territory with autonomy for the Dobruja; the Berlin convention concerning equality for Jews to be put into full effect.
- 8.—Autonomy for the Italian population of Trent and Trieste pending a plebiscite.
- 9.—Restoration of the German colonies.
- 10.—Restoration of Persia and Greece.
- 11.—Neutralization of all maritime straits leading to inland seas, including the canals of Suez and Panama. The freedom of commercial navigation, canceling all charters during wartime of enemy ships that torpedo commercial ships on the high seas, which is to be forbidden by international agreement.
- 12.—All belligerents to renounce indemnities; contributions exacted during the war to be refunded.
- 13.—All belligerents renounce commercial boycotts after the war or the institution of special customs agreements.
- 14.—Peace conditions to be settled at a congress composed of delegates chosen by a national representative body, the condition being stipulated by the respective Parliaments that the diplomatists shall sign no secret treaty; all such secret treaties are declared null and void.
- 15.—Gradual disarmament on land and sea and the establishment of militia to replace the standing armies.

After the presentation of the peace demands as above, the plenipotentiaries of the Central Powers asked adjournment to consider the proposals.

German Counterproposals

The conference resumed its sessions on Tuesday, Dec. 25, when the counterproposals of the Central Powers were presented by Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. They were, in substance, as follows:

Article I.—Russia and Germany are to declare the state of war at an end. Both nations are resolved to live together in the future in peace and friendship on condition of complete reciprocity. Germany will be ready as soon as peace is concluded with Russia and the demobilization of the Russian armies has been accomplished, to evacuate her present positions

in occupied Russian territory, in so far as no different inferences result from Article II.

Article II.—The Russian Government having, in accordance with its principles, proclaimed for all peoples, without exception, living within the Russian Empire the right of self-determination, including complete reparation, takes cognizance of the decisions expressing the will of people demanding a full state of independence and separation from the Russian Empire for Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and portions of Esthonia and Livonia. The Russian Government recognizes that in the present circumstances these manifestations must be regarded as an expression of the will of the people, and is ready to draw conclusions therefrom. As in those districts to which the foregoing stipulations apply, the question of evacuation is not such as provided for in Article I., a special commission shall discuss and fix the time and other details in conformity and in accordance with the Russian idea of the necessary ratification by a plebiscite on broad lines and without any military pressure whatever of the already existing proclamation of separation.

Article III.—Treaties and agreements in force before the war are to become effective if not directly in conflict with changes resulting from the war. Each party obligates itself, within three months after the signing of the peace treaty, to inform the other which of the treaties and agreements will not again become effective.

Article IV.—Each of the contracting parties will not discriminate against the subjects, merchant ships, or goods of the other parties.

Article V.—The parties agree that with the conclusion of peace economic war shall cease. During the time necessary for the restoration of relations there may be limitations upon trade, but the regulations as to imports are not to be of a too burdensome extent and high taxes or duties upon imports shall not be levied. For the interchange of goods an organization shall be effected by mixed commissions to be formed as soon as possible.

Article VI.—Instead of the commercial treaty of navigation of 1894-1904, which is abrogated, a new treaty will accord new conditions.

Article VII.—The parties will grant one another during at least twenty years the rights of the most favored nation in questions of commerce and navigation.

Article VIII.—Russia agrees that the administration of the mouth of the Danube be intrusted to a European Danube commission, with a membership from the countries bordering upon the Danube and the Black Sea. Above Braila the administration is to be in the hands of the countries bordering the river.

Article IX.—Military laws limiting the private rights of Germans in Russia and of Russians in Germany are abolished.

Article X.—The contracting parties are not to demand payment of war expenditures, nor for damages suffered during the war, this provision including requisitions.

Article XI.—Each party is to pay for damage done within its own limits during the war by acts against international law with regard to the subjects of other parties, in particular their diplomatic and consular representatives, as affecting their life, health, or property. The amount is to be fixed by mixed commissions with neutral Chairmen.

Article XII.—Prisoners of war who are invalids are to be immediately repatriated. The exchange of other prisoners is to be made as soon as possible, the times to be fixed by a German-Russian commission.

Article XIII.—Civilian subjects interned or exiled are to be immediately released and sent home without cost to them.

Article XIV.—Russian subjects of German descent, particularly German colo-

nists, may within ten years emigrate to Germany, with the right to liquidate or transfer their property.

Article XV.—Merchantmen of any of the contracting parties which were in ports of the other party at the beginning of the war, and also vessels taken as prizes which have not yet been adjudged, are to be returned, or, if that be impossible, to be paid for.

Article XVI.—Diplomatic and consular relations are to be resumed as soon as possible.

Count Czernin, at the same conference, (Dec. 25,) presented a statement offering terms for a general peace on behalf of the Central Powers. (It is given elsewhere in this magazine—in the group of declarations of peace aims by the various nations.) The refusal of the Allies to consider the terms within ten days, the limit fixed, caused the Central Powers formally to withdraw these proposals "as null and void," at the session of Jan. 8.

Russia's Rejection of German Terms

The news from Berlin and Petrograd in the days following the peace conference of Dec. 25 was exceedingly meagre. It was not until eight days later that the fact came out authoritatively that the German proposals had proved unacceptable to the Russians. Their official refusal was in the form of a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which was made public Jan. 2, 1918, as follows:

This assembly confirms the fact that the program proclaimed by the representatives of the Quadruple Alliance at Brest-Litovsk recognizes in principle the conclusion of a peace without annexations or indemnities. This recognition establishes the basis for further pourparlers, with the view of a general democratic peace.

However, already in this declaration the representatives of the German Government have refused to admit the free right of oppressed nations and colonies seized before the beginning of the war in 1914 to dispose of their own destiny. This restriction, which was immediately reported by the Russian delegation, signifies that the dominant parties in Germany, compelled by a popular movement to grant concessions to the principles of a democratic peace, nevertheless are trying to

distort this idea in the sense of their own annexationist policy.

The Austro-German delegation, in setting forth the practical conditions of peace in the east, alters still further its idea of a just, democratic peace. This declaration is made in view of the fact that the Austrian and German Governments refused to guarantee immediately and irrevocably the removal of their troops from the occupied countries of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland and parts of Livonia and Esthonia.

In fact, the free affirmation of their will by the populations of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and all other countries occupied by the troops of other States is impossible until the moment of the return of the native population to the places they have evacuated. The allegation of the German delegation that the will of the people of the said countries has already been manifested is devoid of all foundation.

Under martial law and under the yoke of the military censorship the peoples of the occupied countries could not express their will. The documents upon which the German Government could base its allegation at best only prove the manifestation of the will of a few privileged groups, and in no way the will of the masses in those territories.

We now declare that the Russian revolution remains faithful to the policy of internationalism. We defend the right of

Poland, Lithuania, and Courland to dispose of their own destiny actually and freely. Never will we recognize the justice of imposing the will of a foreign nation on any other nations whatsoever.

This joint session insists the peace pourparlers be communicated later to the neutral States and instructs the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils and the Commissioners to take measures to bring this about.

We say to the people of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria:

"Under your pressure your Governments have been obliged to accept the motto of no annexations and no indemnities, but recently they have been trying to carry on their old policy of evasions. Remember, that the conclusion of an immediate democratic peace will depend actually and above all on you. All the people of Europe look to you, exhausted and bled by such a war as there never was before, that you will *not permit the Austro-German imperialists to make war against revolutionary Russia for the subjection of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and Armenia.*"

"Wolves in Sheep's Clothing"

The *Izvestia*, (The News,) the official mouthpiece of the Bolsheviks, on the same day (Jan. 2) denounced the Germans as "wolves in sheep's clothing." The same day a pamphlet was circulated in the German lines by the Bolsheviks declaring that the peace conditions submitted by the Central Powers show the German promises of a democratic peace to be "unconscionable lies." After describing the actions of the Germans in Poland and Lithuania in recruiting forced labor (they are said to have transferred 300,000 civilians forcibly to Germany) and shooting hunger strikers, the pamphlet continues:

"The German Government only found 'support in Courland from the hated 'slave owners, the German barons, who 'have their prototypes in the Polish land 'owners."

The document declares Germany desires to free the peoples on Russia's western frontier from the scope of the Russian revolution in order to subjugate them with German capital, impose an Austrian monarchy on Poland, and make Lithuania and Courland German duchies. It concludes: "On such a basis the Russian Workmen's Government can never 'enter negotiations."

Chairman Joffe of the Russian Peace Delegation on Jan. 2 sent an official telegram to the Chairmen of the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish delegations, saying the Russian Republic deemed it necessary to conduct further peace negotiations on neutral soil, and suggesting a transfer of the conference to Stockholm. The telegram declared that replies to the message were expected by Russia in Petrograd.

Articles 1 and 2 of the Austro-German terms submitted Dec. 25, the message said, were in direct conflict with the principles of self-definition of nations insisted upon by the Russian Peace Delegation and supported by the Russian Republic and the Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Official German Discussion

The hitch in the negotiations came as a great surprise to the Germans, according to dispatches from Petrograd. On Jan. 2 Emperor William received in joint audience Chancellor von Hertling, Field Marshal von Hindenburg, General von Ludendorff, Finance Minister von Röder, and Foreign Secretary von Kühlmann. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the German Bundesrat, under the Presidency of Count von Dandl, discussed the Russian situation at the Chancellor's palace. Chancellor von Hertling had a long conversation with Admiral von Tirpitz, the former Minister of Marine, and Emperor Charles received in audience Professor Kucharzevski, the Polish Premier.

On the following day Chancellor von Hertling addressed the Main Committee of the Reichstag and stated that the German Government must return a negative reply to the Russian proposal that the peace conference should be transferred from Brest-Litovsk to Stockholm. Further, he declared that Foreign Minister von Kühlmann, who had left Berlin again for Brest-Litovsk, had been instructed to inform the Russian delegates that Points 1 and 2 in their proposals could not be accepted by Germany.

Baron von dem Bussche-Haddenhausen gave to the committee the history of events leading to the peace negotiations.

He said the armistice negotiations had taken a rapid and smooth course, and had reached a generally satisfactory conclusion on Dec. 15. Parallel to the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk ran the negotiations at Fokshani for an armistice on the southeastern front, at which conference Rumania was represented.

The peace negotiations which followed, the Baron declared, naturally were very difficult, as they had to be conducted between the coalition on one hand and a single power on the other hand. As to the course of the negotiations the public had been informed to a greater extent than usually was the case. This had made the undertaking more difficult, as the Entente Powers were "enabled to impede the negotiations by circulating false news."

Baron von dem Bussche-Haddenhausen then reviewed the Russian proposals, the German counterproposals, and the tasks of the German commission sent to Petrograd to deal with the questions of subjects of the Central Powers interned, wounded soldiers, and prisoners.

During the debate a member of the Centrist Party expressed approval, on the whole, of the attitude of the German representatives at Brest-Litovsk, and said:

"Our aim must be not only to arrive at an understanding with the Bolshevik Government, but to reach a lasting peace with the Russian people and prevent war in future."

The speaker asserted that the constitutional bodies now existing in Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, established on valid law, expressed the will of the peoples of those territories.

A Socialist member argued that it would be in the interest of the empire to recognize the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination.

"Political life in the occupied territories is obstructed by military pressure, which must be removed," he said. "The negotiations in the East must be conducted to a satisfactory end. This is the will of the German people and of the German Nation itself."

Military Party Prevails

Deep obscurity enveloped the events that ensued at Berlin and Petrograd after the first adjournment of the conference, but enough was allowed to filter through to show that there was profound political excitement throughout Germany. It appears that the first news given out in Germany was that the break in the negotiations had been caused by the demand of Russia that future conferences be held at Stockholm or some other neutral city. Not until several days later did it develop that the real hitch arose over the refusal of the Germans to evacuate the Russian provinces. Various Crown Councils were held, there were rumors that Germany would recede from this position, followed by statements that if Germany yielded Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff would resign; finally it was reported that the military party had again won a victory and that Germany would make no concessions. Meanwhile Trotzky issued several statements stoutly maintaining that Russia would make no peace that was dishonorable. While en route to the second session he was quoted as saying: "We did not overthrow the Czar to bow to German imperialism."

The Second Session at Brest-Litovsk

The second session of the peace conference was held at Brest-Litovsk on Thursday, Jan. 10, 1918. The meeting was attended by Minister Trotzky, one woman, Mme. Bithenko; a former exile, M. Joffe; M. Kameneff, M. Pokrovsky, and three Councilors. Representing the Central Powers were Dr. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister; Count

Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister; Talaat Bey, the Turkish Grand Vizier, and the Bulgarian Foreign Minister. There was also a representation from Ukraine, which country through its Rada (Parliament) had demanded independent Peace Commissions, this being agreed to by the Bolsheviks and the Central Powers.

Ukraine's Independent Attitude

The Ukrainian delegate, M. Bolubowysch, announced that the Ukrainian Republic, having resumed its international existence, which it lost 250 years ago, had decided to adopt an independent attitude toward the negotiations, and that the General Secretariat had instructed him to hand the following note to the powers represented at the conference:

The Ukrainian People's Republic brings the following to the knowledge of all belligerents and neutral States: The Central Rada, on Nov. 20, proclaimed a People's Republic, and by this act an international status was determined. Striving for the creation of a confederation of all the republics which have arisen in the territory of the former Russian Empire, the Ukrainian People's Republic, through its General Secretariat, proceeds to enter into independent relations pending the formation of a Federal Government in Russia and until the relations of the Ukraine with the future federation are established.

M. Bolubowysch protested that the commissaries were agreeing to an armistice independently of the Ukrainian delegates, and proceeded to declare that the Ukraine was striving for a general world peace on democratic lines insuring even the smallest nation unlimited self-determination, with proper guarantees for rendering possible a real expression of the people's will.

Address by Von Kuehlmann

Dr. von Kuehlmann announced the fixed determination of the Central Powers not to accede to the Russian suggestion to transfer the negotiations to neutral territory. He continued:

As for the conduct of the negotiations, the atmosphere in which they take place is extremely important. It must be mentioned that since the conclusion of the exchange of views before the temporary interruption of the negotiations much has happened which appeared calculated to create doubt as to the sincere intention of the Russian Government to arrive at speedy peace with the powers of the Quadruple Alliance.

I may refer to the tone of certain semi-official declarations of the Russian Government against the Central Powers, especially the declaration of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency, which is regarded abroad as the semi-official Russian agency. It reproduced in detail a reply

M. Joffe (a member of the Russian delegation) is alleged to have made at the sitting of Dec. 28, which, as the protocol shows, originated solely in the imagination of its author. This entirely unfounded report has had a good deal to do in confusing judgment in regard to the course of the negotiations and in endangering their results.

In explaining why the Central Powers refused categorically to transfer the negotiations to neutral territory, Count Czernin said both parties had direct telegraphic communication with their respective Governments, which neither could forego, as would be the case elsewhere, without interminably prolonging the negotiations and rendering them difficult. He continued:

The second motive is more important. You gentlemen invited us to take part in general peace negotiations. We accepted the invitation and came to an agreement about the basis of a general peace. On this basis you presented a ten days' ultimatum to your allies, who have not answered, and today it is no longer a question of negotiation of a general peace, but rather of a separate peace between Russia and the Quadruple Alliance.

The Count asserted that the transfer of the negotiations to neutral territory would give the Entente an opportunity to interfere and endeavor to prevent a separate peace. He added:

We refuse to give the western powers this opportunity, but we are ready to conduct the final negotiations and sign a peace treaty at a place to be fixed.

Regarding the questions on which an understanding has not been reached, we came to a binding agreement at the last plenary session to submit them to a commission, to begin work immediately. All the four members of the Quadruple Alliance are entirely agreed to conducting the negotiations to the end on the basis explained by Dr. von Kuehlmann and myself and agreed upon with the Russians. If the Russian delegation is animated by the same intentions, we shall attain a result satisfactory to all. If not, then matters will take a necessary course, but responsibility for war will fall exclusively on the Russian delegation.

The Turkish and Bulgarian representatives associated themselves with these remarks.

In the name of the German chief command General Hoffmann protested strongly against wireless messages sent out from Russian military stations, con-

taining abuse of the German military institutions and appeals of a revolutionary character to the German troops. This, the General said, transgressed the spirit of the armistice. Representatives of the armies of Germany's allies joined in the protest.

At the proposal of Leon Trotzky, head of the Russian delegation, the sitting was adjourned for one day.

Stockholm Request Waived

When the conference was resumed on Jan. 11, it was agreed to continue the armistice on all fronts to Feb. 12, 1918, the first armistice having expired on Jan. 12.

Foreign Minister Trotzky made an extended statement, waiving the demand that the negotiations be resumed at a neutral city. He said he had noted the statement of the Central Powers that the basis of a general peace, as formulated in their declaration of Dec. 25, was null and void, and added, "We adhere to the principles of democratic peace as proclaimed by us." M. Trotzky added that the Russian delegation could not pass over another point, which had been mentioned by the German Chancellor, Count von Hertling, in his statement before the Reichstag main committee, in which he had referred to Germany's powerful position, (*Machtstellung*.)

The Russian delegation cannot deny, and does not intend to deny, [he said,] that its country, owing to the policy of the classes until recently in power, has been weakened. But the world position of a country is not determined by its technical apparatus alone, but also by its inherent possibilities—as, indeed, Germany's economic strength should not be judged by her present conditions and means of supply.

M. Trotzky considered that the greater forces of the Russian people had been awakened and developed by the revolution, just as the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the Revolution of the eighteenth century had vitalized the creative forces of the German and French peoples. He added:

Our Government placed at the head of its program a world peace, but it promised the people to sign only a democratic and just peace. The sympathies of the Russian people are with the working

classes of Germany and her allies. Years of war have not hardened the hearts of the Russian soldiers, who stretch forth their hands to the people on the other side.

Regarding the proposal to remove the negotiations to Stockholm, he continued:

The refusal of the Central Powers to transfer the conference to a neutral site is only explicable by the desire of their Governments and powerful annexationist groups to base their dealings not on reconciliation of peoples but on the war map. But war maps disappear, while peoples remain. We regarded as idle the assertions of the German press that refusal to transfer the conference was in the nature of an ultimatum. We were wrong. An ultimatum was delivered—parleys at Brest-Litovsk or none.

The German annexationists regard the rupture of negotiations as preferable to a conciliatory settlement of the future of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and Armenia. Semi-official annexationist agitators in the central countries are trying to persuade the German people that behind the open and frank policy of Russia is a British or other stage manager. Therefore, we decided to remain at Brest-Litovsk, so that the slightest possibility of peace may not be lost; so that it may be established whether peace is possible with the Central Powers without violence to the Poles, Letts, Armenians, and all other nationalities to which the Russian revolution assures full right of development, without reservation or restriction.

The further proceedings, according to the German version, were as follows: At the opening of the sitting Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, announced that the Central Powers recognized the Ukraine delegation as "an independent delegation representing the Ukraine Republic," but that formal recognition of the Ukrainian Republic as an independent State would be reserved for the peace treaty.

M. Trotzky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, followed Count Czernin, saying that such conflicts as had occurred between the Russian Government and the Ukraine "have had no connection with the question of the self-determination of the Ukraine, concerning which there is no room for conflict between the two sister republics."

M. Bolubowysch, the Ukrainian Secretary of State, accepted the statements of Count Czernin and M. Trotzky and announced that his delegates would par-

ticipate in the peace negotiations on that basis.

Later in the session the delegates discussed the German claim that the Russian wireless statements issued during the recess constituted a transgression of the spirit of the armistice. M. Trotzky desired to know in what particular the spirit of the armistice had been transgressed by the communications, and General Hoffmann of the German delegation replied:

At the head of the armistice treaty stood the words "bring about a lasting peace." Your Russian propaganda transgressed this intention, because it did not strive after a lasting peace, but to carry the resolutions concerning civil war into the countries of the Central Powers.

M. Trotzky answered General Hoffmann, pointing out that all the German newspapers were being freely admitted into Russia, even newspapers which were supporting the views of the extreme Russian reactionaries. Complete equality had been observed in this respect, and it had nothing to do with the armistice treaty. General Hoffmann retorted that his protest was not directed against the Russian press, but against official Government statements and utterances which bore the signature of Ensign Krylenko, Commander in Chief of the Bolshevik forces.

To this statement M. Trotzky replied that the treaty contained no restrictions or expressions of opinion by citizens of the Russian Republic or their governing officials. Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister, interrupted M. Trotzky, saying:

Noninterference in Russian affairs is the fixed principle of the German Government, but the Government has the right to demand reciprocity in this respect.

Answering Dr. von Kühlmann, M. Trotzky replied:

On the other hand, the Russians will recognize it as a step forward if the Germans freely and frankly express their views regarding internal conditions in Russia so far as they think it necessary.

Dealing with the declarations at the previous session by Dr. von Kühlmann and by Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, respecting the failure of Russia's allies to participate

in the negotiations, which vitiated the peace offer of the Central Powers and resolved the discussions to a question of a separate peace with Russia, M. Trotzky said:

We are in full accord with our former resolution. We desire to continue the peace negotiations quite apart from the question whether or not the Entente Powers take part.

Conference Ends in a Clash

The German reports of the peace conference declared on Jan. 14 that the parleys had broken up in a clash over the evacuation of the Russian provinces, and that the conference had adjourned without fixing a day for reassembling. The reports of the final sitting—through German sources—follow:

"A committee composed of Germans, Austro-Hungarians, and Russians for the discussion of territorial questions held three long sittings. It was agreed that the first paragraph of the peace treaty should be a clause announcing that the state of war between the parties had been concluded.

"The Germans proposed a clause that the contracting parties have resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship. Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, refused to indorse this, declaring that it was 'a decorative phrase, which does not describe the relations which in the future will exist between the Russian and German peoples.'

"It was confirmed that the evacuation of occupied territory by both parties should take place on the basis of full reciprocity, so that the evacuation by the Central Powers of Russian territory would synchronize with the evacuation by Russia of the occupied regions in Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Persia. Later Persia was struck out, as not being a belligerent party, and M. Trotzky proposed to add the following: 'Russia undertakes as speedily as possible to remove her troops from neutral Persia.' He said that he had no other ground for this than a desire to emphasize the crying wrong committed by the former Russian Government against a neutral country."

The Russian delegates demanded the immediate repatriation of deported Poles

and Lithuanians and the liberation of all Bohemians, Czechs, and others arrested by the Central Powers for their connection with pacifist propaganda, according to the Petrograd correspondent of the Exchange Telegraph Company.

"The return of refugees to Poland and Lithuania is of the utmost importance in the question of self-determination," declared M. Trotzky.

To this the German delegates replied:

"These demands involve questions of internal policy which cannot possibly be discussed in the peace parleys."

M. Trotzky, however, asserted that the Russians would not abandon their demands. A prolonged debate followed on the question of admitting representatives of Poland, Courland, and Lithuania to the negotiations and on the question of what constituted self-determination by these provinces.

The discussion became embittered, and the only result was a protest by General Hoffmann of the German delegation against the tone of the Russian delegation, which he said "speaks as if it stood victorious in our countries and could dictate conditions."

He reminded the delegates that the Bolshevik authority, as much as the German, was founded on force, as instanced by what he termed the attempts to suppress the White Russian and the Ukrainian movements toward self-determination.

General Hoffmann finally stated that the German Supreme Army Command must refuse to evacuate Courland, Lithuania, Riga, and the islands in the Gulf of Riga.

Dr. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister, then declared that he must reserve a further statement of the position of the Central Powers on all points. He protested against the position the Russians had adopted of presenting their views in written declarations, and said that the conference must be adjourned in order that there might be a consultation between the Teutonic allies. No date for the resumption of the conference was fixed.

The general feeling in European capi-

tals at this juncture, (Jan. 14,) as indicated by the dispatches, was that the Bolsheviks would stand firm against Germany's continuing in control of Russian provinces, while the German and Austrian Commissioners had been strengthened in their determination to insist on practical annexations.

Economic Conferences

During the period from Dec. 25 to Jan. 11 negotiations were carried on at Petrograd between Russian commissions and those of the Central Powers concerning economic questions, the exchange of prisoners, renewal of postal and telegraphic communications, &c., but no decisions had been announced up to Jan. 15.

The Constituent Assembly was called to meet Jan. 18, to be followed three days later by the third All-Russian Congress of the Soviets. The latest returns of the voting for the Constituent Assembly showed 158 outright Bolsheviks elected out of 510 delegates. New elections were ordered to replace delegates to the Assembly who were deemed not to represent the interests of the masses of workmen and peasants.

Separate Russian States

The disintegration of the Russian Empire into small republics has made notable progress since the Bolshevik revolution. The Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed by the Central Parliament on Nov. 20, 1917, and was recognized at the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations as a separate State by the Bolshevik Commissioners and tentatively by the Central Powers. The same important step was taken by Finland, which formally declared its independence as a republic on Dec. 5, 1917, and was recognized by Norway and Sweden. Lithuania formally declared its independence of Russia on Jan. 8, 1918, through a conference of Lithuanian delegates held at Stockholm. The Don Cossacks declared a separate republic with Rostov as its capital and Paul Kaledine as first President and Prime Minister. Separate movements also developed in Courland, the Caucasus, Turkestan, among the Mussulmans and the Tartars, and in Siberia.

Life in Revolutionary Russia

Murder, Theft, and Anarchy as Daily Features of the Present Social and Political Conditions

Ludovic Naudeau, a correspondent of the Paris Temps, who has lived in Petrograd ever since the beginning of the revolution, is the author of this intimate sketch of the moral and social chaos that has gradually developed under the Socialists' attempt to govern. The period is that of the weeks immediately preceding Kerensky's fall on Nov. 7, 1917, with a few glimpses of a little later date. The translation was made expressly for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

LITTLE facts, caught on the fly, help one to understand the web of events and to throw light on certain enigmas in Russia. There have been appearances, parodies, semblances concerning which it would be vain to try to give precise information; such, for example, as the Congress of Soviets, the Congress at Moscow, the Democratic Congress at Petrograd, and perhaps also the "Preparliament" itself—great representations that represent nothing. For the present the only significant data must be found in episodes from the daily life of the people—social historiettes that are more exact than history—little truths of today, little lights projected upon the mystery of tomorrow.

When I say that there are relatively few murders in revolutionary Russia the statement needs some explanation. I mean that in proportion to the infinite number of petty thefts and grand larcenies the number of criminals who dare to go to the extreme of armed assault and murder is not very great. One would find, however, that several thousands of homicides have been committed in Russia in the last six months, if one wished to include all the cases of a political nature or appearance—affrays, street fights, executions of officers, evictions, wholesale pillage, summary judgments, lynchings, skirmishes between different army units, incendiary fires and explosions in factories resulting from criminal acts.

Civil war has not yet broken out, if by civil war you mean a series of pitched battles conducted under methodical orders. But in reality it exists in an

intermittent, sporadic way throughout Russia. An intangible, scattered, uncontrollable *Jacquerie* is galloping through the land, leaving behind it fire, ruins, and blood. The newspapers have a standing headline, "Anarchy." This very day (Oct. 16, 1917) the *Izvestia* has an article headed "The Wave of Massacres." There are now appearing in the large cities "Bonnot gangs," (named from a notorious automobile bandit in Paris,) of which it is difficult to say whether they are composed of revolutionists or brigands. These bands have tried to rob middle-class citizens, to pick their pockets, to pilfer, sponge upon, and eat them out of house and home, but until recently they have appeared rather to avoid murder. But little by little their sentimentalism in this respect is evaporating.

Typical Case in Petrograd

I will give a typical case: In the suburb of Novaia Dierevnia six men armed with revolvers and dressed as soldiers and marines arrive at the store of the rich merchant Borisoff and announce that they are about to requisition his goods. Borisoff demands that they show him a judicial warrant; the barrel of a revolver is pointed between his eyes. The investigators open his safe, take 150,000 rubles in money, 50,000 rubles in jewels, and 75,000 rubles in other articles of value, and then make off. But during their flight a tire of their automobile bursts, militiamen arrive, investigate, find that these gentry have a suspicious appearance, and decide to take them to the Commissariat. A fight; two of the thieves are wounded and taken to the

militia post. But then ten other men, likewise clad as soldiers and marines, who have been held in strategic reserve, come to demand that the authorities release the prisoners; they open fire on the post and one militiaman and one assailant are wounded. Reinforcements arrive for the militiamen, several members of the band are captured, and M. Borisoff's treasure is recovered.

The treasure of M. Borisoff is recovered, but how many others are not! Numerous official documents, Government proclamations, innumerable telegrams and press articles bear witness that everywhere throughout all Russia minor combats are thus breaking out between confiscatory "redistributors" and absurd slaves of routine who have a prejudice in favor of keeping their own property. Here brigands of the Bonnot type pillage a great estate with impunity; it is a revolutionary act. There an unfortunate pickpocket who has stolen a purse, or a thief who has taken a cow, is lynched by a mob of soldiers and citizens who cut him to pieces.

Only Small Crimes Punished

If I kill a whole family, assassinating even the old people and the babies, I shall not be condemned to death, for the death penalty is abolished. But if, at some out of the way crossroads, my face looks suspicious to honest men, they may easily take a notion to run a bayonet through me, an unpleasant fate that has come to many innocent men in the last six months. The persons who shall have disemboweled me in the name of the State may not, perhaps, have left my watch and purse in my clothes; nevertheless they will be regarded as "extremely revolutionary" persons, and no one will concern himself with punishing them. It is better here to steal an ox than an egg, because the larger the theft the greater the proof of its patriotic motive. We have no civil war, and are not suffering a reign of terror, but revolution and terror are gradually invading society.

The situation sometimes makes me think of a flood which, instead of falling from the skies, oozes imperceptibly,

like a bloody sweat, from the crevices, cavities, and ravines of the earth, and then keeps rising and rising. Many wealthy people, many politicians, many journalists are living under the shadow of threats that have been conveyed to them. Sing or I'll kill! Be generous, give up your possessions, or you'll breathe your last breath. No one knows what tomorrow will be made of, what will be burned or blown up, or who will be killed. But the country is so large and man is so small that episodes are drowned in the immensity of the fatalism in which we are all submerged. After all, one lives, laughs, and ends by assuring one's self that it is quite possible to go on living in an anarchy tempered by anarchy. Two anarchists are better than one, for one nail drives out another.

The Mania for Gambling

The army has taken to gambling with a veritable frenzy. At the door of a store where cards are sold one sees in a single hour, mingled with the crowd that stands in line for the precious cardboards, as many as forty soldiers. When one of these crowds was raided the officials found several deserters in it. The military authorities have been obliged to take stringent measures against the alarming spread of games of chance in the army. The men are playing cards with feverish intensity from the rear barracks to the front lines, gambling away their pittance of pay, becoming maniacs; a wind of folly is driving them toward unhealthful distractions, which the Provisional Government feels an urgent need of suppressing.

The committee from the 8th Corps has called upon the Government for aid in combating the spread of this scourge. It asks that the sale of playing cards be forbidden, and proposes that all the other military committees should compel the destruction of all the cards already in use; also that the pools and stakes seized should be confiscated and devoted to buying instructive literature. These are the sentiments of the more intelligent among the troops.

Gaming houses are multiplying throughout the country and the moralists are beginning to be frightened at this unex-

pected effect of liberty. Every night enormous sums are gambled away, men are ruined, men kill themselves; poor men who sought to make their fortunes find themselves in the morning on the street without a kopek. It is "railroad" and baccarat for everybody.

Difficulties of Charity Workers

A wounded man having died in a Petrograd hospital in a manner that appeared suspicious to his comrades, the committee of the regiment to which he had belonged went to the place of his death and demanded to see five of the male nurses; these it beat unmercifully and dragged away bleeding, and is still holding them prisoners in some unknown place at this writing, (Nov. 1, 1917.)

At Moscow the Nicholas Orphan Asylum attendants went on strike and closed the kitchens, forbidding any one to prepare food for the children; long negotiations were necessary to save the little ones from dying of hunger. At the Elizabeth Hospital the "workers who care for the sick" refused to return to their duties except upon the following conditions, whose acceptance they demanded of the university authorities: "An expression of absolute distrust of the Coalition Ministry and the transfer of all executive powers to the Soviets; the professional labor union leaders to have entire control of the recruiting of new nurses and attendants; acceptance of all the economic demands of the strikers; the forced retirement of the rector and the bursar of the university." The university, greatly puzzled, would, if necessary, sacrifice the rector and bursar, but it does not know how to go about relegating all its executive powers to the various Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Angry Cross-Currents

The families of military men are exasperated over the continual peril to which officers are exposed because of the caprices of their peasant soldiers. Resigned to the dangers which their dear ones must encounter in battle, the wives, sisters, and sweethearts are furious over the great number of murders, of base assassinations committed in the shadow.

This slow Terror, this chronic and sporadic killing, will end by arousing Russian Charlotte Cordays. Since the mob strikes, it will be struck. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth—the law of retaliation!

A sort of secret society or "Company of Jehu" is being formed to carry on reprisals against the murderers of officers. The members say they will kill three soldiers for every Lieutenant assassinated; five for every Captain; ten for every Commandant. I know a young lady who is ready to shoot two soldiers—no matter which ones—if her fiancé, a Sub-Lieutenant, dies otherwise than at the hands of the enemy. This is not bravado; it is only necessary to remember that many of the nihilist attacks in former days were made by young girls who, like Vera Zassulitch, belonged to excellent families. A reversed nihilism, attacking the despot Caliban, a nihilism repressing the ferocities of the blind mob, is not at all inconceivable.

Russian Women as Soldiers

Women soldiers now constitute a part of the Russian social landscape. It is already long since people have ceased to turn their heads to see them passing, long since people have ceased to go to the parade ground to see them manoeuvre. A characteristic of this malleable Muscovite race, open as it is to all innovations, is that it is astonished at nothing, that everything appears to it as contained within the limits of the ordinary. Russia is never "struck dumb" and seldom seeks to "strike dumb."

Suppose that we had women soldiers in France! What interviews in the newspapers, what couplets in the magazines, how many meetings! Here, nothing. There are women soldiers because there are. Men do not discuss the uniform or the coiffure or the gait of these women. The somewhat silly gossip of some countries does not exist in Russia.

I often find this Russian phlegm rather impressive. The commander of the first battalion of woman soldiers that went to the firing line, Mme. Botchkariova, had already served as a volunteer from the beginning of the war and had bravely won the Cross of St. George. When her

little troop arrived at the front for the first time, a big mujik in soldier's clothes rudely jostled one of her subordinates, who wept. But Botchkariova, husky person that she is, has the arms of an athlete. She had the boor pointed out to her and administered such a slap with the back of her hand that she closed one of his eyes and almost laid him on his back, so that all the other peasants shouted with laughter.

In the streets the women soldiers salute the male officers in accordance with the regulations. The officers return the salute without paying any particular attention to the matter. This relative equality of the sexes in Russia is due especially to the fact that boys and girls at school and in the academies, up to the age of 17 or 18, and sometimes even to 20 years, are brought up together, elbow to elbow, in the same classes, a fact which increases their companionships and diminishes their curiosities. One finds here beardless youths, who in uniform are mistaken for women soldiers, while certain young women with incipient mustaches pass for men soldiers.

The Menace of Alcohol

"What do you get drunk on?" asked a business man of a drunken sot in the latter days of the old régime.

"Ah, Baron," grumbled the drunkard, "you are rich and doubtless can drink eau de cologne; but I, poor wretch, in order to get drunk, must be content to absorb varnish!"

This authentic dialogue shows that before March, 1917, the prohibition of the sale of alcohol (the noblest work of Nicholas II.) was strict. In order to become intoxicated it was necessary either to consume innumerable drugs and liquid poisons or to pay very high prices for spirits sold clandestinely. In the first few months after the revolution the old anti-alcoholic discipline continued to work automatically; but recently the hideous scourge has been reappearing, and one begins again to see men zigzagging in the streets. Alcoholism, the greatest and most mortal enemy of Russia, has already since the middle of the Summer of 1917 caused some misfortunes.

This subject is one of the gravest of all. In the present hours of license, amid the inextricable complications in which the nation is struggling, if the Russian people abandon themselves to alcoholic madness when the knout is no longer there to sober them, one might say that it is all over, not only with the revolution, but with Russia herself.

A wealthy friend, having invited me to dine, wished to end the meal with cognac. Now, a serious Russian knows nothing of the little glass. One does not offer a guest "a little glass of cognac," but "cognac." The bottle being opened, it is necessary to empty it. But in this case the bill read: "Cognac, 150 rubles," or \$75. My friend sent for the proprietor. "You exaggerate! Under Nicholas you never made me pay more than 60 rubles." Then the restaurateur: "Ah, Sir, the fall in the value of the ruble would be a small matter, but the trouble is that under the Czar, in order to sell you cognac illegally, I had to corrupt only the Chief of Police, while now—but hush, it's confidential—now, to enjoy the same tolerance, I have to bribe a Commissary, two Sub-Commissaries, and four militiamen, (police agents.)" My rich friend hummed an old tune, "It was not worth the trouble, sure, to change the Government!"

Murders of Officers

Another Petrograd correspondent gives the following details of the same nature:

The Russian press has published many details of the homicidal anarchy raging in the army under the Maximalist régime, which threatens to reduce the officers' corps to a minus quantity. Here are two touching letters from widows of officers who were killed by their men:

The most terrible thing about it [writes one of them] is that the soldiers who killed my husband were calm; they stayed at our house an hour; I spoke with them and begged them, clinging to their knees, not to harm my husband. I studied them closely and could see in them neither wickedness nor ferocity; they assured me that my husband was simply going to be arrested, and that after an inquiry he would be released. I believed them; I led them to him and gave him up to them with my own hands. And half an hour later some one came to

tell me that my husband had been killed and thrown into the water from the Abo bridge. Why was he murdered? To this question I have received the reply: "They simply killed him without any serious reason."

The widow of another officer writes:

My husband fought at Port Arthur; he was decorated with the Cross of St. George, and was wounded in the war with Japan, and also in the present war. He survived the Japanese and German bullets, only to be killed by the rifle butt of a Russian soldier. Who was the murderer? The very soldier who, after the revolution, had exhibited him in triumph and called him his father, and who, during the campaigns, had covered him with his mantle and followed him in battle, full of ardor and faith! Assassination was my husband's recompense for his services to the country and for the solicitude lavished upon a soldier by an officer!

At Tiflis three officers were brained by their men because they refused a few days of leave. At Tamboff a company of drunken soldiers drowned two others. At Odessa an old Colonel and three Lieutenants were thrown from a bridge without any apparent reason. At Kursk twenty soldiers appeared in the native village of Lieut. Col. Martinoff, who had been wounded near Dvina in July and gone home to recover, and who had rejoined the service a few days before with the intention of returning to the front. At the barracks he was exhorting the soldiers to calmness and obedience. "You are a traitor," cried the men, who were almost all drunk; "we have condemned you to death." Blows of rifle butts felled the officer, and the crazed brutes finished the work with kicks of their heavy boots. The wife and three children of the unfortunate man were terrified onlookers.

On Nov. 10 a regiment of the 14th Infantry Division at the front, after hearing a speech by a Maximalist, voted a resolution to dismiss all the officers and fight no more. The General Staff of the division had the speaker and several ringleaders arrested. Then a hundred soldiers went to the tent of General Zibareff, the division commander, and demanded that the arrested men be set at liberty immediately. Zibareff refused. The men rushed at him and killed him with the stocks of their rifles.

These are a few typical cases out of thousands.

Plundering the Winter Palace

At the time of the revolution in March the cellars of the Winter Palace in Petrograd, where there were great quantities of fine wines, brandies, and liquors destined for the Czar's table, were walled up by command of the revolutionary authorities in order to secure them against pillage. The existence of these stores, however, was known to the soldiers of the garrison sent to guard the old palace.

On Dec. 7, 1917, a group of soldiers belonging to the regiment of Preobrazhensky, of the Division of Guards quartered near the palace, made their way into the basement of the edifice, blew up the masonry that sealed the entrance to the cellars, and penetrated to the interior. These soldiers laid hands on all the bottles and flasks they could carry away. Their example was promptly imitated by many of their comrades, who gave themselves up to systematic pillage of the whole collection of famous old wines and liquors, which they began drinking on the spot, so that the scene soon became one of riotous intoxication.

The soldiers on leaving the cellars scattered themselves staggering over the square in front of the palace and along the neighboring streets. As many of them still had their rifles and cartridges, shots rang out in all directions, spreading alarm among the passers-by. Throughout the day disorders continued around the palace and were prolonged into the night. To put an end to them the revolutionary authorities had to send forces of the Red Guard, who were greeted with rifle fire by the rioters. While the drunken soldiers gave themselves up to excesses, many others, more practical, disposed of the bottles which filled their coat pockets to the passers-by at prices that defied competition; but these rapid and surreptitious transactions were not without their dupes, for some who thought they were buying champagne at a bargain found later that the straw incased bottles contained plain mineral water.

By the second week in January the

citizens of Petrograd were receiving only three-quarters of a pound of black bread per head every two days, and starvation seemed imminent. A correspondent of The London Times wrote on the 9th:

"Flour and the various grains which used to be so abundant in this granary of Europe it is quite impossible to find unless some occasion offers for secret purchase at ruinous fancy prices. Black and sometimes dark brown bread is doled out by card system—sticky, gritty stuff, only half baked, composed of millers' refuse mixed with straw, of the consistency of putty, and looking very much like it. Meat is a rare luxury. The poorest people—not the factory workers, who are receiving enormous wages—sometimes buy roots of cow horns and stumps of tails. Horseflesh is in common use.

"Burglary, robbery, and murder in most audacious forms prevail to an extent hitherto unknown. Men and women are stripped of overcoats and shoes in the streets. At night armed marauders in military uniforms enter houses under pretext of official searches and perquisitions. Thieves in stolen motor cars hold up persons driving in sledges.

"Printed notices with the stamp of the British Embassy issued to British residents by the Consulate, stating that their holders are under the Embassy's protection, seem to have little effect. The other day an armed band entered an Englishman's apartment while he was at home and appropriated 11,000 rubles. Crowds of British subjects who are returning to England visit the British Military Control Office and the British Consulate daily for passport visés, and many old-established British industrial enterprises here have been liquidated or sold, as it is quite impossible to put up with the ignorant control and exorbitant demands of the Russian workmen."

Conditions Becoming Tragic

Another correspondent wrote on Jan. 7:

"All reports from the provinces say no food is being loaded for the capital and unless a miracle happens starvation is certain. Already in the factory towns near Moscow there is rioting because of the complete disappearance of bread from the market. Coal is failing, the electric

light companies are cutting off energy for an increasing number of hours every week. There is danger of the stoppage of trains, and it is a question whether even the waterworks can be kept going. Want of fuel, labor control, and transport difficulties have led to the closing of a number of factories and the army of unemployed is growing daily. This with starvation at the door and the bitterest Winter known here for years.

Steady Spread of Anarchy

"The large official class is still on strike. Trade is languishing for want of goods and ready money. The closing of the banks is much more serious than was expected; no one can get at his banking account, and there is a general scramble for money tokens of every kind. Yesterday in several banks strong boxes were opened in the presence of their holders and gold and silver confiscated. All financial operations are completely blocked, and when this state of affairs will end no one knows. The ruble has gone up because people are selling all kinds of valuables now to get rubles for current expenses, while those who have large supplies are hoarding in view of further possible emergencies.

"There is little actual violence yet, apart from frequent street robberies and the fact that from time to time soldiers loot the few remaining wine shops. The masses are sullen and the purely anarchist propaganda is making headway among them at the expense of the Bolsheviks.

"Outside of Petrograd the country is torn by civil war and harassed by bands of marauding soldiery. The army is in a state of disorderly mobilization, and neither the committees nor the commissaries have any control over the elemental instincts of those seven millions who were armed to fight the Germans and are now making their own country desolate. The officers are persecuted. They are stripped of all marks of distinction and compelled to live on soldiers' pay, while their families are deprived of their maintenance allowance. They are subjected to daily insults and indignities, and are lucky if their lives are spared.

Those who can have fled to the Don, while many resort to physical labor to keep their families alive.

"Traveling is a peril. The trains are packed with wandering soldiers who rush all the carriages without distinction of class. Unprotected station employes are terrorized, and the rolling stock is gradually breaking down under the strain. Trains come into Petrograd with windows smashed, covering torn off seats, mirrors broken, and metal fittings wrenched out. In the zone of civil war rails are torn up and communication perpetually interrupted. The railways are the arteries of Russia, and all this tremendous machinery of transport and supply is slowly but surely collapsing."

Plight of the Officers

Ensign Krylenko, Commander in Chief of the Russian Army, has abolished all signs of rank, and officers who have not been elected to commands by their own

soldiers as officers and also thousands who have been degraded at the front are no longer able to support their families on their former scale. But the Petrograd officers have showed enterprise. They formed a working union whose members unloaded trucks at railway stations and they earn as much as 20 rubles daily and financially are better off than before.

Altogether, the educated classes are hard put to it. The civil servants on strike are being evicted from their official quarters and many of their leaders arrested. Lawyers and notaries are idle because the law courts have been suppressed. Many journalists have been thrown out of work by the suppression of newspapers. The army of municipal employes are workless because of the capture of the municipality by the Bolsheviks. Retired professors have had their pensions reduced to a bare pittance. Novelists cannot print their work.

Aspects of Bolshevik Rule

Trial of Countess Panina

THE Bolsheviks substituted for the old judicial system a revolutionary tribunal, and the first person tried was Countess Panina, the founder of the People's Palace and later Assistant Minister of Education under the Kerensky Government. On the night of the Bolshevik coup her house was raided and she was arrested, as were several other members of the Government, including Prince Dolgorukoff.

The charges preferred against the Countess were that she had concealed or failed to give an account of the sum of 90,000 rubles belonging to the Ministry of Education and also that she had assisted in what is called sabotage of Government officials. It was not denied that the Countess had not given an account of the money to the Bolsheviks, but that was because she did not want it to fall into Bolshevik hands. She had lodged it in safe keeping in order to hand it over to the Constituent Assembly.

The farcical trial of the Countess was

described by the Petrograd correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES under date of Dec. 24, 1917. It illustrates one historic phase of Bolshevik rule:

"Last week the Countess's friends were told that if they would bring her to the Smolny Institute she might be released. Astonished at this proposal, her friends brought her in a cab from the prison. At the Smolny Institute a sailor, Alexeivsky, who acts as a kind of inquiring judge, said: 'If you give us 170,000 rubles we will release you.' But another member of the Commission of Inquiry, when asked the meaning of this inexplicable demand, hastily apologized, and declared that only half that sum was needed. Countess Panina absolutely refused to parley, and was taken back to prison by her friends. The newspapers were full of protests against her arrest. Among the protesters was Maxim Gorky.

"Yesterday Countess Panina was brought up for trial. The court consisted of a workman named Zhuk, who was

President, and two soldiers and five civilians, most of them apparently workmen. All had been elected by the Soviet. Except for the prisoners' bench and guard, the usual appurtenances of a court were lacking. The court was crowded with visitors, Cadets preponderating. The President, in opening the proceedings, said: 'Comrades, I will tell you the history of revolution, of the great French Revolution, and, in a word, of all revolutions.' The audience settled down to a long historical disquisition, but the rest of the speech was brief. 'Sixty-nine years ago,' continued the President, 'in the great French Revolution, a people's revolutionary tribunal was established. I hope that our tribunal will be a great success.'

"Then, after a pause: 'What charge is preferred against you? What is your name?' He turned to the accused.

"'Countess Vladimirovna Panina,' she answered firmly.

"The Secretary read the charge, and the Countess pleaded not guilty. Then the regular order of procedure was reversed and the President first called on the defense.

"A young workman who had frequented the People's Palace made a strong, courageous speech. He had come to the People's Palace, he said, a raw and illiterate youth, and there he had found the light. 'This woman who went down into the midst of our sweat and dirt and worked day after day among us and gave comfort and hope to little children, cannot be a traitor or a counter-revolutionary,' he continued. 'The Russian people cannot be so ungrateful as not to give an honest, just judgment, so that the world may not be able to say that the revolutionary tribunal has fallen into the hands of an unbridled mob who mock at a woman simply because she is a Countess. I bow low to her.'

"Another counsel for the defense was a schoolmaster, Gurevish, who worked with the Countess in the Ministry of Education.

"After the speeches for the defense the President asked the Countess whether she could return the money in three days.

"'No,' she replied quickly. 'I can only give it to the President of the Constituent Assembly or the Government appointed by the Constituent Assembly.'

"Then came the turn of the prosecution. There were two speeches, one by a Bolshevik workman, Naumoff. His argument was curious. It was true, he said, that Countess Panina was a noble woman who had given much of her wealth to the mob. 'But life consists of a totality of mankind,' he went on. 'The law is the struggle for existence. The field of life is sown with the bones of noble individuals, but we are fighting for a class, and we should be cowards if we stopped because certain individuals had noble characters.'

"Rogalsky, the Bolshevik Commissary of Education, complained bitterly of sabotage which stopped the working of the Ministry. Another workman, a member of the Executive Committee of the Bolshevik Soviet, demanded that he should be allowed to speak for the defense, but was not permitted. When he protested, he was led out. Then, after a short consultation, the court passed sentence.

"'Citizen Panina is to be kept in prison till she hands over the money, and for her share in the sabotage of officials receives public reprimand.'

"That was all, and the proud, erect woman was led back to prison.

"Perhaps the Ministers of the Provisional Government will be brought to trial now. Korniloff, Terestchenko, Kishkin, Kartasheff, Smirnoff, and Treiakoff are still in the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. They are fairly well treated, walk together for half an hour daily, and see visitors twice a week. Once or twice they have been alarmed by threats that the guard might lynch them, but as a rule the attitude of the guard has been correct. The Cadet Party has been outlawed by decree and the houses of several leaders have been raided. Many prominent Cadets appear to be living a nomad life. It is an odd world."

A Maze of Warring Factions

A demonstration was held in Petrograd on Dec. 30 by the Bolsheviks which was thus described by Dr. Harold Will-

iams, the correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"There was Sunday's demonstration, ostensibly for peace, but in reality, as most of the mottoes on the banners showed, for civil war. Crowds flowed down the main streets and gathered in the Field of Mars—crowds with music and banners red, white, and black; soldiers and workmen, youths, women, and children, celebrating some triumph, blindly asserting some confused and unintelligible principle.

"It was a big demonstration, and in point of numbers it was an effective parade of the Bolshevik forces. True, the intelligentsia was almost entirely absent; true, several units of the garrison were almost unrepresented, and the workers' quarters sent mostly youths and women; but the masses were there in strength and the array of bayonets was imposing.

"The German and Austrian Generals, Admirals, and Counts who looked on from the several windows could convince themselves that the Bolsheviks had physical power behind them in Petrograd, but if they could read the mottoes against the Cadets, the Constituent Assembly, and the Moderate Socialist Parties they must have realized that Russia is now torn into an infinity of warring factions and that the demonstration was in essence a pitiful display of mass suicide. Even for the Germans it is difficult to make anything that can be called peace with such an incoherent medley as Russia now presents."

Repudiation of Bonds Threatened

A dispatch from Petrograd dated Jan. 8, 1918, announced that the Bolsheviks had determined to cancel Russia's foreign debts, the decree to contain the following provisions:

1. All loans and Treasury bonds held by foreign subjects abroad or in Russia are repudiated.

2. Loans and Treasury bonds held by Russian subjects who possess more than 10,000 rubles as capital are repudiated.

3. Loans and Treasury bonds held by Russian subjects possessing a capital in loan scrip or deposits not exceeding 1,000 rubles will receive 5 per cent. interest on the nominal value of the loan, and those possessing 10,000 rubles will receive 3 per cent.

4. Workmen and peasants holding 100 rubles' worth of loans or bonds may sell their holdings to the State at 75 per cent. nominal value and those holding 600 rubles' worth at 70 per cent.

Russia's foreign debt in 1917 was \$4,-660,000,000. She borrowed from the United States \$275,000,000. Her total indebtedness on Jan. 1, 1917, was \$11,011,-920,000, and required \$605,655,600 annually to meet interest.

The Russian Government issued a decree Jan. 10, 1918, suspending all payments of dividends by private companies. The Government also forbade transactions in stocks pending the issuance of ordinances relating to the further nationalization of production and determining the amount of interest payable by private companies.

France's Burden of Refugees

France from the beginning has been the refuge of almost all the victims of the war on the western front. Early in 1916 it was supporting 928,000 refugees, who were drawing the daily allowance of 25 cents for each adult and 15 cents for each child, which Parliament had granted them. Of this total the French refugees numbered 762,000, the Belgians 145,000, the Alsace-Lorrainers 12,000, and the Serbs 11,000. In 1917 the total increased considerably. Many Belgians who had taken refuge in Holland and England went to live in France, where, because of the more familiar language and customs, they found congenial surroundings; but the greatest increase came from the population driven out by the Germans from the invaded districts. The wretched condition of these victims when they arrived in France is a matter of history. Furthermore, the increase in the cost of living made the cash allowances, which were meagre enough from the beginning, seem still more inadequate. For that reason, despite the increase to the nation's financial burden, a measure was introduced in the Chamber in October, 1917, increasing the allowance of adult refugees to 50 cents a day and that of children over 16 years to 20 cents a day.

The Fall of Kerensky

Circumstantial Narrative of Capture of the Winter Palace and Kerensky's Escape—The Women Defenders

The narrative herewith, giving the details of the downfall of Alexander Kerensky, was written for The London Morning Post by its Petrograd correspondent. It is the first detailed account of the dramatic episode that has reached this country. The recital of events is printed in full, but the editorial comments of the writer, who exhibits a passionate hatred for Kerensky, are omitted.

ON the morning of Nov. 6, 1917, Kerensky held on the Palace Square a farewell parade of the Women's Battalion shortly proceeding to the front. It consisted of five companies, something over a thousand total strength, under the command of Captain Loskov, who had trained them. Kerensky then proceeded to the Council of the Russian Republic (the "pre-Parliament") sitting in the Mariinsky Palace, and made there a great demagogic speech which roused intense enthusiasm on delivery, but universal criticism after cool consideration, and failed to save a vote adverse to his Government. In the course of this speech he announced that he and his Government were seriously threatened by the Bolsheviki, and called upon all men to declare at once whether they were for the Russian Republic or against it. The same afternoon the Bolsheviki quietly captured Petrograd, restored traffic over the bridges which the Kerensky Government had swung open and guarded, took over everything except the actual building of the Winter Palace, and set up in the Smolny Institute, three-quarters of a mile east of the State Duma and on the Neva, a new Government of men mostly with German names passing under Russian names.

The whole operation of capturing Petrograd was done in the most admirable military manner; the troops were perfectly sober throughout, under proper discipline, and in possession of definite plain military orders which they carried

out with courtesy and firmness. The land approaches to the Winter Palace were taken and strongly picketed without opposition. The cruiser Aurora and three destroyers arrived from Helsingfors, the big ship anchoring in the stream about a mile and a half below the Winter Palace, the three destroyers taking up positions opposite the palace under the fortress of Saints Peter and Paul. The naval contingent was got to Petrograd by orders, which turned out to be forged, from the "Centrofleet," (the Head Centre Committee of the United Sailors' Committees.) When the orders came to put out of harbor the men had demurred, alleging the bad weather, and it was only the strong order from their own "Centrofleet" which compelled their obedience.

The Palace Defenses

During Kerensky's tenure of the Winter Palace, where he kept up a more than royally extravagant state, the premises had been guarded by various bodies of cadets, as being the most trustworthy wearers of military uniform in Petrograd. An exceptionally strong body of cadets from several military schools had been concentrated in the Winter Palace on Tuesday, and the Women's Battalion was ordered to remain there on duty in place of starting for the front. There were also six guns and about a score of Maxims. A company of one of the "Death Battalions" was also got in at the last minute. But no arrangements had been made either for the comfort or even the victualing of a force which now exceeded two thousand. The Death Battalion men had no boots and were only partially armed; they demanded arms and equipment, and in particular clamored for food. Getting nothing they left the palace. The various Colonels commanding cadet units began withdrawing their boys for the same reasons.

Captain Loskov of the Women's Bat-

talion marched away with four companies, leaving only the 2d Company of something under two hundred in the palace. The artillerymen took their six guns from the interior courtyard of the palace out upon the Palace Square, apparently intending to return to barracks, but fell into the hands of the opposing forces without reluctance. In this way by repeated defections, due mainly to the entire neglect of any kind of preparations, the forces available for the defense of the Winter Palace fell below a thousand, two-thirds of whom were boys and a few men, Maxim-gunners, and oddments, while something under two hundred were women. The Women's Battalion must be specially mentioned. First, they were women. They had joined to defend their country from the foreign foe, and were entirely opposed to any form of participation in political quarrels.

During the "insurrection" against Kerensky's Government last July these women soldiers were specially ordered into Petrograd from their training camp in the country to help to save the Government. They had then hardly more than begun their training, and, indeed, had never yet fired a shot from their rifles. On that occasion their commanding officer successfully pleaded with Kerensky that it was unwise, from the military point of view, to attempt to utilize raw, untrained troops, even men, and these were women untrained; moreover, the women soldiers were on the eve of mutiny at being called in to take part in a political quarrel. As the women were not actually needed in July, the plea prevailed. It was not so now; the women were trained and ready for the front; they did not put forward the second plea on this occasion, but their feelings were entirely against taking any part in what was only dubiously for their country's good, and very certainly required them to shoot down their own fellow-countrymen. Presumably, the 2d Company remained to vindicate the honor of the corps, which they fully accomplished as soldiers, only to suffer afterward as women. Captain Loskov, with the other four companies, appears to have taken train for the front, for noth-

ing is yet known of their whereabouts. The 2d Company came under the command of their honorary Colonel in Chief, who, in another capacity, was present in the palace.

Dictator's Last Refuge

Throughout Tuesday evening, night, and all Wednesday the Winter Palace building, not even including the Palace Square, was the sole territory out of All the Russias, covering one-sixth of the globe, that the Kerensky Government could command. It was defended by boys and women. But an oversight, or the sheer ignorance of the Bolsheviki, lost them, in spite of otherwise admirable military dispositions, all they seemed to have won. From the official residence of the Minister of War, not half a mile from the palace and already in the hands of the Bolsheviki, runs a direct cable to Field Headquarters, which are, again, directly connected with all parts of Russia. This cable was in charge of a couple of young officers, with a staff of four telegraphists. The operating room is in the attics, which were not searched by the captors, and there is telephonic direct communication from this room to the palace. One of the officers repaired to the palace, and for forty-eight hours the cable worked unhampered in the interests of the Kerensky Government to all ends of Russia. It was a damning oversight for the victors of Petrograd.

Within the palace Tuesday evening and night passed in a state of sheer panic. All the Ministers, including Kerensky, were there, but one who had ventured out was recognized and made prisoner while attempting to return. Eyewitnesses describe the scene as purely farcical. Every one was giving orders, and everybody else issuing counterorders. Ministers bustled about from room to room, talking at random. Even Kerensky was seen wildly asking all and sundry, "What are we to do now?" "Can you suggest anything to be done?" down to a despairing "What shall I do?" An officer newly arrived with dispatches from the front was placed in command of all the forces left in the palace. He proposed to hold the Palace Square, but was not allowed to take a single soldier, boy or girl, outside

the seeming safety of the massive palace walls. Dr. Kishkin, the "Cadet" Minister, a well-known Moscow specialist in psychiatry, and who has a private asylum for the insane there, was appropriately declared Military Governor General of Petrograd and the Petrograd Military District. Other appointments were made on the principle of dismissing holders of office who were not inside the palace, and filling these paper vacancies with the names of all kinds of people who happened to share the enforced seclusion of the Kerensky Government.

Military Bungling

Here is an example of the military orders issued during this time of panic. A Captain in charge of one of the posts served by the Cadets came to one of these sentries and asked: "How many of you are there now free?" "If all the posts are served there may be five left." "Where are they?" The Captain went to find these five, and told them he had a special charge of great trust for them. There is an underground passage from the cellars of the Winter Palace leading some couple of hundred yards away to the barracks of the premier regiment of foot guards, the Preobrajensky Regiment of ancient fame. It is closed by a stout door and strong gate, a considerable way down this gloomy passage. To this point the Cadets were led and given strict orders to let none pass on pain of death. They demurred that five boys were an inadequate guard to hold a barrier with 10,000 soldiers on the other side well provided with machine guns and able to bring cannon up if necessary. The Captain admitted the justice of this military argument, and went to find some more boys. He got together about a score, who, when told what was expected of them, demurred openly, and finally the underground passage was left undefended. Nor was it ever used by the attacking party, who, being Petrograd reservists, may possibly have known nothing of its existence.

In the early hours of Nov. 7, in the pitch darkness of the night, a motor launch quietly put in to the narrow little waterway known as the Zimnaja Kan-

avka, between the Winter Palace and the Hermitage. Into this swift craft Kerensky with his adjutant, disguised in the topcoats and uniform caps of the Imperial lackeys, silently lowered himself, having stolen out by a back way from the Palace precincts. It was a simple matter to put ashore after a noiseless voyage by the Neva and one of its canals at a point within easy reach of the railway station, but in all probability the escape was managed first by motor-car after the launch had cleared the danger zone in the near neighborhood of the Palace. Kerensky proceeded to Bikhov, some score of miles from Field Headquarters.

A Dramatic Escape

It was a dramatic escape. But were the "enemy" really hoodwinked, and did it really take place as told? The Bolsheviks were in no haste to seize the prey they held so securely in their toils. They took things leisurely. And Kerensky got away on this, as on the previous occasion, when the Bolsheviks last July threatened his Government with extinction. In September, when Korniloff was falsely said to be marching on Petrograd with the same hostile intentions, it was to the Bolsheviks that Kerensky had recourse for assistance.

Throughout Nov. 7 there was little hindrance to foot traffic about the Winter Palace Square and adjoining streets, save for the stretch of quay facing the palace. But at 6 o'clock on Wednesday evening orders came to stop all movement, and the pickets closed up and prepared for action. Shortly after 6 P. M. the Provisional Government received a formal summons to surrender. It had spent Wednesday in compiling a number of proclamations to the nation, which it circulated—how widely is still unknown—by means of the direct wire to Field Headquarters. Konovalov took the lead after the disappearance of Kerensky, and his signature stands below a proclamation which tells the nation, among other things, at a time when the whole Petrograd garrison had twelve hours before declared against the Provisional Government, that, "owing to the want of firmness and indecision of a part of the Petrograd garrison, not all the disposi-

tions of the Provisional Government could be carried out," &c. A number of speeches were made in the palace by various Ministers, who informed their hearers that the Bolsheviks were surrounded; that troops were momentarily expected to arrive from the front, and that even if fired upon they must hold out. No reply was sent to the first formal demand, which was followed later in the evening by a definite ultimatum. The Provisional Government requested some extension of the time named, which was granted. But about 10 at night it became evident that the Winter Palace must be taken by force.

Situation Becomes Impossible

In a military sense the situation was foolish and impossible. At point-blank range down the river were the big guns of a cruiser. Opposite the palace stood the fortress, with an unknown force of artillery assembled there, and under its walls three destroyers. The Neva opposite the Winter Palace is not 600 yards wide, a trifling range for a modern rifle, to say nothing of naval guns. The land approaches to the palace were held by an overwhelming force, and from any part of Petrograd any number of guns might have been brought to bear against so large a mark with certainty. The defense was not a score of Maxims and the rifles of a few hundred boys and girls. In such circumstances the Provisional Government decided that the boys and girls must support their valiant defiance of the ultimatum. It can only be characterized as a wicked decision. The naval guns alone could have made a heap of ruins of this magnificent palace in ten minutes if properly served. Apart from the lives of the boys and girls called upon to defend the nominal masters of some fifteen million soldiers, the Winter Palace is estimated to contain art treasures and precious objects of every kind of historic and intrinsic value, to a total amount of £50,000,000.

Owing to the royal state maintained for months past by Kerensky and company in the Imperial Palace of the Czars, and the splendid banquets given to political adherents, the treasures of the Winter Palace, unlike those of the Her-

mitage, had not been removed except for such smaller articles as disappeared from time to time by the hands of all and sundry who visited the modern exponent of that most vicious form of government, the "autocracy of the tongue." The Bolsheviks were merciful, or, as subsequent events made more likely, they had a just appreciation of the value of the loot contained in the Winter Palace. When all terms and extensions of time had expired, the cruiser fired a salvo of blank from its big guns, the destroyer artillery followed suit, and the fortress guns filled up intervals, while from the land side began a fight between the boys and girls against thousands of soldiers and sailors with rifles, Maxims, armored cars, and some field guns. The first naval salvo was fired at about 9:30 P. M. on Wednesday. From that time till two in the morning the same program was repeated some half-dozen times, the guns of the cruiser and destroyers using nothing but blank ammunition.

Cowardly Soldiers

On the land side the fight was equally farcical, but the laugh was on the other side. The valiant soldiery who had carried out the peaceful work of seizing Petrograd with admirable military precision, firmness, and a courtesy not witnessed for eight months past, went to pieces when the bullets began to fly. The women soldiers gave a very good account of themselves, as an incident that occurred on the Millionaja Street will show. Up this street, which runs from the corner of the Winter Palace past the Hermitage, the Preobrazhensky Barracks, the Palace of the Annexe, which is technically a part of the Winter Palace, and a series of other palaces, a body of five or six hundred soldiers was spread about, firing upon the defenders of the Winter Palace. The women replied with such effect that a panic ensued, and a rush was made for the doors and gateway of the Annexe. The door is of very massive ancient construction, and it resisted the pressure of the frightened mob, whose efforts strained it so that it cannot be got open now; the gate, a great double-leaved heavy iron one barred with massive

bolts, was broken open, and into the yard poured a mob of frightened soldiery, seeking escape from the marksmanship of the Second Company of the Women's Battalion, then using their weapons for the first time in actual fighting. It was doubtless these cowards who later on forgot the Second Company were soldiers but remembered they were women. The fighting casualties of the women soldiers were one wounded in the foot with a bullet. And they accounted for over a score of the casualties of the attackers.

Provisional Government's Surrender

The din of big naval artillery, field guns, Maxims, and rifle firing continued at intervals for nearly five hours, the heavens being lit up with a rosy glow some thirty times from the big gun flashes of the cruiser. At last the minor artillery began to use shell, but the firing, whether purposely or not, was somewhat erratic. Three shells fell in the town, all more or less in line with the Winter Palace, but the gunners overshot by 600, 1,000, and 3,500 yards respectively with these three. The first two failed to explode, and caused little damage. The last wrecked two flats in the region known as the "Izmailov Streets," the regular lines of streets originally forming the cantonments of the Izmailov Guards Regiment. Two corners of the heavy plaster cornice of the Winter Palace were knocked off by shellfire, but only one shell struck squarely. It pierced the massive walls, and, without exploding, contrived utterly to wreck one of the magnificent historical pictures which adorn the vast walls of the palace.

Treatment of Women Soldiers

The Provisional Government surrendered shortly after 2 o'clock in the morning of Thursday, and were marched off in custody to the fortress. With them went some 500 of the Cadets. But the valiant women soldiers had a harder fate. The mixed mob of soldiery, sailors, armed hooligans, and others of their friends quickly flooded the whole palace.

And first of all their vengeance fell upon the fighters who, now that they had laid down their arms, were no longer dangerous to the precious lives of the

armed mob; they were only women now. About a score were handled as might be expected from the cowardly crew, and many were flung over the parapet into the swift waters of the Neva. Some 140 were at last sent off under escort of so-called soldiers to the barracks of the Pavlovsk Regiment at the far end of the Millionaja Street. On the way one at least had her face smashed in by a brutal blow from a rifle butt. The Pavlovsk Guards are a famous regiment; but their name is borne in Petrograd by the usual mob in uniform, who have never seen any fighting other than that of civil tumult. These reserve formations under the grand old names are peculiar to Petrograd, and the Pavlovsk nominal Guards were the first to come out into the streets against their Czar last March. They have maintained the reputation they gained for themselves in those evil days. While in their charge as prisoners three more of the women soldiers suffered the indignities that war brings upon women too often. The rest were saved by the personal exertions of the British General Knox, who went to the headquarters of the Bolsheviki at the Smolny Institute and demanded in the name of England the immediate release of all these women prisoners.

And the priceless art and other treasures of the Winter Palace—where are they now? The soldiery and their friends spent the night, the next day, and a good deal of Friday in stripping and removing everything they thought good to take, and destroying most of the rest. Like mad, senseless barbarians in the palaces of the Caesars, they slashed criss-cross innumerable great works of art. Portraits of the Czars were treated with especial ferocity. One singular—or was it intentional?—exception to the general fury strikes the eye and wakens a train of reflection. Amid a number of portraits ripped to shreds hangs untouched that of the German Moltke! Did these barbarians know whom they spared? Or was the work of destruction carried on under direction of the German double-name Russians who are the Bolshevik leaders? Such is the fact, whatever be the explanation. Priceless

carpets, rugs, tapestries, were cut to pieces either in wantonness or to provide wrappings for more attractive loot. Down in the vaults, where hundreds of imperial table services are safely stored ready for use, priceless china, gold, silver, much of it the work of great artists long dead and gone; up in the attics where lay thousands of those artistic presentations of "bread and salt" platter and salt-box in precious metals or choice carvings; through the great rooms of state and the private chambers of the Emperors of Russia and their successors, the rulers of today, the marauders strove and fought, missing little and leaving nothing undamaged.

Vanished Art Treasures

From the Winter Palace the mob of marauding soldiery and others passed to the adjacent Hermitage, bursting open the gallery doorways. Happily, here they found less food for their lust: the Her-

mitage was long ago "evacuated" beyond the reach of the "democracy" of Russia. But the private quarters of the Curator were forcibly entered and pillaged. A Sister of Mercy, who accompanied the soldiers to dress their wounds, but had had no occasion for her skill with these men, who had their own opinion about what amounts to fighting when the bullets fly, saw her chance, and, putting on all the valuable furs she could find, wrapped herself around with lace, secreted other feminine fripperies about her person, and walked away home some £10,000 richer than the disappointed men who had no eye for these things. It is not only the Emperors of All the Russias who have lost their family goods; nor Russia alone that has lost no small part of the art treasures of the nation; the world itself is the poorer for the senseless, unspeakable crime of sacking the Winter Palace.

Causes of the Russian Revolution

By Frederic Masson

Member of the Académie Française

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from *Les Annales*, Paris]

AMID the uncertainty that envelops the course of events in Russia, it appears to me singularly appropriate to recall a statement that is already old, for it dates from Feb. 20, 1917, some days before the outbreak of the revolution. This backward glance answers more than one question regarding the present situation in Russia. The statement is by a Russian, who wrote as follows:

"It is a useless and difficult task for a stranger to try to understand, when we ourselves are unable to grasp the whole course of events, and especially their causes. The roots of the evil date from the beginning of the war, but the flowering of all these horrors has been visible since the advent of Baron Stürmer to power. Adroitly brought out by the Empress and Rasputin from the oblivion in which he was vegetating, this gloomy gentleman was, without rhyme or rea-

son, called to the Premiership with Ministers who had held the public confidence under his predecessor, Gorymekin; men such as Sazonoff, General Polivanoff, Secretary Bark, Count Ignatieff, and Admiral Grigorovitch.

"At the outset Stürmer encouraged the Czar to appear before the Duma in order to strengthen his own position. The trick did not work. Then he began by throwing overboard the War Minister, Polivanoff, who was very popular in the Duma and Imperial Council, and who was now replaced by General Shuvaieff, head of the commissary, and an honest man. Then came Sazonoff's turn—in July, 1916. Stürmer had the audacity to take his portfolio, at the same time retaining the Premiership.

"At this point Protopopoff returned from his parliamentary tour of allied countries, where he had been warmly welcomed as a Liberal of the Left Centre

and Vice President of the Duma. Protopopoff told of the progress made by Lucius, the German Minister at Stockholm, who had sent to him the banker, Worburg of Hamburg, with propositions for a separate peace. With the aid of the Empress and Rasputin, Protopopoff was adroitly introduced into the Staff Headquarters, where he easily caught the attention of the Czar with his charm of conversation. Between times Protopopoff daily met Rasputin and, through his protection, became the right-hand man of the War Minister, replacing Klevostoff, who was finally thrown out altogether. Thus the Autumn passed.

"Here the counterintrigue began. Trepoff, Minister of Public Works, was successfully building the Archangel-Murman Railway. He desired Stürmer's place, and had the support of all the friends of France. Grand Duke Nicholas Michaelovitch was called to Mohileff by the Czar, with whom he had an intimate talk for two hours and a half. He told him everything, gave him a summary of the situation, and showed him in black and white all the harm that was being done by Rasputin, the Empress, and all the occult forces in the employ of the Germans. That was on Nov. 15, 1916.

"The disgrace of Stürmer, who was replaced by Trepoff, was the result of the Grand Duke's intervention; but the change was made without consulting the Czarina. From Tsarskoe Selo, where she was, she went post haste to the Staff Headquarters with her four daughters, and, calling Protopopoff to join her, fortified herself for action.

"The Grand Duke Nicholas had left Petrograd after his victory, which he supposed to be final, in order to rest and hunt on the shores of the Caspian Sea. He almost lost his life in a terrible railway accident. The Czar on hearing the news neither wrote nor telegraphed to him; a bad symptom, but he suspected nothing.

"The Duma reassembled after these events, and Protopopoff was hooted by the whole body after speeches by Purishkevitch and Count Vladimir Bobrinsky. Amid applause from the entire assembly Purishkevitch told the whole truth about

Rasputin and his sinister and perpetual meddling in the affairs and appointments of Ministers.

"The Christmas holidays arrived, and in that period came the murder of Rasputin at Moika. It is known that the deed was done in the house of Prince Yussupoff, husband of the Czar's own niece, son of the sister of the Grand Duchess Xenia and of the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch. It is known also that Purishkevitch and the Grand Duke Dimitri Pavlovitch were present at that gay and tragic supper, the full truth concerning which is still far from being known.

"Upon Rasputin's death Trepoff fell with Count Ignatieff, who had also spoken very frankly to his sovereign; the Keeper of the Seals, Makaroff, also resigned his position, not wishing to be mixed up in the Court proceedings. At that moment began the absolute reign of Protopopoff, who, before the next day arrived, had taken Rasputin's place and was employing all Rasputin's methods to make himself indispensable in the imperial palace at Tsarskoe Selo. From right-hand man he became Minister of the Interior, and he put a man of straw, Prince Galitzyn, into the place of Premier; he chose as Minister of Justice a certain Dobrovolsky, a man without character and ready for anything; one Kultchitsky replaced Count Ignatieff as Minister of Public Instruction, and so on. There followed a month in which we endured this rule of arbitrary folly, to the exasperation of all Russia. Bark, Admiral Grigorovitch, Prince Shakivskoy, and Pokrovsky had all resigned, though it was given out that they had been ordered to rest for their health, or to travel for recreation.

"This state of things cannot last long. Such a situation grazes the edge of a great catastrophe not far ahead. What chagrin and shame I have to endure, along with thousands of other Russian patriots, in witnessing this lamentable spectacle of the ruin of the monarchy through the stubbornness or madness of one—woman!"

Twenty days after that letter was written the revolution broke out.

THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM

Described by W. T. Massey

The preliminary account of the taking of Jerusalem printed in the January issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE can now be supplemented with details of the formal occupation of the city and the story of the campaign which preceded its fall. The whole forms one of the momentous chapters of the war. The account here presented is from the pen of W. T. Massey, the official British correspondent who accompanied General Allenby's forces.

Jerusalem, Dec. 11, 1917.

FOUR centuries of Ottoman dominion over the Holy City of Christians and Jews and "the sanctuary" of Mohammedans has ended, and Jerusalem the Golden, the central site of sacred history, is liberated for Christians and Moslems alike from the thralldom of the Turk. War has removed the Holy City from the sphere of the Turk's blighting influence, but, though there was the sound of the bitter clash of arms around it, no British bullet or shell was directed against the walls. An epoch-making victory, which will stir the emotions of countless millions of Christians and Moslems throughout the world, has been achieved without so much as a stone being scratched or an inch of soil destroyed, and the sacred monuments and everything in Jerusalem connected with the Great Healer and His teachings are being passed on to future generations untouched by our army's hand. In none of her previous seventeen captures has the City of Jerusalem escaped absolutely unscathed, and it is to the glory of British arms that this most venerated place on earth should come through the ordeal of battle unharmed by even the disturbance of a particle of its ancient dust.

The Turks were forced to withdraw by General Allenby's strategy and the valor of his army. No British gun was sighted to within a considerable distance of the walls. The Turkish artillery fired from a position quite close to the Holy City, and the enemy guns thundered from the Mount of Olives, but of our fire the inhabitants could make out nothing more than the distant rumble of guns and bursts of musketry carried on the wings

of the wind. General Allenby put the sanctity of the Holy Sites before every other consideration, and only approached the city when the pressure of his troops in the mountains west and northwest forced the enemy to yield to superior strategy.

We waited for this eventful day with patience, for we knew the day would come. Some of our warriors, English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, Australians, and New Zealanders, have been looking on Jerusalem from the distant hilltops for a fortnight, their blood coursing quicker through their veins at the thought that presently they would assist at its capture. They feel keen pride in the part they took in securing this glorious victory, and they count as nothing the arduous conditions of the past six weeks and the big sacrifices they have willingly made to achieve a result of momentous import.

Entry Into the City

I write this after witnessing the official entry of General Allenby, his staff, and the military commanders of the detachments of French and Italian troops. It was a ceremony fully worthy of the cause for which we are fighting. In this hallowed spot, whence the Saviour's preaching of peace on earth and good-will toward men was spread through the world, there was no great pageantry of arms, no display of the pomp and circumstance of a victorious army. The Commander in Chief and a small staff, a guard of less than 150 all told of allied troops, a quiet ceremonial of reading the proclamation of military law and of a meeting with the notables of the city and the heads of the religious bodies, and the official entry was over. There were

no thunderous salutes to acclaim the world-stirring victory, which will have its place in the chronicles of all time.

No flags were hoisted, and there was no enemy flag to haul down. There were no soldier shouts of triumph over a defeated foe, but just a short military procession into Mount Zion, a portion of the city 200 yards from the walls, and out of it.

The ceremony was full of dignity and simplicity, though it was also full of meaning. It was a purely military act, with a minimum of military display, but its significance was not lost on the population, who saw in it the end of an old régime and the beginning of a new era of freedom and justice for all classes and creeds. No bells in the ancient belfries rang, no "Te Deums" were sung, no preacher came forth to point the moral to the multitude, but right down in the hearts of the people, who cling to Jerusalem with the deepest reverence and piety, there was unfeigned delight that the old order had given place to the new.

Story of the Surrender

On the night of Dec. 8 our troops had made such progress against the Turkish intrenched positions that it was manifest that the enemy would soon have to retire to the north and east of the city, notwithstanding that he was moving reinforcements up the Jericho road in a desperate attempt to prevent the city falling from his possession. Our pressure was not relaxed for a moment, and early on the 9th our Generals believed that the liberation of Jerusalem was at hand. The people also thought that their deliverance was near, and prayers were offered up in almost every house that our arms would be successful. At 8 o'clock in the morning the Mayor of the city and the Chief of Police came out under a flag of truce. The Mayor, who holds his high civic position as a member of the Husseiny family, which possesses documentary proof of direct descent from Mohammed, through the Prophet's daughter, offered to surrender the city. The formal surrender was arranged at noon on the 8th.

Between the offer to surrender and the formal acceptance there was sharp fight-

ing in the outskirts of Jerusalem, the Turks fighting more stubbornly than at any period of these operations, and meeting bayonet with bayonet. London troops were sent to the north of the city, and as they debouched from the defile they were heavily attacked by Turks lining the ridge, and a strong machine-gun fire was poured into them from the Mount of Olives. The ridge was carried by a superb bayonet charge, and by noon the Turks were pushed back so far that we occupied ground 7,000 yards north of the city walls. Welsh troops were operating from the south and east, and drove the Turks down the Jericho road.

Welcomed by the Populace

This was the military position on Dec. 9, at noon. Through the suburbs the people flocked into the highway and welcomed the Commander in Chief's representative by the time-immemorial method of clapping hands, while old women and girls threw flowers and palm leaves on the road. The ceremony of surrendering the city was very brief. The General gave the Mayor instructions for the maintenance of order, and had guards placed over the public buildings outside the Holy City, but no soldier of the King passed within the walls that day. Though the sound of guns had hardly ceased, the people were left secure and happy. The Turk was driven further northward and eastward on Dec. 10, otherwise the situation was unchanged today, when, at high noon, we had the unforgettable picture of the Commander in Chief's official entry.

It was a picturesque throng. From the outskirts of Jerusalem the Jaffa road was crowded with people, who flocked westward to greet the conquering General. Sombre-clad youths of all nationalities, Armenians and Greeks, stood side by side with Moslems, dressed in the brighter raiment of the East. The predominance of tarbush in the streets added to the brightness of the scene. It was obvious that they regarded the day as an important occasion, for they wore their best robes, and I saw many of them abandon their natural reserve and join in the vocal expression of welcome. Their



MAP OF JERUSALEM: GENERAL ALLENBY ENTERED BY THE JAFFA GATE, AND PROCEEDED THROUGH THE MOUNT ZION QUARTER TO THE CITADEL, WHERE THE PROCLAMATION WAS READ

faces, too, lighted up with pleasure at the General's approach. This relaxation of the Arab's usually stolid and immobile expression was significant. The flat-topped roofs and the balconies held many crying aloud a genuine welcome, but it was in the streets where the cosmopolitan crowd had assembled that one looked for and obtained the real feeling of all the peoples. What astonished me were the cries of "Bravo!" and "Hurrah!" uttered by men who could have hardly spoken the words before. That the welcome was not artificial or manufactured I can testify, for quite close to the Jaffa Gate I saw three old Mohammedans with tears of joy coursing down their cheeks.

They clapped their hands, but their hearts were too full to utter words.

March of the Allies

General Allenby entered the town on foot. Outside the Jaffa Gate he was received by the Military Governor and a guard of honor formed by men who have done their full share in the campaign. Drawn up on the right of the gate were 110 men from the English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh counties who were fighting for the right yesterday. Opposite them were fifty men afoot, representing the Australian and New Zealand horsemen, who have been engaged in the empire's work in the Sinai Desert and Pal-

estine almost since the war burst upon the world. Inside the walls were twenty French and twenty Italian troops from the detachments sent by their countries to take part in the Palestine operations. Close by the Jaffa Gate, whose iron doors are rarely opened, is the wide breach made in the old walls to permit the Kaiser's entry when he was visiting Jerusalem in 1898. This was not used for today's historic procession, General Allenby entering by the ancient gate which is known to the Arabs as "The Friend."

Inside the walls was a crowd more densely packed in the narrow streets than outside, but fully as enthusiastic. The Commander in Chief, preceded by his aides de camp, had on the right the commander of the French detachment and on his left the commander of the Italian detachment. Following were the Italian, French, and American Military Attachés and a few members of the General Staff. The guards of honor marched in the rear. The procession turned to the right into Mount Zion and halted at the El Kala Citadel. On the steps at the base of the Tower of David, which was standing when Christ was in Jerusalem, the proclamation of military law was read in four languages in the presence of the Commander in Chief and many notables of the city.

Protection for All Religions

The terms of the proclamation, which promised that every person could pursue his lawful business without interruption, and that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest, or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form of the great religions of mankind will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faiths they are sacred, clearly made a deep impression on the populace. [The proclamation was printed in the *JANUARY CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, Page 92.]

While the proclamation was being read guns were booming to the east and north, and droning airplane engines in the deep blue vault overhead told of our flying corps denying passage for observers in enemy machines to witness an

event which gladdened the hearts of all Jerusalem. Re-forming, the procession moved up Zion Street to the Barrack Square, where General Allenby received the notables and heads of the religious communities. The Mayor and the Mufti, the latter also a member of the Hussein family, were presented, and likewise the Sheiks in charge of the mosques of Moar-el-Akaa, and the Moslems belonging to the Khaldieh and Alamieeh families, which trace their descents through many centuries. The Patriarchs of the Latin, Greek, Orthodox, and Armenian churches, and the Coptic Bishop had been directed to leave Jerusalem by the Turks, but their representatives present were introduced to the General, as were also the heads of the Jewish committees, the Syriac Church, the Greek Catholic Church, the Abyssinian Bishop, and the representative of the Anglican Church. The last presentation was the Spanish Consul, who has in charge the interests of almost all the countries at war and is a busy man. The presentations over, the procession returned to the Jaffa Gate, and General Allenby left Jerusalem. Thus ended a simple and impressive ceremonial, the effect of which is far-reaching.

Freed from Turkish Tyranny

I will narrate a few personal experiences within the Holy City's walls to show the deep-seated feeling of thankfulness at the end of Turkish rule. I was talking in David Street when a Jewish woman, seeing that I was English, came up and said: "We have prayed for this day. Today I shall sing 'God save the gracious King! Long live our noble King!'" We have been starving, but now we are liberated and free." The woman clasped her hands across her breast as she said this and repeated "This is our day of liberation!" An elderly man in a black robe, whose pinched face told of a long period of want, caught me by the hand and said, "God has delivered us. Oh, how happy we are!" This was uttered with whole-hearted fervor. An American worker in the hospital who knows the people well assured me that there was not one person in Jerusalem who in his heart was not devoutly thank-

ful for our victory. He told me that on the day we captured Nebi Samwil three wounded Arab officers were brought to his hospital. One of them who spoke English said, "I can hip, hip, hurrah for England now." The officer was told to be careful, as there were Turkish wounded inside, but he replied that he did not care, and in his unrestrained joy he called out: "Hurrah for England!"

During the war there were executions at Jerusalem. Before the first battle of Gaza the Mufti of Gaza and his son were brought to Jerusalem. The Mufti, who advises the Cadi on matters of religious law, was hanged on a gallows erected near the Jaffa Gate, and his son was shot. The Turks made their headquarters in the Hospice of Notre Dame, and before leaving they sent away all the furniture of that French religious establishment. Less than a fortnight ago General Falkenhayn ordered that all Americans should be removed from Jerusalem, but the Turkish doctors, who had seen the good work done in the American hospital, protested that the doctors and staff should remain. Their protests succeeded, but only two days before the surrender a number of Americans were taken away.

Details of the Fighting

I propose now to give some details of the fighting which relieved Jerusalem from the Turks. Throughout it has been extremely keen. The soldierly qualities of the troops have never been put to a higher test than during this great battle for the Holy City. An army which has endured the trials of desert warfare, cheerfully maintained its indomitable spirit through the trials of heat, thirst, and sandstorms, has suddenly found itself in a mountainous region, where the nights are desperately cold. Worse than all, the luck of the weather was against us. Just as the movement for positions before the attack commenced, a pitiless rain began to fall, soaking through every officer and man, turning the one road into a quagmire, making the movement of guns next to impossible, marooning the transport, and preventing the camels securing a foothold. The poor beasts were sliding all over the place, and when once they

fell it was almost impossible to get them on their feet again. It was only by the heroic efforts of the gunners that the heavy pieces were got into position at all. The guns were frequently man-handled, but, although all the artillerymen were anxious to expend their last ounce of energy, it was in many cases a physical impossibility to move the guns, and in parts of the line attacked by us the infantry carried out the advance without artillery preparation.

Truly Epic Fighting

Truly, it was epic fighting, but the spirit of our troops was as high as the goal to be reached, so they braved all trials, and, by deeds which will rank high in our military history, secured a triumph which will send resounding echoes through a world at war. The cold was so intense that soldiers who had borne the brunt of a long day's fighting could not sleep. They lay huddled, waiting for the dawn which seemed long in coming, and when the first streaks of light showed themselves in the eastern skies they cheerfully pushed forward to objectives of tremendous strength, without thinking of the cost to themselves, their only thought being for the empire's battles and what the world would think of their success.

To add to our difficulties, a deep pall of fog hung over the hilltops on which the enemy was intrenched, and no airman, however daring—and all our airmen take the greatest risks—could penetrate the mists. Observation from the air for the artillery was impossible in the early hours, but that extreme disadvantage was disregarded and the work went on without cessation. Despite mud, rain, and fog, we beat the best of the Turkish troops, formed into storming companies with steel helmets and the latest equipment that Germany could provide. We have performed what the enemy thought impossible, and our brave boys are the happiest and most cheerful troops in the wide world.

Capture of Samuel's Tomb

The country we fought over is most difficult. There is hardly a square yard of flat. It is one continual succession of hills and valleys, all thickly strewn with

boulders, with descents and ascents alike steep and forbidding to any but the most robust and gallant men. Every summit scaled is crowned by well-made trenches, with strong points crammed with machine guns and communication trenches. Ridge after ridge was held strongly, and nothing but a wonderful determination and will to victory enabled us to take them.

Since I last wrote there have been repeated attempts by the enemy to retake the top of Nebi Samwil, that crest on which Samuel was buried, and whose tomb and mosque near by have been wrecked willfully by the Turkish gunfire. The Turks attacked the London territorials here four times with their new storm companies, but all were completely repulsed with heavy losses.

At the final attack on Jerusalem, south of the Jerusalem road, the Londoners took a line splendidly. The dismounted yeomen made their attack north of the road, pivoting on Nebi Samwil. Welsh and home counties troopers had the honor, which they deserved, of taking Bethlehem, leaving no trace of the war's struggles on that holy place. There was a Turkish battery firing at them from close to the town, but no reply was made, for fear of touching one stone of the town. To these Welsh and home counties men was given the task of operating to the south and east of Jerusalem, and they played a glorious part in the great victory.

The Final Conflicts

On the night of Dec. 7 all the troops moved to their assigned positions. The Londoners were to attack a strong line of works commanding Ain Karim, which is Miriam's Well, and Deir Yesin, a place full of trenches and machine guns. One brigade was to make a frontal attack; another was to turn the enemy defenses by climbing up a spur southwest of Ain Karim village. To do this the troops had to clamber down a very steep mountain-side into a deep valley, then to climb up terraced spurs to works on the top. The brigade which was intrusted with the turning movement was equipped with packs, and had to make roads as it went

along. When it got to the top it found a battalion of Turks in position, and had strong fighting before winning its ground. Then the two brigades together stormed the main line of works before daylight, and by 7 o'clock their irresistible attack had given us the whole western defenses of Jerusalem.

From this position the ground rises very steeply to a sharp ridge covered with large boulders on which the Jewish colony stands. The turning brigade was unable to get right round, as it was heavily shelled by a Turkish battery south of Jerusalem in a position quite close to the Holy City. It was impossible to find positions for our field guns on this steep ground, but two howitzers were brought up with infinite labor, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the brigade making the frontal attack fixed bayonets, and all the battalions charged the ridge and carried it by a gallant rush after a strong fight, the Turks leaving many dead on the ground.

The dismounted yeomen also had difficult work to accomplish. They had to take a strong line of works in and around the village of Beit Ikse, but though the Austrian and German gunners poured in an accurate shellfire they secured their objective early, and pushed up to the line of Nebi Samwil and the village of Beit Handina, 260 prisoners being taken on the way. As soon as the Londoners had got well into the suburbs of Jerusalem the dismounted yeomen were in a position to face north, not only gaining the whole of the most-coveted ridge of Nebi Samwil, but the high ground of El Burg, and getting on the Jerusalem-Nablus road before the Londoners, who were thus materially helped by the yeomen's advance. The Welshmen had the honor of driving the Turks from the Mount of Olives. The Welsh and home counties were held up by fog and by roads blown up by the enemy, but by dint of strenuous exertions the troops operating from Bethlehem overcame the difficulties and drove the enemy down the Jericho road.

In Jerusalem we found 750 wounded Turks, without medical stores, and practically without food.

Christians and Jews Rejoice

How the British Occupation of Jerusalem Was Received in Different Circles

THE King of England sent a message of congratulations to General Allenby on his taking of Jerusalem, and in recognition thereof awarded him the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, which is the highest grade in that order; he previously had made him a Knight Commander of the Bath. The British Academy, under the Chairmanship of Lord Bryce, sent him the following telegram:

The British Academy and large audience assembled at annual public lecture on Biblical Archaeology, Viscount Bryce presiding, offer you and valiant army, the gallant liberators of the Holy City, profound congratulations on glorious achievement, the realization of long-cherished hopes, fraught with highest possibilities for the future of humanity. We rejoice that this historic triumph will ever be associated with British prowess and with British ideals of freedom, liberty, and equal rights for races and creeds.

I. GOLLANCZ, secretary.

Jewish Congratulations

Dr. Hertz, Chief Rabbi at London, addressed the following letter to King George the day Jerusalem was occupied:

On behalf of the Jewish communities of the empire, whose ecclesiastical chief I have the honor to be, I humbly beg to congratulate your Majesty on the world-historic victories of your Majesty's army in the Holy Land. The occupation of Jerusalem, following so closely upon the epoch-making declaration of your Majesty's Government on Palestine as the national home for the Jewish people, causes the hearts of millions of my brethren throughout the world to throb with deepest gratitude to Almighty God, who alone doeth wondrous things. The House of Israel, that for 2,500 years preferred Jerusalem above its chief joy, fervently prays that everywhere the heroic efforts of your Majesty's forces may speedily be crowned with complete and lasting success.

The following reply, signed by Lord Stamfordham, the King's private secretary, was sent to the Chief Rabbi:

I am commanded to express the King's deep appreciation of the congratulations which you have conveyed to his Majesty

in your own name, and on behalf of the Jewish communities of the empire whom you represent, upon the victories of his Majesty's army operating in the Holy Land, which have culminated in the occupation of Jerusalem. The King further thanks you for the assurance that the House of Israel fervently prays for a speedy victory to the Allies and for an honorable and lasting peace.

To General Allenby the Chief Rabbi sent the following telegram:

British Jewry, thrilled by glorious news from Palestine, sends heartfelt congratulations on historic entry into Holy City.

A special form of praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the taking of Jerusalem was included by the Chief Rabbi in the Synagogue Sabbath service.

On Dec. 13 the Cardinal Vicar at Rome published a manifesto regarding the taking of Jerusalem, which announces a thanksgiving service for the following Sunday in the Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. The manifesto said that the "strictly religious" joy and triumph which the Cardinal Vicar experienced was clouded by the fact that the liberators of the Holy Sepulchre were not all united in the Catholic faith. The Osservatore Romano, the organ of the Vatican, had the following note:

The news of the entry into Jerusalem of British troops is welcomed with pleasure by all, and particularly by Catholics, who can only be satisfied that the Holy City is in the hands of a Christian power rather than in the hands of a non-Christian power. The feeling of satisfaction is all the more great and reasonable when one thinks of the ideas of liberty and equality which inspire the actions of Great Britain, for they give rise to the hope that in a land which was the foundation of the Christian religion the rights and interests of the Catholic Church will be recognized and respected.

The Catholic *Corriere d'Italia* said:

Our great dream is at last a reality. Between the walls of Jerusalem the alliance of nations consecrates today the justice of its cause. This war, let loose by the thirst of an empire for the hegemony

of a single race, has become a war for the liberty of the world. The odious alliance of the Turks and Germans in the Holy Land has been defeated. Every Italian heart must today rejoice at the capture of the Holy City, and the political results of its conquest can be looked upon with satisfaction by the Catholic Church also, as it puts the Holy City under the dominion of England, which has always adopted a spirit of liberty and respect for the religion of her subjects. Catholics expect, therefore, at Jerusalem a régime of full liberty and respect for the historic religious traditions which rendered their rights to the holy places sacred.

French Comment

The following was the comment of leading Paris newspapers. *Le Journal* said:

The Entente has a pledge of undoubted value. Palestine is a trump card, of which the full value will be appreciated when the time comes. Already its occupation has two consequences. It closes Arabia to the Turks and condemns them to the immediate and absolute loss of such control as they had over the holy places of Islam. On the other hand, the road to Syria is open. Jerusalem is scarcely more than 125 miles from Damascus. Syria is one of the brightest foci of French influence, and one of the nations groaning under the yoke is already looking for deliverance. It has its eyes fixed on the tri-colored flag that is floating side by side with the Union Jack.

Le Temps said:

By freeing Palestine, General Allenby has rendered a valuable service to the British Empire. The Suez Canal, the key to the sea communications between England and India, is now secure. Egypt, which, with Spanish Morocco, is one of the two points whereby German influence might make itself felt in Africa, is now far away from the frontier. The British Government, however, is pursuing no selfish aim in Palestine. The Holy City and its surroundings will be placed under an international authority, and the aspirations of the Allies will be respected. France is all the more cordial in acceding to these because she has herself an important disinterested mission to fulfill in the Levant.

German Comment

The Roman Catholic Kölnische Volkszeitung said:

The associations of the word Jerusalem are so deeply rooted that the conquest of the city gives considerable kudos to the

conqueror. Especially in the case of the Anglo-Saxon world stimulation of war spirit has been attained which, owing to the lack of successes in the main war theatres, would otherwise have been difficult to effect. The interests of the Jews in the Entente countries, especially of the supporters of Zionism, in the Palestine campaign has shown itself in unambiguous form.

In view of the tremendous influence which Jewish capital possesses in warfare, Entente financiers and politicians will welcome the favorable effects of the capture of Jerusalem on these powerful Israelite circles. From the military standpoint it cannot be denied that the battles which led to the capture were well prepared and cleverly planned, but regarding the war situation in the Orient as a whole there is no reason to overestimate the event. Jerusalem can, at the most, serve as a valuable base on the line of communications, but it lies too far from the really important aims of the British to give ground for anxiety. It may with good reason be expected that on a line more to the rear, more easy to defend, the Turks will call a halt to the British advance.

A Dutch View

The Amsterdam Maasbode, (Catholic,) commenting on the capture of Jerusalem, said:

By this moral success, added to that of Bagdad, the British have entirely wiped out the stain which the Gallipoli adventure and the check to General Townshend had left on their military name. For the fall of Jerusalem means the collapse of one of the principal pillars of the Turkish Empire in Asia.

American Comment

The New York and New Jersey Synod of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at its annual meeting in New York City, adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, The holy city of Jerusalem, sacred alike to the Christian and to the Jew, has been wrested from Turkish dominion, after many centuries of oppression and misrule, this provincial synod thanks God for the result herein expressed, and hereby recommends to the clergy and churchmen of this province that some sensible assistance be given to the work of our church in Jerusalem.

The remainder of the resolution provided specific means for raising and sending financial assistance to the Anglican Church in Jerusalem.

German Plotting in Russia

By Abraham Yarmolinsky

*The publication by the Department of State of the United States of the messages interchanged between the German Minister to Argentina and the Imperial Foreign Office exposed the active participation of the diplomatic representatives of the German Government in intrigues against the United States and other neutral nations, with which Germany was then on terms of amity. Further light on the extent of the German Foreign Office's plotting, which contemplated assassination and the blowing up of war vessels, is furnished by the confessions of a Russian Secret Service agent named Dolino, who committed suicide a short time before the revelations were made public. The manuscript containing his confessions was intrusted to Vladimir Burtzev, a distinguished Russian publicist, and its authenticity was attested by the Russian newspaper Birzheviya Vedomosti, which published it on July 19, 1917. The authenticity of the document was further attested by a Russo-French publicist, J. W. Bienstock, when it appeared in the *Mercur de France*, Nos. 464 and 465, Oct. 16 and Nov. 1, 1917. Dolino had been an agent provocateur as well as an agent of counterespionage, under the former régime in Russia. Shortly after the March revolution a special board began to examine the archives of the Secret Service. When Dolino discovered that his name was about to be revealed he made his confession to Burtzev, giving him the manuscript, and then returned to his lodging and committed suicide. Dolino's confession states that the German Ambassador to Switzerland in March, 1916, a man named Romberg, personally intrigued with him to go to Russia and organize on a large scale revolutionary propaganda among workmen and peasants, and to foment agrarian disorders, sabotage of machinery, and pacifist movements; also, that a high German functionary, von Bismarck, suggested to Dolino that he proceed to the Black Sea to blow up the Russian cruiser Empress Maria. This he did not succeed in doing, but it is a fact that shortly after the time at which he was intended to execute this order, (he had been diverted in the meanwhile,) the cruiser Empress Maria did explode and was entirely destroyed, 700 men losing their lives. The explosion was caused by a fire which broke out on the ship and penetrated through the ventilating pipes into the munition magazines. The District Attorney was not allowed by the military authorities to make an investigation until twenty-four hours later; they had appointed an investigating committee, but no light was shed on the cause of the catastrophe. The translation from Dolino's confessions here presented was prepared for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Abraham Yarmolinsky, an instructor in Russian at the College of the City of New York.*

SHORTLY after the March revolution a Russian Secret Service agent of the name of Dolino, before committing suicide, came to Vladimir Burtzev and handed over to him a voluminous manuscript. It contained a detailed account of Dolino's manifold activities in the *Okhrana*, [the Czar's Secret Service.] Few documents given to publicity by the "Sherlock Holmes of the Russian Revolution," who is at present its most competent chronicler, and to whom the Provisional Government had intrusted the archives of the Secret Service of the old régime, are more interesting than these confessions. The excerpt from them presented here throws valuable light on German plotting in Russia and on Russian counterespionage.

In October, 1914, at the request of one of his acquaintances, Dolino met a certain Bernstein at Milan, Italy. Dolino's narrative follows:

"Bernstein told me that he had left Russia a great many years ago, settled in Turkey and naturalized there, and that he resided in Constantinople. It was shortly before Turkey declared war on Russia. In Constantinople, he added, he had associated himself with the Committee of Young Turks, and they had charged him with the mission of entering into relations with the Russian revolutionists for the purpose of committing terroristic acts in Russia aimed at disorganizing the Russian military power. The group was to work independently, and its first act was to be the destruction of the railway bridge over the River Yenissei, Siberia. To my question what that had to do with the war he replied that this act would cripple the transportation of munitions from Japan to Russia. Bernstein proposed that I form a group to go to Russia, &c.

"I asked him for several days to consider the matter and to find the men fit

for the job. At Zurich [Dolino resided at that time in Switzerland] I telegraphed to Paris, asking Captain Edgardt, then assistant to Krasilnikov, the Chief of Russian Secret Police in Paris, to come to Switzerland. Several days later we met at Geneva. I related my conversation with Bernstein to Captain Edgardt, who said: 'If he is not a downright rascal, the matter is extremely serious. Neither I nor Krasilnikov can decide. We are going to ask for instructions from Petrograd. Meanwhile, you will drag your negotiations with Bernstein.'

"In a few days instructions came from Russia ordering me to continue my negotiations with Bernstein and putting at my disposition the gendarmes in the service of the Russian Secret Police in Paris. At that moment Bernstein was in Rome, and I went there, accompanied by Edgardt. I introduced him to Bernstein as my co-worker in organizing the group, and it was arranged that all three of us should go to Constantinople. In the meantime Turkey had declared war on Russia. Edgardt wondered how we two, being Russians, could make our way into Turkey, but Bernstein assured us that we would have no difficulties whatever. Edgardt made a telegraphic request for four secret agents and returned alone to Paris, telling Bernstein that he was going to Russia by a northern route. The rest of us went to Bucharest, but as Bernstein was unable to procure the necessary documents he went to Constantinople alone and we waited in Bucharest for the results of his trip. Naturally, all the traveling expenses were very liberally paid by Bernstein.

In the Pay of Germany

"Bernstein had been away for three days when a gentleman of the name of Ludner paid us a visit. He introduced himself as a contributor to the Lokal-Anzeiger and asked us all to come to Constantinople. But I decided to go alone, and the others remained in Bucharest till my return. Ludner handed me a passport bearing the name of Ralph, viséd by the German Embassy, in exchange for the Russian passport which

Edgardt had given me, and he added that this passport would be returned to me in Bucharest by Major von Schellendorf, attaché to the German Embassy.

"I stayed in Constantinople only a few days, and there I discovered that Ludner had nothing to do with journalism and was in reality von Laffert, Secretary of the German Military Attaché in Constantinople. He handed me over 6,000 francs for initial expenses. Upon my return to Bucharest I exchanged the German passport for my Russian passport, and together with the agent Litvin returned to Russia via Ungeni.

"We came to Petrograd early in December, 1914. Litvin presented a detailed report to General Junkovsky, Director of the Department of Police and Vice Minister of the Interior. The high authorities decided to send the following dispatch to the foreign press: 'Unidentified malefactors exploded a railway bridge of a certain strategic importance. The damages are not serious. An investigation has been started.' This item appeared about the 1st of February in Le Matin of Paris and in several other papers.

Ruse to Deceive Berlin

"The plan was to give the Germans the impression that they had to do with a well-organized group on which they could depend. In the Spring of 1915, Litvin and I returned abroad, he to Paris, I to Zurich. With the telegram which had been published in the foreign newspapers in our hands, we went to see von Bismarck, the German Military Attaché in Bern. He read the item, said that he was going to telegraph to Berlin, and asked us to come again. The answer from Berlin was evidently satisfactory, for in the course of our second visit von Bismarck told us that a special commissary would come from Berlin to speak to us.

"Indeed, in March, 1915, we had a conference with the special commissary. He introduced himself as an American citizen of the name of Jacomini, but his manners and accent left no doubt in our minds that he was a German officer. To judge by the respect von Bismarck

showed him, he must have been a person of importance. Jacomini handed us a long list of mills and factories which it was necessary to destroy. Then he asked us to organize an attempt, 'even fruitless,' on the life of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sazonoff, whom both he and Bismarck seemed to consider Germany's worst enemy, and to try to damage the coal mines of the Donetz region.

"Jacomini, who spoke Russian fairly well, announced that he was going to make his way into Russia and direct our work in person. Litvin gave him an address, 55 Nevsky, and the first name that came to his mind, and as soon as we left Jacomini he telegraphed to the Department of Police, Petrograd, the name and address he had given to Jacomini, asking that an agent be sent there.

"In Paris I found an order to come to Russia alone. Arrived in Petrograd, I went to see the Assistant Director of the Department of Police, Vasilyev, who informed me of all he had undertaken in connection with this affair. A secret agent had been placed at the aforesaid address, and the officials at the frontier had been instructed to let Jacomini pass, but to keep close watch over him.

Plot Aided by Chance

"I left Vasilyev with the impression that he took great interest in this affair and that he would be happy to discover the nest of German espionage in Russia. But we waited for Jacomini in vain. Then we decided to telegraph to von Bismarck to find out what had happened to Jacomini. We dispatched him the following telegram in French: 'Bern, 21 Brunnadern Strasse, Bismarck. Worried absence father. Answer what do. Ralph. Answer 55 Nevsky.' We received the following dispatch: 'He is on way. Do not wait. Continue affair.'

"This rather vague telegram shed scant light on the situation, but here chance came to our assistance. Five days after the receipt of von Bismarck's dispatch an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs named Shakhovskoy, (it was afterward ascertained that he was insane,) dashed into the private office of

the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Neratov, and, assaulting him with an axe, nearly killed him. We did not hesitate to take advantage of this unforeseen incident. We sent the following telegram to von Bismarck: 'Contract made. Send manager to Stockholm,' and I went to Stockholm. There at the German Embassy I found that I was expected. As Jacomini could not come, some one else took his place. I was told that our work was highly appreciated, but that it was now necessary to mobilize our forces for more serious matters. These more serious matters concerned the Black Sea fleet.

Fomenting Labor Troubles

"Since in 1905 there had been a revolutionary movement in the Black Sea fleet, which had manifested itself in an armed revolt on the battleship Prince Potyomkin, and as the spirit of revolt was constantly brewing in the navy, it would be highly desirable, I was told, to organize an insurrection of sailors and to have them bring the cruisers Empress Maria and Panteley to Turkey. * * * Another plan was to form a special group, with Arkhangelsk and the Murman Railroad as its sphere of activity. Its task at Arkhangelsk would be in every possible way to hinder the regular communication between that city and England and America. At that moment the Military-Industrial Committee, a serious menace to Germany, was being organized in Russia. It was suggested that conflagrations should be started in the Port of Arkhangelsk and methods of sabotage applied to the ships. As for the Murman Railroad, it was necessary to hinder its functioning in every possible way; to destroy the tracks, to instigate strikes, &c. I left Stockholm with 30,000 francs received from the Germans. * * *

"Back in Petrograd in September, 1915, I made a detailed report to Vasilyev, who related the affair to Colonel Fyodorov, the chief of counterespionage. It was decided not to undertake anything during the next month, and I was ordered to go to Zurich and to tell the German agent that circumstances in Russia were

at present such as to necessitate patient waiting. After that we would let the Germans make us offers.

Hired to Destroy Ships

"In January, 1916, the same Bernstein came to see me at Zurich. He told me that it was now highly important for Germany to have the cartridge factory at Tula blown up. In accordance with the instructions I had received I made an evasive answer, saying that I would find out whether it was now possible to act in Russia. Matters stopped there, and the lull in our negotiations lasted till March, 1916. At that time I received an invitation to come to Bern to discuss a very important matter. Von Bismarck told me that the only advantage the Russians had in the Black Sea was the cruiser Empress Maria, and he asked me to find the means of destroying this vessel, after which, he said, our forces would be equal to those of the Russians and we would have the better of them. 'If it is impossible to sink it,' he told me, 'try to cripple it so as to render it useless for several months.' He added that the German Ambassador wanted to speak to me.

"The Ambassador began the interview with general considerations on the situation in Russia, and I soon became aware that he knew admirably well all the shades of political and revolutionary parties in Russia. Satisfied, no doubt, by my answers, he asked me if I would consent to go to Russia for the purpose of organizing on a large scale revolutionary propaganda among workmen and peasants. The program included agrarian disorders, sabotage of machinery, and pacifistic propaganda. In the course of our conversation he referred to the fact that the war had united men of diametrically opposed opinions, such as Burtzev and Prince Kropotkin, and he praised the activity of Lenine's group with enthusiasm.

"To my telegraphic request for instructions I received the following reply

from the Department of Police: 'Accept two propositions, about Maria conditionally, about propaganda without conditions. Come Russia.' On parting I agreed with the German that in two months I would be at Stockholm.

Attitude of Russian Authorities

"In Russia the new chief of the section, a certain Broyetsky, informed me that the Director of Police was now unable to give his attention to this affair and that I would now act under the military authorities. Weeks passed, but I received no orders from them. The time I had set for my appearance in Stockholm was drawing nearer. I asked for a passport. They refused it to me, saying that the military authorities were opposed to granting me a passport.

"Thus my relations with the Germans were automatically broken off. Seeing that I had nothing to do in Petrograd, I asked permission to go to Odessa for my military service. I joined the colors at Odessa under my true name, and was quite unexpectedly sent to Kharkov. All the time I was under police surveillance, I knew not why. But soon I read in the papers that there was an explosion in the cartridge factory at Tula, and also on the cruiser Empress Maria. Later I learned that a fierce fire broke out in the port of Arkhangelsk. I immediately wrote to Vasilyev, who had meanwhile become Director of the Department of Police, saying that I had warned him of all these projects of the Germans. I have never received an answer."

The explosion on the Empress Maria occurred on Oct. 7, (20,) 1916, while the cruiser lay in the port of Sebastopol. The ship went down, and 700 lives were lost. It is noteworthy that the military authorities in every possible way obstructed the investigation of the catastrophe, which had been started by the District Attorney.



Plotting by Interned Germans

THE diary of Captain Carl Grasshof of the German Navy, who was in command of the German gunboat Geier when that vessel sought refuge in Hawaiian waters in November, 1914, in order to escape Japanese cruisers, came into the possession of the Navy Intelligence Service of the United States at Honolulu. It reveals the fact that Grasshof and his subordinates, while enjoying the protection and hospitality of the United States when this country was neutral, violated his obligations and assisted the German Ambassador von Bernstorff and other German vassals in plotting trouble for the United States with Japan. The Public Ledger of Philadelphia obtained access to this diary and summarized its features as follows:

First—Attempts to get sailors and officers from the Geier home to Germany, to accomplish which the subsequently dismissed Boy-Ed issued instructions to Grasshof to provide the Germans with forged passports.

Second—That A. V. Kirchelsen, a quartermaster on the transpacific liner China, was a German Secret Service agent, who is referred to in German reports as "K-17." Kirchelsen acted as a messenger for the Germans and carried messages from spies and agents in San Francisco to German agents in the Far East and vice versa. He frequently used the China's wireless to send messages in code and made reports in person to the German Consulates in San Francisco and Honolulu. Kirchelsen is now under arrest in Denmark, charged with giving information regarding the movements of Danish merchant ships.

Third—That the Geier used her wireless for war purposes on numerous occasions, the band playing when the apparatus was in operation, in order to conceal the sounds made by the wireless sparks. Captain Grasshof has stated that the Geier caught all transpacific messages, intercepted scores of American Government dispatches, and communicated with German raiders at sea.

Fourth — Messages were deliberately wirelessly in English, the wording of them being such as to start rumors of trouble between the United States and Japan in the event they were picked up by allied craft. One such message told of a Japanese landing in Mexico, which it was stated Japan had authorized.

Fifth—Circulation of reports that the Germans in the United States were planning an invasion of Canada. The diary shows that Georg Rodiek, German Consul at Honolulu, received orders to circulate this report.

Sixth—That von Papen circulated a report that an American submarine commander had said that he would "like to do something to those Japs outside" (referring to a Japanese cruiser on patrol duty) provided he (the American commander) and the German could reach an agreement. Grasshof subsequently admitted that this statement, attributed to von Papen, was a lie.

Seventh—That after the sinking of the Lusitania plans were made to destroy or disable all German ships in American waters in the event the United States declared war. The guns of the Geier were rendered useless immediately after the sinking of the Lusitania. A message from Bernstorff to delay the destruction of the guns arrived too late.

Eighth—That Boy-Ed in a message to Grasshof ordered a story circulated that German submarines were operating in the Pacific.

Ninth—That Boy-Ed tried to transfer friendly wireless operators to Honolulu to "listen in" on transpacific wireless, in this way relieving the overworked operators of the Geier.

Here is the diary entry about an American naval officer offering to aid the Germans against the Japanese:

"Feb. 20, 1915. A letter from Boy-Ed, in which he states that Captain von Papen, Military Attaché, told him that since the interning an American submarine (at Honolulu) came alongside and its commander made the following remarks to the watch officer (of the Geier): 'I would like to do something against the Japs outside if we could come to some agreement.' After speaking with the officer on watch at the time I reported to Boy-Ed that the report was untrue."

Another message found in the diary reads:

"Please quietly and in an inconspicuous manner circulate rumor of a plan to attack Canada."

Another message signed "Rodiek" states that somebody friendly to the Germans had obtained fifty-one guns and fourteen boxes of ammunition. Another message suggested that these and other guns be dropped "with caution in the bay and covered with care."

Count Luxburg's Secret Telegrams

Sequel to "Spurlos Versenkt" Incident

SECRETARY LANSING on Dec. 20, 1917, made public thirty-eight more of the intercepted enemy telegrams of Count von Luxburg, German Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, Argentina, thus completing the chapter begun with the revelation of the famous message in which he advised his Government that certain Argentine ships be "sunk without trace." (See CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, October, 1917.) Count Luxburg had sent that message in cipher through the supposedly neutral Swedish Legation. Its publication caused Sweden to forbid the further use of its diplomatic channels for German messages, while in Argentina it aroused so much indignation that Luxburg was dismissed as persona non grata on Sept. 13, five days after the exposure. The "spurlos versenkt" telegram was dated July 9, 1917, and the further messages since made public cover the next two months or so.

These thirty-eight telegrams show that Count Luxburg and the Berlin Foreign Office regarded President Hipolite Irigoyen of Argentina as their friend; that the Germans were counting upon him to take a firm stand for Germany and against the United States; that they were expecting him to develop a counter-movement among South American nations, especially Chile and Bolivia, against the United States, and that Luxburg and the Berlin Government were finally able to settle the submarine controversy with Buenos Aires by making a secret agreement.

The telegrams were made public in Washington and in Buenos Aires practically at the same time under an agreement between our Government and that of Argentina. In making them public the Minister for Foreign Relations of Argentina sought to discredit Luxburg's intrigue, saying: "The telegrams show a number of inaccuracies so surprising that no epithet will fit them, as they are at complete variance, both in substance and form, with the terms in

"which the negotiations were entered into, carried on, and brought to a conclusion."

The first allusion to the United States in the Luxburg telegrams is the statement in his message of July 7 that "the pressure of North America in regard to shipping iron, coal, and paper is great, but not irresistible." On July 19 Luxburg said in a message: "The President has the firm intention of setting the Council of Ministers against North America." On July 10 Luxburg had said: "The President, in the course of a long interview, protested his friendship for Germany." Luxburg sent this message to Berlin on Aug. 1:

The President has at last made up his mind to conclude a secret agreement with Chile and Bolivia with regard to a mutual rapprochement for protection vis-à-vis North America before the conference idea is taken up. Saguier, with friendly Under Secretary of State and full powers, is on his way to * * * and Santiago.

Count von Luxburg in various telegrams appealed to his Government to send a German submarine squadron to Argentine waters, and finally, in August, he received a message from Foreign Minister von Kühlmann in Berlin, empowering Luxburg "to announce a submarine visit should the politico-military situation allow."

There are also highly significant allusions in the dispatches to secret means of "underground" communication which Luxburg and the Berlin Foreign Office believed they possessed, although the possession of these confidential dispatches by the American Government indicates that many of the messages were falling into the hands of the American Government as fast as sent.

The secret agreement between the Argentine President and the Berlin Government, indicated by the notes made public, was to the effect that the German Government would agree to spare Argentine ships from attacks by German submarines, while President Irigoyen prom-

ised to keep Argentine ships out of the submarine blockade area.

The subject took definite form in this message to Luxburg from the German Minister of Foreign Affairs:

[Telegram.]

Berlin to Buenos Aires, about July 24, 1917; No. 149.

Proposal agreed to if formulated in the following terms: Germany allows six ships of moderate size in the blockade area while on their present journey here and back, provided they are not convoyed. Instructions are being issued accordingly. As it is not absolutely certain that information can be given in time, compensation is agreed to in case a ship is unintentionally sunk. Argentina promises that in future her ships will keep away from the blockade area, and Argentine ships are to remain unharmed if they neither carry contraband nor undertake any hostile enterprise. I authorize you to sign a protocol in accordance with this.

If the palliative [paragraph?] above referred to cannot be obtained, you should declare to the President verbally that the Imperial Government, in full appreciation of the value of the continuance of the historic friendship between the two countries, entertains a well-founded confidence that incidents productive of harm to Argentine ships will not occur again in the future.

Very secret, for your personal information: Argentine ships will be treated with forbearance, as far as they can be recognized. It is quite impossible to make an express communication to that effect to the Argentine Government, on account of other neutrals and of military considerations. The desired Toro note will be handed to the Argentine Minister.

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

Luxburg had continued for many weeks to advise the Foreign Office to delay giving Argentina a definite answer regarding the sinking of the Toro and other Argentine ships, thus using the dilatory tactics employed against the United States earlier in the war; but on Aug. 18 he outlined a definite basis for a secret agreement on the submarine issue:

[Telegram.]

Buenos Aires to Berlin, Aug. 18, 1917; No. 99.

Reference to your telegram No. 166. Secret. I have had a long and agitated conference with President. He is conscious that there have been errors in the past and has firm intention of adhering to neutrality, and it is asserted that all pending conflicts may be settled on loyal

broad lines on a basis of mutual confidence. He recommends that an early settlement should be arrived at.

First, instead of there being a protocol, Argentine ships should, on the one hand, tacitly be spared, and, on the other, prevented from going to sea. As a matter of fact, the use of the Argentine flag has latterly been refused repeatedly; moreover, shipbuilding material is exhausted.

Secondly, as regards note of your Excellency or of the Imperial Legation, the lines of which were telegraphed to Molina at the President's wish, a large-hearted solution should be arrived at out of friendship. There should be assurance that Argentine ships will not be harmed and that freedom of movement will be allowed them, in accordance with international law. As regards Toro indemnity, there should be the same procedure as in the case of the Monte Protegido, but ship's value should only come in so far as it is not covered by insurance. The President deserves confidence.

(Signed) LUXBURG.

There are interesting references in the Luxburg telegrams to the establishment of a powerful wireless station in Argentina with the German Government "as sleeping partner" in the operating company. This was apparently just beginning in July to try to receive messages from Nauen, Germany.

The most significant of the dispatches bearing on the attempt of Luxburg to create a secret South American coalition against the United States and "to carry out Germany's South American policy" after the war is the following:

[Telegram.]

Buenos Aires to Santiago, Chile, July 19, 1917; No. 64.

With reference to your posted cipher dispatch 1,730, I congratulate you on the solution arrived at. As long as Chile is neutral, Germany will be able, after the war, to carry out her South American policy just as well, if not more easily, in opposition to an infatuated and misguided Argentina as with Argentina on her side. All sensible men here, even Zeballos, allow that Chile is obviously better governed than Argentina; moreover, the situation here is by no means incapable of solution. The President has the firm intention of setting the Council of Ministers against North America. Use the above confidentially.

(Signed) LUXBURG.

The publication of these telegrams in Buenos Aires caused anti-German rioting the following day, but the disturbances were soon quieted.

Prussianism in German Education

By Walter S. Smoot

PRESIDENT WILSON, in his War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917, made this rather startling statement: "We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship." This sentiment has been the subject of much discussion, both in America and abroad, meeting with favor in some quarters, but with sharp criticism in others. "Why," say the critics, "it is the German people who compose the Kaiser's armies, which have shot down our brothers and our sons; it is the German people who man the submarines, which murder women and babies on the seas; it is the German people who laud the brutal autocracy of their rulers to the skies—shall we not, therefore, adjudge them deserving of no mercy or forgiveness from us and crush them in common ruin with their masters?"

The reply given is that the German people during these four years have been held fast in the grip and spell of that "Thing without conscience or honor"—Prussianism—and that the most powerful instrument of their enslavement has been the Prussian system of education.

For fifty years, while Prussia was gathering her strength for the struggle to dominate Europe, and again, for forty years more, while the empire was preparing for its dash for world supremacy, Prussianism, in classroom and in textbook, has been and is subtly at work upon the German mind. By these channels it has inculcated loyalty to the House of Hohenzollern and to the monarchical principle; it has sought to imbue the German from earliest youth with its own vision of a national destiny of greater power on land and on sea than the Empire has ever known, and it has preached the essential infallibility of the Fatherland and the transcendent excellence of German Kultur and achievements, tending to foster German belief in the Emperor's maxim, "We are the

salt of the earth." So, by August, 1914, the German people had been trained to think in the same artificial terms as the Government itself, and rose as one man against the enemies of Prussian bureaucracy; a nation had been fanaticized—discipline was secured and efficiency promoted.

Imperial Control of Education

Patriotic instruction in the schools of Prussia and Germany with a view to the promotion of military efficiency was begun with great success during the period of Prussian regeneration in the time of Napoleon, and has been regarded as of prime importance ever since the formation of the empire. Prince Bismarck expressed the attitude of the era of the first German Emperor, William I., (1857-1888,) toward patriotic instruction in the German schools, when he said:

The mighty influence which the schools exercise in the education of the nation consists in this, that the German child, when handed over to the teacher, is like a blank sheet of paper, and all that is written upon it during the course of elementary education is written with indelible ink, and will last through life. The soul of the child is like wax. Therefore, he who directs the school directs the country's future.

The present Kaiser has been especially active in this direction; in a speech delivered on May Day, 1889, within a year of his accession to the throne, he made very clear his conception of the great first duty of the German schools:

For a long time my attention has been engaged by the thought of making the school in its various grades useful in combating the spread of socialistic and communistic ideas. Upon the school, first of all, will fall the duty, by cherishing reverence for God and love of the Fatherland, of laying the foundation for a sound conception of political and social relations.

It has been very largely through the influence of Emperor William that the amount of time devoted to the study of the ancient languages in Germany has

been materially reduced; the extra time so gained has been ordered to be utilized for additional instruction in German, in history, and in geography, subjects which are considered by the authorities to be of the greatest educational importance. According to the Prussians, the teachers' knowledge of German is to be measured by their ability "to excite in the hearts of our youth ardor for the German language, German nationality, (*deutsches Volkstum*), and German greatness of spirit, (*deutsche Geistesgrösse*)"; their knowledge of history by their "ability to impart such instruction in history as will promote patriotism in their young pupils, * * * to nourish in their pupils love for the Fatherland and for the ruling dynasty"; their knowledge of geography by the stress they place "on the knowledge of the Fatherland, its character, its political divisions, its civilization on the material side, (*materielle Kultur*), and its commercial relations with foreign lands."

Adoration of the Kaiser

Prussian patriotic instruction necessarily starts out with the inculcation of exaggerated conceptions of loyalty to the powerful, the magnificent, the terrible, the paternal, the kind, the loving Head of the State—the Emperor. Steadfast adherence to the House of Hohenzollern and to the monarchical principle for which it stands are carefully taught along with devotion to the great Father Nation. Exceptional ability to arouse love for the ruling dynasty in the minds of the young is a decisive qualification in the consideration of normal graduates for teachers' appointments.

The manifest efforts of the German Government to inculcate a very personal loyalty to the Kaiser begin with little tots just learning to read. The delightful mutual love between the War Lord and his subjects is affirmed thus: "The Kaiser has many soldiers. He loves us all. We love him, too." The long shadow cast by Prussian militarism across the minds of German children is seen in an account, written in 1914 just before the war, telling of all the younger

boys of a certain school marching in straight, stiff rows by two of their own classmates, a boy and a girl, who conducted themselves as Kaiser and Kaiserin on a review of the troops!

The adoration of the present Kaiser in the German textbooks is extended almost imperceptibly to many of the great rulers of the Hohenzollern line. Frederick the Great, who did much to launch the "scrap of paper" and "military necessity" theories of Prussianism, which are finding their culmination in the present war, is spoken of as "the most powerful example of unqualified and complete devotion to the State," the only fault found with him being that he preferred French to German culture. It was the leadership of the German Army by the German Princes that made possible the victories of 1866 and 1870, and it is only by the German people following the leadership of their Emperor and their Princes that the mighty destiny the future has in store for the Fatherland can be attained.

Anti-Socialist Teachings Fail

The Emperor himself has regarded the schools as ideal means for strengthening his throne by the inculcation of support of the monarchical principle in the minds of his people and by combating the doctrines of socialism, which have ever cast their grim shadow across his crown. In consequence, the regulations for the lower schools of Prussia require that it must be clearly explained to the child "how the monarchical form of the State is best adapted to protect the family, freedom, justice, and welfare of the individual"; and in an imperial rescript of the 1st of May, 1889, the Kaiser ordered: "The school must endeavor to create in the young the conviction that the teachings of social democracy contravene not only the Divine command and Christian morals, but are, moreover, impracticable." In compliance with the imperial order, the official Plan of Instruction for the higher schools of Prussia provides that, in connection with the discussion of German social and economic questions, the teacher must present the subject to his pupils in such a light as "to enable them to form a clear and calm judgment of the dangers attending

"the unjustifiable social ambitions of the 'present day.'"

But, in spite of all that the authorities have been able to do, their efforts to combat the teachings of socialism have been effectually met by an active pro-Socialist propaganda which has brought about the glaring failure of the German schools to instill into their students those "laissez faire" beliefs which the Imperial Government has prescribed for the internal composure of the Fatherland. Rather, many of the teachers are in secret accordance with the anti-war and anti-monarchist principles of the popular party, and Socialist leaflets and pamphlets have been put in the hands of school children everywhere. The effect is seen in the surly though impotent discontent of the people all through Prussia, especially in Berlin, and in the industrial towns of Saxony. It is the custom when the Reichstag adjourns for it to give three cheers for the Emperor, but before the war the Socialist members used to leave the hall in a body before that pledge of loyalty was given, as a symbol of their opposition to the Imperial German Government in all its works and in all its ways; and in this action they were supported by their constituents, 3,000,000 in number, or about one-third of the educated-in-patriotism German electorate, who are, according to the Emperor, "fellows without a Fatherland and enemies of their nation!"

Teachings of Pan-Germanism

The Prussian teaching perhaps most dangerous to the peace of Europe is that of the necessity for Germanic expansion to include all territories in which, by reason of the Teutonic race of their inhabitants, of their weakness, or other cause, conditions are favorable to such imperial occupation—a teaching known to us as Pan-Germanism. The reasoning and demands of the Pan-Germanists have been made known to America through the impudently frank and extreme writings of General Friedrich von Bernhardi, whose books, so Germans say, are taken far more seriously abroad than at home. To admit this contention in part is only just, but that von Bern-

hardi's propositions are not the mere rantings of an unbalanced chauvinist is seen in the extent to which they have found their way into the German schools.

In domestic fields, the Pan-German scheme contemplates the acquisition by Germany, or the domination by her, in whole or in great part, of the territories embraced in mediaeval times by the Holy Roman Empire. This would mean the retention of Alsace-Lorraine and Holstein; the annexation of Belgium, Luxemburg, Holland, Switzerland, part of the French county of Franche-Comté, and the Russian provinces on the Baltic; also the subjugation of Austria.

The plan is no sentimental nonentity; the German student calls the territories once ruled by his mediaeval ancestors *das deutsche Reich*. He listens to the statement in his textbook that "the empire furnishes since the Treaty of Verdun (843) for more than a thousand years a unity, even if at times only held loosely together by the German Kaiser idea," that "its chief constituent part is the [present] German Empire," and consequently has been made to take the name and its significance very seriously. He, therefore, believes that expiation must be made, not by his own country, for such crimes as the occupation of Alsace-Lorraine and the invasion of Belgium, but by the peoples of those districts for the crime of resisting their German "brothers" marching across the border to subjugate them!

The Bagdad Railway

In foreign fields, the Pan-German aims are well known. They contemplate a straight road from Berlin to the great commercial heart of the Far East—through Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Constantinople to, and beyond, Bagdad—the preservation of that great project known as the Bagdad Railway Enterprise.

Then, too, the necessity of extending German trade and influence by settling her surplus population in colonies is emphasized at every opportunity, and The Day when German power on the seas shall be supreme has been made a

subject of inspiration and longing to the young. An elementary geography contains this significant statement:

If now the question is asked what peoples have contributed most to the colonization of the globe, the answer is, in antiquity the Greeks, in mediaeval and modern times transitionally the Romanic, but mainly the Germanic peoples.

The textbooks for higher schools expand this statement into impassioned arguments in which all history is ransacked to furnish accounts of achievements of German geographers and explorers with a view to justifying their contention that Germany is entitled to a larger "place in the sun" than she now has. The textbook writers have left direct advocacy of military and naval conquest of these imperial domains to the Emperor and to such militarists as von Bernhardi, but, between the lines, their conviction is plain that Germany's "place in the sun" must be obtained by war on land and on sea.

Disparagement of Foreign Peoples

In preaching this gospel of expansion the German educators have been at some pains to make its fulfillment seem easy by disparaging the foreign peoples with whose rights it conflicts. The keynote to this phase of German patriotic instruction was struck by the Prussian program of 1902 for higher schools, which stated that the "history of nations outside of Germany is to be considered only as it is of importance for German history."

A study of some of the Prussian textbooks reveals some gross errors which are startling in view of Germany's antebellum reputation as the home of exact and scientific scholarship; for instance, one historian in connection with "The North American Civil War" maintains that the inhabitants of the North were "preponderatingly Germanic and Protestant," while those of the South were "Romanic and Catholic"! The same writer makes a statement which strikes an unpleasant chord in American hearts at the present time: "The relation of the United States to Germany has increased in warmth since the 12,000,000 German citizens of the United States

"have become more deeply conscious of their Germanism (Deutschtum) and of their connection in spirit with the United Fatherland, (Deutscher-Amerikanischer National Bund.)"

Since Anglo-German hatred and suspicion became acute only within the years immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities, one does not find in the textbooks many well-defined attempts to disparage England. One does find, however, the now oft-repeated charge of "British perfidy"—of England's having provoked and engineered Continental difficulties and wars for her own advantage. This is directly stated by one writer in a discussion of the Franco-German and Russo-Turkish wars: "England derived again, as she has for two centuries, great advantage from the wars of Continental powers." The British conquest of India is sharply criticised: "The English domain of influence was uninterruptedly extended in further India, for the most part attended by the exercise of extreme craftiness and cruelty." English hostility toward Germany is alluded to thus: "The increase of the German Navy, constant and with complete self-consciousness of its purpose, is followed by the English with unfriendly eyes, and there are, despite all mutual efforts for a better understanding, very influential circles in England which hold that an enfeeblement of Germany is necessary to secure Great Britain's position as a world power."

The German writers have not minced words in their preservation of the ancient feeling of enmity between Germany and France. The "decadent French" is a German cry much older than "the perfidious British." They are called in a questionable spirit of peace and good-will "the hated French," (verhassten Franzosen,) and the story of their defeats is minutely told and openly rejoiced at. In short, France is the hereditary foe of Germany, (Erbfeind;) the feeling of Germany toward the great Gallic nation gleams out in a passage which has passed through countless reprintings and has been handed down through generations from the days when Prussia lay prostrate

under the yoke of Napoleon: "We'll red-
den the iron with blood, with hangman's
blood, with Frenchman's blood. Oh!
sweet day of revenge! That sounds
good to all Germans; that is the great
cause!"

German Race Egotism

The saddest and one of the most dangerous aspects of Prussian education is the national egotism, the exaggerated race consciousness, it has produced in the mind of the German Nation. A German historian, Lauer, asserts complacently that Germans have never been defeated except when fighting against other Germans. Other writers pass in review before their youthful readers the contributions of great Germans like Helmholtz, Röntgen, Nietzsche, Goethe, Lessing, Schiller, and Kant to the scientific and intellectual thought of the world, and, overcome by their own vision of the greatness of the German race, burst into paeans of national self-glorification, ending in such refrains as "the Germans are the civilized people of Europe, and all real civilization elsewhere * * * is due to German blood." Is Emperor William, then, so very much out of sympathy with his people when, amid much florid rhetoric, he exclaims, "We are the salt of the earth"?

Even more significant is the attitude of educators toward the nineteenth century wars between Germany and the neighboring States. There is the story of the partitions of Poland, to the foreign historian planned and carried out by Frederick the Great from a greedy and unwarranted desire to extend the boundaries of Prussia, but to the German warranted by the anarchy then existing in Poland and by the proposition that otherwise Russia would have seized all the spoil and with Slav barbarism shut out German civilization there. There is the story of the war between Austria and Prussia of 1866, to the foreign historian planned by the latter for the express purpose of expelling the dominance of the former from German affairs and substituting her own therefor, but to the Prussian caused by Austria's desire to recover Silesia and her jealousy of possible Prussian annexations on the North

Sea. There is the story of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, to the foreign historian deliberately and confessedly plotted by Bismarck for the purpose of completing the unification of Germany, but to the German it was provoked instead by the long-maturing Machiavellian intrigues of Louis Napoleon, Emperor of the French!

Not Responsible for This War

In this teaching of "Germany ever innocent and victorious" is found the key of the fatal attitude of the German people toward the present war, in refusing to believe that the great European struggle has been, on Germany's part, from the beginning a war of conquest launched by the Kaiser and the German military caste in their own time and for their own purposes of conquest and selfish power. Every enemy nation has had to bear the guilt and ruin of war, while the Fatherland has always emerged with the glory and indemnity of vindicated innocence; all these wars of past years are proved to be on the part of Germany wars of defense—all wars which the Fatherland has ever undertaken against a foreigner have been wars of defense. How, then, can the present be anything but such a defensive war, despite all that the smooth-tongued enemies of the Fatherland may say of the course of events leading to it? A little German girl, trained in these hypocritical tenets of the Prussian teachers, writing to a friend in America in 1915, thus expresses for us the conclusion of the whole matter: "We have waged no wars of conquest. If we had done so Holstein, Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, and the Russian provinces on the Baltic would not have been torn from the empire."

It is this teaching which has set the German mind off from the rest of the world, incomprehensible to foreigners and uncomprehending the viewpoint of its foes. The extent to which the subtle influence exerted by Prussianism in the classroom has fanaticized his mind is unknown to the German himself, for, like men of other nations, he unconsciously adopts many views formed dur-

ing his impressionable years at school as the ripe and reasoned reflections of manhood, and regards as axiomatic premises which his opponents will not admit. Thus, to him, the interests of his Fatherland are the paramount consideration, and all the world shall not say nay to any possible measures he may take to promote them. Just as his devotion to his country, always right, and to his Emperor impel him to the highest deeds of heroism, so does he expect from his country and his Emperor a policy of rigorous severity toward the common enemy, and carries out relentlessly the orders they give him in pursuance of such a policy. *The Fatherland, engaged in spreading the "great white light" of German Kultur by the march of its victorious armies, can do no wrong!* Very remarkable is this serene faith of the German people in the essential spotlessness and righteousness of the cause of their Fatherland inspired by the Prussian system of education; and very dangerous it is, too!

Prussian Education in America

While we are voicing our indignation over the shameless exploitation of German children by the bureaucracy, let us awake to the fact that this same system of education is stretching out its tentacles to our own shores to infect *our* children with the deadly virus of pro-Germanism. If Bismarck's maxim is true—that all that is written on the child's mind during the course of his elementary education is written with indelible ink—all the more reason why we should carefully guard from the hideous rumors and falsehoods which are daily being manufactured and spread abroad by Germany through her emissaries in the United States minds incapable of realizing the advantages of the American system of government and ready to assimilate teachings hostile to democracy.

Yet there are teachers in the public schools all over the country who do not support the war or believe in Liberty Bonds, and who indulge in the German brand of "free speech" and call General Joffre "one of the greatest mur-

derers of his generation." That Germany realized the service which teachers in foreign countries would be able to render to her in time of hostilities is seen in the fact that prior to the war she established societies all over the world for the training of instructors in the German language and literature; so dangerous are the political tenets of these graduates of the schools of autocracy that the teacher of German has been called "a full-armed crusader for autocracy against democracy."

Results of Prussian Education

Such are the teachings of Prussianism which the German system of education has preached to the sixty-five millions under the imperial eagles and to this world. They have been inspired through the centuries by the Hohenzollerns and by the ruling military caste under which Prussia, the "State of soldiers and officials," has taught Germany the omnipotence of blood and iron. In that teaching Prussia caught and has held Germany in an iron grip, just as Bismarck in 1870 meant she should do. Thus Prussia has managed to attain her ends with remarkable precision, and she has attained them because she has scientifically adjusted means to ends; has trained and carefully chosen the officials to whom she has intrusted the direction of her affairs; has hammered into her sons, in school and out of school, that discipline which makes them move forward in masses for a definite purpose; and, above all, has taught blind, implicit, unquestioning obedience to the State. These traditions, whoever may be their spokesman—William II., von Hindenburg, or von Hertling—are now a state of mind on the part of the German people and have stiffened the German State.

We are fighting, therefore, not to crush the German people, but to break the spell in which they are held by "this intolerable Thing to which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, a Thing without conscience or honor of covenanted peace."

Germany's Purpose in Belgium

Governor General von Bissing's Remarkable Memorandum and Its Bearing on All Peace Negotiations

MR. ASQUITH, in the course of a debate in the British House of Commons, July 26, 1917, asked: "Is Germany prepared not only to evacuate Belgium, not only to make full reparation for the colossal mischief and damage which have accompanied her devastating occupation of the country and her practical enslavement of large portions of the population, * * * but to restore to Belgium not the pretense of liberty, but complete and unfettered and absolute independence? I should like to know the German Chancellor's answer to that question, not the answer of the Reichstag. I ask the Chancellor that, I ask him now as far as I may. It is a very simple question." The Chancellor did not reply, nor has there thus far been any official answer by the Imperial Government to this most fundamental of all the peace questions. Its attitude, however, is indicated by the semi-official Lokal-Anzeiger's retort: "Asquith is sufficiently worldly wise to understand that with the exception of a few fantastic people nobody in our country intends to deliver Belgium up to England and France again."

This question of what shall be done with Belgium is one of the chief causes of friction between the Liberal and Conservative elements in the Reichstag. The Pan-German militarists demand annexation, while the minority Socialists, led by Haase, are bitterly against prolonging the war for this or any other phase of conquest. It is significant that Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, in his statement of the Central Powers' peace terms on Christmas Day at Brest-Litovsk, while making no specific mention of Belgium, declared that "it is not the intention of the (Teutonic) allies to deprive of political independence those nations which lost it during the war." The purpose of Ger-

many, however, to retain some kind of control over Belgium is indicated by its policy of administration in that country.

In accordance with a recommendation made by the late Governor General von Bissing, the splitting of Belgium into two districts, separating the Flemish and Walloon elements, has long been an important part of the invader's policy. An imperial order issued on June 14, 1917, appointed Herr Schaibele, a Baden official, as administrative chief of the Flemish part of Belgium, with a residence at Brussels, while Herr Haniel, a Prussian official, was appointed to rule over the Walloon district with a residence at Namur. Since then the larger Belgian cities have not ceased to protest against this German policy of separation. The City Council of Brussels in November, 1917, voted a resolution protesting in the name of the Belgian Constitution and laws against the German decrees of April 9 and Oct. 6 relative to the Flemish and Walloon régimes, by means of which the nation was to be irremediably divided. The document concludes with these words:

The Common Council protests, finally, in the name of the future of the nation. It is determined that at no time and in no country shall there be any doubt about the real sentiments and will of the Belgian people. The Belgian Nation desires to be the master of its own destinies. It refuses its adhesion to all measures which the occupying forces have adopted without consulting it. It is resolved that this determination shall appear unaltered, firm, indubitable, on the day when peace negotiations begin, and when, in the language of eminent statesmen, the reign of law shall be substituted definitively for the transient reign of force.

When Baron von Bissing, for two years Governor General of Belgium, died in April, 1917, he left among his papers an extraordinary "political testament" embodying his deliberate conclusions regarding the policy which Germany

should follow in Belgium after the war. This significant memorandum was published in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* and the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, and extracts from it were given in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for August, 1917, but the full text in English was not obtainable until near the end of the year. It is now reproduced in these pages as one of the important historic documents of the war.

Baron von Bissing's frank and insistent demand for the annexation of Bel-

gium is the fullest official statement thus far on record of the Junker-Pan German attitude on the whole subject. The conflict in Germany between the von Bissing view and the Socialist non-annexation view has a direct bearing on every attempt of the Central Powers to state their peace terms. Thus the very crux of the war issue as it existed at the beginning of 1918 is found between Mr. Asquith's question, just quoted, and the document of Baron von Bissing, which appears below.

Text of General von Bissing's Memorandum

Following is the full text of the memorandum prepared by General Moritz F. von Bissing, Governor General of conquered Belgium, 1915-17, insisting that the Imperial Government should make no peace terms that do not include the permanent sacrifice of Belgian liberty to German ambition:

It is a curious fact that in enemy countries, in France and England particularly, the men at the helm express themselves quite freely regarding their war aims, in spite of the reverses suffered on the various fronts. As at the outbreak of this world war, which is constantly extending its scope, so today the parceling out or annihilation of Germany is demanded; and this although German armies have made victory a matter of habit, as it were, and are in firm possession of huge expanses of the enemy country.

Without paying the slightest heed to the military situation, or hesitating at the sacrifice of treasure and men to which the powers allied against us vainly committed themselves, the anti-German press is without exception blinded by a strange kind of self-hypnotism. The extravagance of the war aims of our opponents, who set as little value on our own successes as on those already won by our allies, obviously makes it impossible to dream of a peace in the near future which shall be both honorable and acceptable to Germany.

In defense of her independence, and to assure her future, Germany must con-

tinue the struggle till the moment when she will be in a position to compel peace, sword in hand—a peace that will secure her ends and, if possible, be a lasting one. Only then will it be fitting to particularize our peace terms; of this many Germans, the Imperial Chancellor (von Bethmann Hollweg) among them, are convinced, though our enemies hold the opposite view.

A Policy of Silence

Ordinary prudence leads us to avoid dividing opinion at home in regard to these serious problems, namely: What guarantees must we exact from both the Eastern and the Western Powers? How shall we best protect ourselves, politically and in a military sense? How shall we get what is demanded by the exigencies of our economic conditions? Even if our enemies—because they try to raise illusory hopes and to deceive us as to their waning strength and confidence—were to interpret as weakness our silence with regard to our war aims, yet, out of respect for neutrals whom the Entente endeavors at one time to influence and at another threatens, we must persist in this silence till we are in a position to speak categorically, (bis wir so wirkungsvoll wie moeglich auftreten koennen.)

The statements made by the Chancellor in reply to questions raised by the Social Democrats should also have quieted those people who demand that our war aims be made public, so that the German

people may know why it must go on fighting and subject itself to fresh sacrifices. But I doubt whether it will ever be possible to bring conviction to circles which desire an immediate peace, either because they cherish the illusory idea that reconciliation is a matter of practical politics, or because they are impatient for a peace which, as premature, could only be a transitory one. In these circles, composed wholly of Social Democrats, the determination of our people to carry through the task to which they have set their hand is overlooked, while the strength of England's resistance is exaggerated. These folk, therefore, believe that England will never decide to make peace until we have evacuated Belgium and restored it to its pre-war condition—Belgium, almost the whole of which we have managed to conquer after fierce fighting and countless sacrifices.

Must Not Give Belgium Up

I will not enter into the disputed question whether England is invincible, and whether she possesses so much strength that, notwithstanding the threatening of the English world-empire, and notwithstanding the ever-multiplying signs that England's vital nerve has been struck in the West and in the East, she can still stake everything in order to tear Belgium from us, in order to force us to restore Belgium to Anglo-French influence, and in order also to achieve the recovery by Belgium of her original frontiers, which in future will not be on the Channel, but be pushed forward to the eastern frontier of Belgium. I intend only to expand the views which I have already expressed, and to speak of the "*dira necessitas*," or rather the sacred duty, that we should retain Belgium for our influence and sphere of power, and in the interests of Germany's security that we should not give Belgium up.

My confident hope needs, indeed, still to be realized—that the final military decision shall constitute victory for us. But we must already be quite clear about the fact that a restored Belgium, whether declared a neutral country or not, will not only be forced over naturally into the camp of our enemies, but will

be actually drawn over by them. Even if one liked to cling to illusions about reconciliation, and even if one were able to create guarantees by treaties ever so good, Belgium will in every respect be developed and employed as a concentration area and outpost position for our enemies.

Preparing for Another War

I shall now indicate the strategic importance of Belgium for a future war. In order to be able to conduct the present war offensively at all, the German Supreme Command was forced to march through Belgium, and in this process the right wing of the German Army had to push itself laboriously along the edge of the Dutch province of Limburg. Strategically, the objective of the present war, as regards the Western theatre, should consist in our obtaining elbow room, in order that in any new war whatever we should be able to operate with our army against France and England. If the result of the present war were the continued existence of an independent Belgian State, the operations would have to be conducted differently and under greater difficulties than at the beginning of the present war; for the aim of France and England will be, in conjunction with an allied or strongly influenced Belgium, to anticipate the German Army. It will, therefore, rightly be asked whether in such circumstances it can be possible to guarantee the freedom of operations of the German right wing, and whether the advance of these groups of armies to conduct a new war offensively is possible.

But the present war has also shown that the possession of the German industrial areas is a vital question for our ability to hold out and for an energetic conduct of the war; they cannot possibly be protected unless we hold and defend an area in advance of the Rhine. In this respect the present German frontier is not enough. A Belgium fortified by the military strength of England and France is a definite menace to our industrial districts, whose factories are so important for the provision of our army. If England continues to dominate Belgium in times of peace, she will not shrink from

the attempt to force Holland—just as she has now forced Greece—to abandon her neutrality, or to make herself serviceable for the military operations of England. It is, therefore, requisite to secure for all time, by far advanced defensive lines, the auxiliary resources indispensable for our conduct of war, and so to guarantee the freedom of operation of our right wing, and to widen in desirable fashion the area of our concentration and advance.

Using Belgian Coal Mines

Before leaving the sphere of military strategy, I must also refer to the fact that the Belgian industrial districts are of great value, not only in peace, but also in the event of war. A neutral Belgium, or a Belgium made subject to Anglo-French influence, with her munition factories, her metal industry and her coal, strengthens the fighting force and power of resistance of the country in the same way as our industrial districts do for us. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to prevent Belgian industry from serving the armament policy of our enemies.

The advantages which we have been able during the present war to obtain from Belgian industry, by the removal of machinery and so on, are as important as the disadvantages which our enemies have suffered through lack of this addition to their fighting strength.

When one considers the importance of Belgium as the theatre of our armies' advance, and as territory which favors our further operations, both offensively and defensively, there can be no further doubt that a frontier which is quite falsely described as the line of the Meuse, and is to be protected by the fortresses of Liège and Namur, is inadequate. No, our frontier—in the interest also of our sea power—must be pushed forward to the sea.

The immediate importance of the Belgian industrial districts for our conduct of war by no means exhausts the subject. The war of weapons will in future be accompanied by a harder economic war than is the case today. Without coal what would have become of our policy of industrial exchange, not only

with Holland, but also with far distant northern countries. *The annual Belgian production of 23,000,000 tons of coal has given us a monopoly on the Continent, which has helped to maintain our vitality.* In addition to these factors, which are of importance in a new war, the protection of our economic interests in Belgium, even in time of peace, is of inestimable importance.

A Neutral Belgium Impossible

A Belgium whose independence is restored will never be neutral, but will submit to the protection of France and England. If we do not hold Belgium, administer Belgium in future for our interests, and protect Belgium by force of arms, our trade and industry will lose the position that they have won in Belgium, and perhaps will never recover them. The threat to German interests at Antwerp is obvious, and the result will be inevitable the moment Germany gives up Belgium. There can be no doubt that this country will enter into close economic union with England and France as soon as it feels itself independent once more. The Belgian Government and the politicians who have fled to London are working quite openly for this object. We shall of course never desire to kill Belgian industry, but by the imposition of special laws we must bring it under the same conditions of production as German industry. We can incorporate Belgian industry in our industrial organizations, and so, in our own interest, make it a lever for the fixing of prices in the world market. If we lost Antwerp we should lose not only the port and our influence over railway rates, &c., but above all we should lose the powerful influence which Antwerp possesses as a trade and money centre, especially in South America. All these forces would naturally turn against us as soon as they were released.

History has already shown how little trust could be placed in a neutral Belgium before the war and at the beginning of the war, and if, as one must, one appreciates the value of such historic truths, we can never allow ourselves to be induced to let Belgium, at the conclusion of peace, revive as a neutral country.

Must Be Under German Heel

Just as was the case before the war, a neutral Belgium, or an independent Belgium based upon treaties of a different kind, will succumb to the disastrous influence of England and France, and to the effort of America to exploit Belgian resources. *Against all this our only weapon is the policy of power, and this policy must see to it that the Belgian population, now still hostile to us, shall adapt itself and subordinate itself, if only gradually, to the German domination.*

It is also necessary that, by a peace which will secure the linking up of Belgium with Germany, we shall be able to give the necessary protection to the Germans who have settled in the country. This protection will be of quite special importance to us for the future battle of the world markets. In the same way, it is only by complete domination of Belgium that we can utilize for German interests the capital created by Belgian savings and the Belgian companies which already exist in large numbers in the countries of our enemies. We must keep under our control the considerable Belgian accumulations of capital in Turkey, the Balkans, and China.

Among the German interests in Belgium is also the Flemish movement, which has already made good progress; it would be struck an incurable blow if we do not extend our policy of power over Belgium. We have among the Flemings many open and very many still undeclared friends, who are ready to join the great circle of German world interests. That will also be very important for the future policy of Holland. *But as soon as we remove our protecting hand the Flemish movement will be branded by the Walloons and Frenchlings as pro-German, and will be completely suppressed.* The Flemish question is not yet settled, and I do not entertain any rash hopes of seeing the Flemings lighten our task of governing Belgium. We must do everything without delay to repress boundless hopes on the part of the Flemings. Some of them dream of an independent State of Flanders, with a King to govern it, and of complete separation.

It is true that we must protect the

Flemish movement, but never must we lend hand to make the Flemings completely independent. The Flemings with their antagonistic attitude to the Walloons will, as a Germanic tribe, constitute a strengthening of Germanism.

Ruthless Policy the Best

Belgium must be seized and held, as it now is, and as it must be in future. It is only by the most simple possible solution of the Belgian problem that we shall satisfy an important condition of our future position in the world. If we abandon part of Belgium, or if we make a part of it, such as the territory of Flanders, into an independent Flemish state, we shall not only be creating considerable difficulties for ourselves, but we shall be depriving ourselves of the considerable advantages and aids which can be afforded us only by Belgium as a whole under German administration.

If only on account of the necessary bases for our fleet, and in order not to cut off Antwerp from the Belgian trades area, it is necessary to have the adjacent hinterland.

Thus, at the conclusion of peace, we shall find opportunity, after a century, to repair the mistakes of the Vienna Congress. In 1871, by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which Prussia even at the time of the Vienna Congress wanted to claim for herself, we repaired the first of those mistakes. It is our business now to put aside hesitation and ideas of reconciliation, and not to fall into new mistakes. Gneisenau said:

We must demand the cession of all territories and fortresses whose rivers flow into the Rhine, the Moselle, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the Lys. The line Calais-Bâle is the only frontier against France which guarantees us security against a disturbed, warlike and capable people.

Blücher complained after the conclusion of peace in 1815:

This peace is a miserable patchwork, thanks to which Prussia and Germany stand betrayed before the whole world.

The poet Ernst Moritz Arndt demanded the natural frontiers from Dunkirk to Bâle. Among German claims he counted Flanders, Calais, Bruges, Ghent, Brabant, Brussels, Louvain, Ant-

werp and the Meuse district. The lessons of a century and the events of the present war have proved how right was the judgment of Gneisenau and Blücher.

Now we have a unique opportunity at the coming conclusion of peace to make good our losses, and we must do it because, in consequence of our own great development, Belgium has become still more important for us than ever. If we do not show ruthlessness and firmness, in order to wring the necessary respect for us from England, if we give way, if we withdraw to the Meuse line or make any agreement about Antwerp, we shall be exposed to the world as weaklings, diminish our great successes in the Balkans, and injure our prestige in Turkey and throughout Islam, in spite of our admirable successes in arms.

Checkmating England

It is only by remaining in Belgium that we shall force the English to recognize our equality with them. England must not remain master of the Belgian coast. She must be prevented from controlling an area which can be used as the starting point of a new and overwhelming Anglo-French offensive. Here lies the guarantee for the only proper relationship with England, and so for a lasting peace. The same thing applies to France, whose policy of expansion, pursued since the times of Louis XIV., we have now definitely defeated. As soon as we go out of Belgium, I am convinced that not only will English and French influence be preponderant, but the military union of English and French troops will take place. That means in a coming war that more than 1,000,000 soldiers will stand ready on our present frontier or on the Meuse line for defense or for attack.

We must keep Belgium, as France formerly tried to keep it against England. The importance of Belgium for Germany as regards Machtpolitik has been proved for 800 years. As long as Germany was powerful, she had Belgium mainly under her influence. For a stronger Germany Belgium is again a vital question, because Belgium as a free country constitutes, together with Hol-

land, the English gate of invasion on the Continent. We must not in a new war again have to reckon with the English holding their troops in readiness for Ostend and Antwerp, to support the Belgian Army.

I will only allude briefly to the grave crises in domestic politics which surrender of Belgium must produce in Germany. The majority of the people would not understand our abandonment of fruits that had long been in our hand—the result of our tremendous, bloody victory. The war will deprive us of at least 1,000,000 men in the prime of life, and rob our industry of a great part of our best workmen. The people have a right to see their hopes realized, and so there would be deep dissension if they were disappointed.

Moreover, our diplomatic failures in the last twenty years have already had a very bad effect among the people, and the fear finds ever louder expression that diplomacy will spoil what the sword has won. This time, after such enormous sacrifices, we cannot take the risk of such charges again being spread abroad. We must achieve the war aim which seems to every plain man to be absolutely necessary. In Belgium we really have to do not merely with the smallest claims that can be justified militarily, but with questions that are vital for the future of the German people and the German Empire.

"Conquest Forced Upon Us"

Anybody who, as I do, advocates with complete conviction and energy the retention of Belgium is also obliged to be quite clear about the difficulties and objections which may have to be overcome in order thoroughly to justify this energetic demand. I shall not discuss the views of those who dream that the German Government is bound by the declaration made at the beginning of the war that Germany will conduct the war not for conquests, but only for the protection of the Fatherland.

The conquest of Belgium has simply been forced upon us, and consideration of future possibilities has led to the logical conclusion that we absolutely must

demand the protection of Germany by the extension of the German frontiers in the west. The objection that we must keep Germany an unadulterated national State, and that it would constitute a weakening of the national unity of Germany if we were to take into Germany so and so many millions of inhabitants of a country with a different language—such objections seem to me mere phrases.

Germany can remain German and retain its German feeling, if we draw into our sphere of power a country which has been penetrated through and through by Germanic tribes—for even the Walloons have been made French only by time—and if with clear and sure appreciation of the facts we see to it that German intellect and German energy become domiciled where French influence has hitherto provided for the Gallicization of the country.

Germany's tasks are, of course, great and difficult, if Belgium submits and is incorporated. But Germany is strong enough, and it is to be hoped that, especially after this war, she will have plenty of efficient men to *do in Belgium, in a German sense, what unfortunately was not done in Alsace and Lorraine*. Surely we shall have learned from the mistakes that were made, and *we shall never again have recourse to the vacillating policy of conciliation which was so disadvantageous not only in Alsace-Lorraine, but also in Poland*.

Of course, no people which has been appointed to play a creative part in the history of the world will find doves dropping already roasted into its mouth. A people which, during the war, has achieved such brilliant things in the trenches, in the army command, and in all branches of economic life, will have forces enough at its disposal to solve the difficult, but assuredly not insuperable, problems of peace.

Making the Church a Tool

Church questions in Belgium have often been described as extremely serious. I admit that precisely the Germanic provinces of Belgium, which once defended their Protestantism so heroically, are today far more convinced ad-

herents of the Catholic Church than are the easily moved Walloons; any German statesman who is appointed to control the German administration in Belgium must realize that Catholicism is, and will remain, a strong and living force in Belgium, and that among the most important requirements for successful German work is an intelligent regard for the Catholic Church and its disciples.

The problem of our influence upon the schools can be solved in agreement with the clergy, if obligatory religious teaching is introduced in the same way as the general obligation to attend school; there are a number of points of contact and agreement between the future German administration and the Catholic clergy, which must learn more and more to understand that the Catholic Church enjoys, and can enjoy, under the power of Germany, protection quite different from that which it will have if Belgium, under French influence, turns toward a completely radical philosophy. One knows that Belgian socialism is strongly influenced by French socialism, and Vandervelde has often proclaimed the revolution as the completion of the religion of freedom and equality. It is known that Social Democracy has become a strong factor for the Gallicization of Belgium. The clergy, however, will have to associate itself with the social reforms which must be taken in hand immediately after the conclusion of peace, and in this the clergy will have to go hand in hand with the German administration.

"The Right of Conquest"

The question of the form in which the linking up of Belgium with Germany must be accomplished causes much racking of brains in diplomatic circles, and in the studies of the constitutional lawyers, and the question, "With whom shall we conclude peace in order to make the right of conquest into a constitutional right?" has often been asked, and is certainly not easy to answer. Hitherto, it is true, the Royal Government of Belgium and the King himself have adhered to the undertakings of the Quadruple Entente not to enter into peace negotiations and not to conclude peace except

jointly. But this reserve, which may soon be abandoned, does not open up any prospect that we shall ever be able to conclude with the King of the Belgians and his Government a peace by which Belgium will remain in the German sphere of power, and it is impossible that the Quadruple Entente, over the heads of its allies, shall ever accept our peace demands with regard to Belgium.

It only remains for us, therefore, to avoid during the peace negotiations all discussions about the form of the annexation, and to apply nothing but the right of conquest.

It is true that dynastic considerations have an importance which is not to be underestimated. For, in view of our just and ruthless procedure, the King of the Belgians will be deposed, and will remain abroad as an aggrieved enemy. We must put up with that, and it is to be regarded almost as a happy circumstance that necessity compels us to leave dynastic considerations entirely out of account. A King will never voluntarily hand over his country to the conqueror, and Belgium's King can never consent to abandon his sovereignty or to allow it to be restricted. If he did so, his prestige would be so undermined that he would have to be regarded not as a support, but as an obstacle, to German interests.

Matter of Killing a King

On the most various occasions the English have described the right of conquest as the healthiest and simplest kind of right, and we can read in Machiavelli that *he who desires to take possession of a country will be compelled to remove the King or Regent, even by killing him.*

These are grave decisions, but they must be taken, for we are concerned with the welfare and the future of Germany, and concerned also with reparation for the war of destruction that has been directed against us.

For years to come we must maintain the existing state of dictatorship. It is the only form of administration, based as it is upon military resources, which can be chosen, in order to gain time for the gradual and methodical building up of

the most appropriate possible administration.

One must beware of wanting to determine—perhaps in a peace concluded in 1916—what can only be ripe for decision after decades have passed. If we bind ourselves too soon, it will be difficult to take measures to counteract those binding decisions. We must preserve patience and method in our procedure. Thence will proceed, in addition to the factors of tranquilization and ever-increasing order in the machinery of administration, the linguistic, ecclesiastical, economic, judicial, and military regulations, which, indeed, will make necessary the amendment of a number of Belgian laws.

The completion of the annexation will be regarded by many Flemings, and by a great part of the Walloons, as a release from uncertainty and from vain hopes. Both races will be able to return to the life that will be rendered possible by renewed opportunity for trade and pleasure. During such a period of transition the Flemings will allow themselves to be led back from French tyranny to their free, although not easily controlled, Low German way of living. The Walloons can, and must, decide during this period whether they will adapt themselves to the definitely altered state of affairs or whether they prefer to leave Belgium.

Walloons to be "Freed"

He who remains in the country must declare his allegiance to Germany, and after a certain time must declare his allegiance to Germanism. In connection with this it cannot be tolerated that wealthy Belgians shall leave the country and nevertheless draw profit from their possessions in Belgium. Expropriation is absolutely necessary, in order to prevent such a state of things as exists in Alsace-Lorraine to the present day. *I hope that we shall be strong, not only with the sword, but also with statesman-like illumination and preparation and all the things necessary to fruitful administration. Half measures and a middle course must be condemned most of all.* Lack of determination in the decisive days of German fate will be a

grave wrong to the blood that has been shed. Among such half measures I include the intention of treating Belgium merely as a pawn, which might be used to recover or extend our colonial possessions. As regards the extension of our colonial possessions, the Belgian Congo is certainly to be aimed at, and I desire to insist that a German colonial empire, whatever its shape, is indispensable for Germany's world policy and expansion of power. But, on the other hand, I am of the opinion that only such frontiers as will contribute to the acquisition of greater freedom on the sea are calculated to make colonial possessions valuable. Consequently, the supporters of the colonial movement must also demand

the Belgian coast, together with the Belgian hinterland. If we give up the Belgian coast our fleet will lack important bases for its share in the protection of our colonial empire.

I am conscious that the demand that we shall retain all Belgium and link it up in one form or another with the German sphere of power is a great aim, which can be achieved only by determined and self-sacrificing courage and by the utmost energy and skill in negotiations.

Let us apply a saying of Bismarck, that "in policy, if in any sphere, faith moves mountains, and courage and victory are not cause and effect, but identical."

Pan-German War Methods Predicted a Century Ago

Benjamin Constant's "De l'Esprit de la Conquête," first published in 1813, and now reissued a century later, contains this passage of extraordinary prescience:

"If a purely military race were to arise today, since its ardor would be based on no conviction, no sentiment, no idea * * * it would assume the ferocity of a warlike people, but it would preserve the spirit of commercial calculation. These resuscitated Vandals would not have the ignorance of luxury, the simplicity of manners, the disdain of all sordid actions which characterized their rude forefathers. They would combine the refinements of effeminacy with the brutalities of barbarism, excess of violence with the cunning of avarice. * * * The practical knowledge they had acquired would but help them to draw up the more skillfully their decree of murder and spoliation. * * * They would overrun the world with murder for their means and pillage for their end * * * separated by a moral abyss from the rest of mankind. * * * They would become objects of universal horror."



German Terrorism in Belgium

By an Escaped Civilian

The ruthless severity of German rule in Belgium has continued with little change since the death of Baron von Bissing in April, 1917, and the advent of Governor General von Falkenhausen as his successor. A detailed report issued by the Belgian Government in September indicated that the forcible deportation of men and women to Germany was continuing without intermission. The extortion of enormous sums from cities by military force increased in frequency during the Autumn of 1917. On Nov. 1 the Province of East Flanders was fined \$2,000,000 because it had failed to place 40,000 Flemish laborers at the service of Germany by that date. At that time the Relief Commission reported that 7,000,000 Belgians were facing starvation and could be saved only by \$25,000,000 a month from the United States—which is being furnished with Government aid. A protest to the Governor General published on Dec. 12 showed that the suffering people of Belgium were compelled to pay an annual tax of \$162,000,000 to their German oppressors. A Belgian Gray Book issued in October refuted the German charge of civilian attacks on soldiers at the beginning of the war, and gave itemized figures showing that between 40,000 and 50,000 Belgian houses were destroyed by the invaders at that time. Conditions at the beginning of 1918 were sketched in The London Times by an escaped Belgian as follows:

SINCE I crossed the wire, a few weeks ago, I have had time to adapt myself to my new surroundings and to understand how completely isolated from the rest of the world we are in Belgium. It is not so much that we lack news from the war, for we have learned to read between the lines of the German communiqués and to draw our own conclusions. But we do not realize in the least the conditions prevailing in neutral and allied countries, the various currents of opinion and interests, the infinite complexity of the problems raised by the great conflict. Three years of persecutions and of moral and physical sufferings have brought us to such a pitch of glowing enthusiasm for our friends and of irreconcilable hatred of the foe that there is no room left for intellectual subtleties and sentimental reserves. We have become, it is true—and perhaps in the nobler sense of the word—fanatics. We no longer discriminate between God and country. The war has become a religious conflict in which all will be won or lost, and the fervor with which we worship our martyrs is only equaled by the horror and loathing we feel for our enemies. * * *

Patriots are shot, literally, every day in Belgium—there is an average of thirty

death sentences a month. They belong to every class and every party. Among the killed there is one Deputy, one Burgomaster, many people belonging to the professional classes and, of course, many more workmen and peasants, including women and children. That is, so far as we know, for von Falkenhausen, the new Governor, has ceased to publish the names of his victims, seeing that, instead of terrorizing their compatriots, it only stirred their zeal to emulate them. Among the men imprisoned or deported to Germany are many well-known names: at least ten Deputies and Senators, no fewer than fifteen Burgomasters and Aldermen, several Judges, and some eminent professors. The post of Burgomaster of Brussels is particularly dangerous. M. Max is still in a German cell, and his successor, M. Lemonnier, and the Alderman Jacquemain have followed him to prison.

Such is the fate of all those who openly or secretly oppose German rule, no matter whether they are right or wrong. The only law in the country is dictated by the German tribunals. Even those who do not belong to the various organizations which help the young men to cross the frontier to join the army, circulate forbidden papers, or manage to send

news abroad, are still exposed, every day, to the most severe sentences. If the Governor chooses to transform the University of Ghent or to set up a new administration, the professors or the officials are not allowed to send in their resignations and to remain faithful to their pledges. It is not enough not to work for Belgium, and the mere fact of refusing to work against Belgium is punishable as a crime. The consequence is that thousands of men and a great number of women are engaged on some secret work, and that all the spies of Germany have not been able to check their activity. I have heard people wonder how, after so many arrests, our organizations are able to go on with their work. There is a very simple explanation. For every man or woman arrested, two others offer to take their place. The whole nation has become a huge secret society.

Failure is not due to the want of skill and activity of German agents. Every measure which brutality and cunning can contrive is taken against our patriots. Under the slightest suspicion they are dragged from their homes and imprisoned. For weeks and months they are isolated, unable to communicate with anybody, even with their advocate, subjected daily to the most searching examination. They are told that their denial is useless, since some of their relatives have been compelled to confess their guilt, or that, if they will confess their crime, they will be allowed to see their wives or their children, who are dying. I have myself spent some weeks in the prison of St. Gilles, (Brussels,) and have been subjected to this kind of torture. If this fails, threats and blows are used by the examining officers. I know a boy of 16 who was repeatedly struck for refusing to denounce his "accomplices."

Once on the blacklist of the secret police, the patriot, whether guilty or not, will do well to leave the country. If they cannot catch you in the act, the German agents have other means to arrest you. They manage, for instance, to slip a copy of *La Libre Belgique* in a drawer or behind a frame while searching your house, and proceed to convict you for circulating this forbidden paper. This manoeuvre

caused the arrest of a well-known Brussels barrister. He had previously had a visit from a supposed "colleague" from a neighboring town, who told him that his wife, who was at the time in the country, had been arrested, and advised him to hide all compromising papers. The same "barrister" headed the body of gendarmes who searched the house a few hours later.

Another method which has caused a great amount of harm is known as "the sheep," and is supposed to have been invented by one of Germany's arch spies, Ober-Leutnant Henry. A disconsolate individual is introduced into the prisoner's cell. Amid sobs and tears, he tells his companion all he has gone through and poses as the innocent victim of German oppression. Confidence calls for confidence, and, unless the prisoner is on his guard, the kind "sheep" succeeds in drawing from him some confession of guilt. The next day the two men are called together before the Judge, and the "sheep" becomes accuser.

Such vile work is not necessarily done by Germans. We have our traitors and "activists" and profiteers, but they are beyond the pale. They no longer belong to the nation. They have yielded to the boches, and with them they will leave the country if they are wise.

The Belgians have lost nothing of their splendid confidence. The final victory of the Allies is not even questioned, and I prefer not to think of what would happen if they should ever be induced to conclude an unsatisfactory peace. It would be the worst blow that could befall us. It would be the ruin of all our efforts to hamper the enemy's activity, of all the hopes for which we have suffered and shall perhaps still suffer so long. The Belgians are waiting anxiously for the return of King Albert, but they are waiting still more anxiously for the advent of justice and the punishment of the culprits. That spirit animates every thinking man in the country, from Cardinal Mercier to the Socialist workmen who drafted the striking manifesto published in July.

Crossing from Belgium to France or

Holland is a perilous undertaking; it is less easy to do it now that it is barred by a double fence of electrified wire and guarded by a sentry every fifty yards and patrols during the whole night. Many have failed and tried over and over again, ten times, fifteen times even before succeeding. A large number of those who make the desperate bid for liberty are killed by the sentries or captured and deported to prison camps. There is perhaps some exaggeration in the statement current in Belgium that the enemy needs a whole army corps to keep us from slipping through the prison gates, but if we consider that the Dutch-German frontier must be guarded as well as the Dutch-Belgian, and that thousands of spies and secret agents are kept busy in the occupied territory, this estimate does not seem very far from the truth.

Nothing can give a better idea of the obstinate resistance opposed by the Belgians to German edicts and regulations than the statement of a German newspaper—the *Deutsche Juristenzeitung*—which estimates at no fewer than 100,000 the number of sentences inflicted on the people during one year only, (1915-16.) Most of them, of course, are fines or short terms of imprisonment. Formerly we used to have the choice, and many rich people preferred to go to the St. Gilles prison rather than help the enemy by paying their fine. But the prisons have become so crowded and the financial situation of the empire has become so bad that only the destitute preserve the privilege of sacrificing their liberty. The others, if they refuse to pay, have their watches taken from them or are obliged to give up a piece of valuable furniture. In Brussels these things are sold by auction in a shop in the Rue de la Limite.

Hunger as a Weapon

In their attempt to break Belgian nationalism the enemy has found a powerful ally—hunger—and the moral power necessary to resist the former is nothing beside that which is required to resist the second. Mainly on account of the submarine menace and of the torpedoing of a number of relief ships the imports of the Commission for Re-

lief have fallen this year far below the average. The workman must live on a ration of 300 grams of bread a day and the platter of soup provided by the communal authorities. This is about half the food necessary to keep alive in ordinary times a man who is not doing any physical work. If the shop prices were not so prohibitive and if the Germans had not commandeered for their *Zentrale* all potatoes, sugar, and fats—so that the direct sale of these foodstuffs entails great risks for the trader—then those who work at half wages or receive some help from outside might still purchase some extra food. But even the privileged few who receive \$1 a day cannot possibly do so under the present conditions. Eggs cost 16 cents each, coffee \$3.75 a pound, butter (when available) \$3, milk 12 cents a pint, a small cabbage 37 cents, potatoes (very seldom available) 25 cents a pound, lard \$4.25 a pound. There are neither sugar nor fats.

"Will They Come in Time?"

The situation is made worse, especially in Winter, by the enormous price of coal (\$50 a ton) and of clothes and boots, (\$20 to \$30.) Even the upper class has to suffer. In the Hainaut Province, where I was traveling this Summer, the number of destitute has increased from 60,000 to 400,000. The workmen are obliged to take part of the rations of their wives and children if they want to do any work; they are losing weight at a fearful rate and their mortality has trebled during the last year. I have had the opportunity of talking to them and have visited their homes. They take only two meals a day and often fast on Sundays.

The situation is not so bad in the country, where such necessities as eggs, milk, butter, and potatoes may be obtained more or less at the same price as in England, but in the industrial districts, and more particularly in the army zones, where frequent requisitions of labor compel the men, and in some cases the women, to work behind the German lines, the physical and moral sufferings are such as to rend the heart of the most hardened observer. It looks as if

the whole race was rapidly perishing before your eyes. Whenever these people talk to you you are confronted

by the same anxious question, "Will they come in time?" "they" meaning, of course, the Allies.

Conditions in Germany

[Reported to London officials by Serbian prisoners who escaped Dec. 14, 1917.]

ESCAPED Serbian prisoners in London describe the state of affairs in Germany as very bad, particularly in regard to food shortage but as not yet desperate. The German people are beginning to groan under the iron discipline of imperial militarism; they are irritable, and their nerve is undoubtedly shaken. The people were told that the war would be over by this Christmas, and are depressed at the certain prospect of falsified hopes. Every one is talking of peace, but talking in whispers, to avoid arrest and possibly being sent to the front. The adult population, these men report, is not starving, but the mortality among the children, owing to poor feeding, is very great. A large number of children have been sent to Holland, or distributed in the villages in the hope that they may there survive this crisis.

The most serious conditions prevail in the great towns, where frequently bloody conflicts occur between the famished mobs and the police. In the villages, however, one may see at any time starving people from the towns begging for bread. Nobody talks about the military operations, but every success, or reverse, makes itself felt among the people. "Very often we saw the whole family weeping," say these Serbian soldiers; "the gathering together of a family for meals is often the saddest of occasions. Often we met people weeping—men as well as women—by the roadside."

Coffee, there is none; instead of coffee they are frying acorns and rye and drinking the liquid. The whole of the metal currency—nickel as well as silver—has been withdrawn, small stamps being used as substitutes. Those who have tried to retain metal money have not profited, since it has been pronounced illegal tender, and they themselves are prosecuted. Live stock for the army is

requisitioned every month. The bread of a whole village is baked in one place, and is black as earth. Up to September, 1917, every person was getting twelve pounds of bread per month; then the monthly allowance was reduced to nine pounds. In spite of the police supervision the people are hiding food. At harvest time wheat was smuggled by night and buried underneath the floors. This wheat, which they must grind secretly with a hand mill in the night, provides a few loaves, which have to be concealed—and even eaten—with equal furtiveness, if they are to elude the scrutiny of the police. One day when roused to anger, "I will tell about you," said one of these Serbian prisoners. "Don't, please, tell of us to anybody," was the reply, "we don't wish to send food to those at the front; the less they have to eat the sooner the war will be over."

A Dutch observer who had traversed Germany at the beginning of 1918 said:

"Conversation everywhere is about food, and the German who told me that 'What is going through our head is our stomach,' summed up the situation exactly. You see very few dogs in Germany, for two different reasons. There is no food to give the dogs, and the people have eaten the dogs for food. The food shortage in Germany has become a tragedy. I heard that dysentery still rages and that children die from starvation. In Berlin I saw with my own eyes the terrible effects it has upon the health and stamina of the adult population. From the national standpoint the reduction of productivity is the most serious result of the persistent state of undernourishment now prevailing in Germany. The output of munition factories has sensibly declined, and all German organization and method cannot remove the cause."

[OFFICIAL]

GERMAN RUTHLESSNESS

The United States Government's Summary of the Harrowing Practices of German Soldiers Against Civilians

A STRIKING summary of the crimes committed by German soldiers against civilians in France and Belgium has been issued by the United States Government, through the Committee of Public Information, in the form of a pamphlet of nearly 100 pages entitled "German War Practices." It is edited by Professors Dana C. Munro of Princeton University, George C. Sellery of the University of Wisconsin, and August C. Krey of the University of Minnesota. The evidence is drawn mainly from German sources—which include official proclamations, other official utterances, letters, and diaries of German soldiers—and from official American sources.

It is shown in the introduction that the German military leaders, notwithstanding Germany's solemn word to abide by the rules of the Geneva and The Hague Conventions, which were adopted to make war less brutal, entirely disregarded these rules from the beginning of the war. Germany, with the other nations, had pledged her faith to support all these rules, with the single exception of Article 44, forbidding the conqueror to force any of the conquered to give information.

The mass of evidence here presented shows that the German authorities deliberately based their practices in the present war upon the methods advocated by von Clausewitz, von Hartmann, and von Moltke, whose teachings were in direct contradiction to the articles adopted at The Hague. The essence of the teachings of von Clausewitz is that successful war involves the ruthless application of force, as indicated in the following extract from the first chapter of his chief work, "Vom Kriege," ("On War"):

Violence arms itself with the inventions of art and science. * * * Self-imposed restrictions, almost imperceptible and

hardly worth mentioning, termed usages of international law, accompany it without essentially impairing its powers.

* * * Now, philanthropic souls might easily imagine that there is a skillful method of disarming or subduing an enemy without causing too much bloodshed, and that this is the true tendency of the art of war. However plausible this may appear, still it is an error which must be destroyed; for in such dangerous things as war, the errors which proceed from a spirit of 'good-naturedness' are precisely the worst. As the use of physical force to the utmost extent by no means excludes the co-operation of the intelligence, it follows that he who uses force ruthlessly, without regard to bloodshed, must obtain a superiority, if his enemy does not so use it.

In 1877-78 General von Hartmann in his series of articles upon "Military Necessity and Humanity" wrote:

The enemy State must not be spared the want and wretchedness of war; these are particularly useful in shattering its energy and subduing its will. Individual persons may be harshly dealt with when an example is made of them, intended to serve as a warning. * * * Whenever a national war breaks out, terrorism becomes a necessary military principle. * * * It is a gratuitous illusion to suppose that modern war does not demand far more brutality, far more violence, and an action far more general than was formerly the case. * * * When international war has burst upon us, terrorism becomes a principle made necessary by military considerations.

The Elder Moltke's Dictum

In 1881 von Moltke declared:

Perpetual peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream. War is an element in the order of the world established by God. By it the most noble virtues of man are developed, courage and renunciation, fidelity to duty and the spirit of sacrifice—the soldier gives his life. Without war the world would degenerate and lose itself in materialism. * * * The soldier who endures suffering, privation, and fatigue, who courts dangers, cannot

take only "in proportion to the resources of the country." He must take all that is necessary to his existence. One has no right to demand of him anything superhuman. * * * The great good in war is that it should be ended quickly. In view of this, every means, except those which are positively condemnable, must be permitted. I cannot, in any way, agree with the Declaration of St Petersburg when it pretends that "the weakening of the military forces of the enemy" constitutes the only legitimate method of procedure in war. No! One must attack all the resources of the enemy Government, his finances, his railroads, his stock of provisions, and even his prestige.

In proof that the German Emperor indorsed these methods, his famous speech at Bremerhaven July 27, 1900, when he bade farewell to the German troops on the eve of their departure for China, is quoted as follows:

As soon as you come to blows with the enemy he will be beaten. No mercy will be shown! No prisoners will be taken! As the Huns, under King Attila, made a name for themselves, which is still mighty in traditions and legends today, may the name of German be so fixed in China by your deeds that no Chinese shall ever again dare even to look at a German askance. * * * Open the way for *Kultur* once for all.

In the German War Book, published in 1902, (*Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege*), appears the following declaration:

But since the tendency of thought in the last century was dominated essentially by humanitarian considerations which not infrequently degenerated into sentimentality and flabby emotion, (*Sentimentalitaet und weichlicher Gefuehlschwärmerei*), there have not been wanting attempts to influence the development of the usages of war in a way which was in fundamental contradiction with the nature of war and its object. Attempts of this kind will also not be wanting in the future, the more so as these agitations have found a kind of moral recognition in some provisions of the Geneva Convention and the Brussels and Hague Conferences.

By steeping himself in military history an officer will be able to guard himself against excessive humanitarian notions; it will teach him that certain severities are indispensable to war, nay more, that the only true humanity very often lies in a ruthless application of them.

Mulcting the Conquered

The German War Book manual of 1906 contains French translations of

imaginary documents, letters, and proclamations and some blank orders "of which it may be necessary to make use in time of war," which are contrary to The Hague regulations. Among the forms suggested in this manual eight years before the present war began, the following illustrations appear in the manual:

A fine of 600,000 marks in consequence of an attempt made by — to assassinate a German soldier is imposed on the town of O. By order of —.

Efforts have been made, without result, to obtain the withdrawal of the fine.

The term fixed for payment expires tomorrow, Saturday, Dec. 17, at noon —.

Banknotes, cash, or silver plate will be accepted.

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 7th of this month, in which you bring to my notice the great difficulty which you expect to meet in levying the contributions. * * * I can but regret the explanations which you have thought proper to give me on this subject; the order in question which emanates from my Government is so clear and precise, and the instructions which I have received in the matter are so categorical that if the sum due by the town of R. is not paid the town will be burned down without pity!

On account of the destruction of the bridge of F., I order: The district shall pay a special contribution of 10,000,000 francs by way of amends. This is brought to the notice of the public who are informed that the method of assessment will be announced later and that the payment of the said sum will be enforced with the utmost severity. The village of F. will be destroyed immediately by fire, with exception of certain buildings occupied for the use of the troops.

Policy Followed in Belgium

As evidence of how closely the German commanders in Belgium and Northern France adhered to this manual, the following proclamations were actually posted at Brussels and Lunéville on the dates mentioned:

The City of Brussels, exclusive of its suburbs, has been punished by an additional fine of 5,000,000 francs on account of the attack made upon a German soldier by Ryckere, one of its police officials.

The Governor of Brussels,
BARON VON LUETTWITZ.

November 1, 1914.

Notice to the People.

Some of the inhabitants of Lunéville made an attempt from ambuscade on the German columns and wagons, (trains.) The same day [some of the] inhabitants shot at sanitary formations marked with the Red Cross. In addition German wounded and the military hospital containing a German ambulance were fired upon.

Because of these acts of hostility a fine of 650,000 francs is imposed upon the commune of Lunéville. The Mayor is ordered to pay this sum in gold or silver up to 50,000 francs. Sept. 6, 1914, at 9 o'clock in the morning to the representative of the German military authority. All protests will be considered null and void. No delay will be granted.

If the commune does not punctually obey the order to pay the sum of 650,000 francs, all property that can be levied upon will be seized.

In case of non-payment, visits from house to house will be made and all the inhabitants will be searched. If any one knowingly has concealed money or attempted to hold back his goods from the seizure by the military authorities, or if any one attempts to leave the city, he will be shot.

The Mayor and the hostages taken by the military authorities will be held responsible for the exact execution of the above orders.

The Mayor is ordered to publish immediately this notice to the commune.

Hénaménil, Sept. 3, 1914.

The General in Chief.
VON FASBENDER.

Minister Brand Whitlock, in an official report to the State Department, Sept. 12, 1917, quotes the following with reference to the phrase books furnished to common soldiers to enable them to impose their will upon the civilians:

The German soldiers were provided with phrase books giving alternate translations in German and French of such sentences as:

"Hands up!" (It is the very first sentence in the book.)

"Carry out all the furniture."

"I am thirsty. Bring me some beer, gin, rum."

"You have to supply a barrel of wine and a keg of beer."

"If you lie to me I will have you shot immediately."

"Lead me to the wealthiest inhabitants of this village. I have orders to requisition several barrels of wine."

"Show us the way to —. If you lead us astray you will be shot."

From German War Diaries

In previous numbers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE in 1915 were published a number of translations by Professor Joseph Badier of the College de France from diaries found upon German soldiers. (Under the rules for field service of the German Army, these men were advised to keep diaries while on active service.) Entries in these diaries revealed the story of frightfulness with details which sustain the most severe charges of atrocities by examining commissions. To quote from a few:

During the night of Aug. 15-16 Engineer Gr— gave the alarm in the town of Visé. Every one was shot or taken prisoner, and the houses were burned. The prisoners were made to march and keep up with the troops.—(From the diary of Noncommissioned Officer Reinhold Koehn of the 2d Battalion of Engineers, 3d Army Corps.)

A horrible bath of blood. The whole village burned, the French thrown into the blazing houses, civilians with the rest.—(From the diary of Private Hassemmer of the 8th Army Corps.)

In the night of Aug. 18-19 the village of Saint-Maurice was punished for having fired on German soldiers by being burned to the ground by the German troops, (two regiments, the 12th Landwehr and the 17th.) The village was surrounded, men posted about a yard from one another, so that no one could get out. Then the Uhlans set fire to it, house by house. Neither man, woman, nor child could escape; only the greater part of the live stock we carried off, as that could be used. Any one who ventured to come out was shot down. All the inhabitants left in the village were burned with the houses.—(From the diary of Private Karl Scheufele of the 3d Bavarian Regiment of Landwehr Infantry.)

At 10 o'clock in the evening the 1st Battalion of the 178th marched down the steep incline into the burning village to the north of Dinant. A terrific spectacle of ghastly beauty. At the entrance to the village lay about fifty dead civilians, shot for having fired upon our troops from ambush. In the course of the night many others were also shot, so that we counted over 200. Women and children, lamp in hand, were forced to look on at the horrible scene. We ate our rice later in the midst of the corpses, for we had had nothing since morning. When we searched the houses we found plenty

of wine and spirit, but no eatables. Captain Hamann was drunk. (This last phrase in shorthand.)—(*From the diary of Private Philipp of the 178th Regiment of Infantry, 12th Army Corps.*)

Aug. 6th crossed frontier. Inhabitants on border very good to us and give us many things. There is no difference noticeable.

Aug. 23d, Sunday, (between Birna and Dinant, village of Disonge.) At 11 o'clock the order comes to advance after the artillery has thoroughly prepared the ground ahead. The Pioneers and Infantry Regiment 178 were marching in front of us. Near a small village the latter were fired on by the inhabitants. About 220 inhabitants were shot and the village was burned—artillery is continuously shooting—the village lies in a large ravine. Just now, 6 o'clock in the afternoon, the crossing of the Maas begins near Dinant. * * * All villages, châteaux, and houses are burned down during this night. It was a beautiful sight to see the fires all round us in the distance.

Aug. 24th. In every village one finds only heaps of ruins and many dead. (*From the diary of Matbern, 4th Company, 11th Jaeger Battalion, Marburg.*)

A shell burst near the 11th Company and wounded seven men, three very severely. At 5 o'clock we were ordered by the officer in command of the regiment to shoot all the male inhabitants of Nomény because the population was foolishly attempting to stay the advance of the German troops by force of arms. We broke into the houses and seized all who resisted, in order to execute them according to martial law. The houses which had not been already destroyed by the French artillery or our own were set on fire by us, so that nearly the whole town was reduced to ashes. It is a terrible sight when helpless women and children, utterly destitute, are herded together and driven into France.—(*From the diary of Private Fischer, 8th Bavarian Regiment of Infantry, 33d Reserve Division.*)

German Soldiers Horrified

Other German soldiers show their horror at the foul deeds, as the following extracts show:

The inhabitants have fled in the village. It was horrible. There was clotted blood on all the beads, and what faces one saw, terrible to behold! The dead, sixty in all, were at once buried. Among them were many old women, some old men, and a half-delivered woman, awful to see; three children had clasped each

other, and died thus. The altar and the vaults of the church are shattered. They had a telephone there to communicate with the enemy. This morning, Sept. 2, all the survivors were expelled, and I saw four little boys carrying a cradle, with a baby 5 or 6 months old in it, on two sticks. All this was terrible to see. Shot after shot! Thunderbolt after thunderbolt! Everything is given over to pillage; fowls and the rest all killed. I saw a mother, too, with her two children; one had a great wound on the head and had lost an eye.—(*From the diary of Lance Corporal Paul Spielmann of the Ersatz, 1st Brigade of Infantry of the Guard.*)

* * * In the night the inhabitants of Liège became mutinous. Forty persons were shot and 15 houses demolished, 10 soldiers shot. The sights here make you cry.

On the 23rd August everything quiet. The inhabitants have so far given in. Seventy students were shot, 200 kept prisoners. Inhabitants returning to Liège.

Aug. 24th. At noon with 36 men on sentry duty. Sentry duty is A 1, no post allocated to me. Our occupation, apart from bathing, is eating and drinking. We live like God in Belgium.—(*From the diary of Joh. van der Schoot, reservist of the 10th Company, 39th Reserve Infantry Regiment, 7th Army Reserve Corps.*)

Massacres at Tamines

Minister Whitlock, in his report of Sept. 12, 1917, to the Secretary of State, refers as follows to the massacres at Tamines and other villages:

One of the most sorely tried communities was that of the little village of Tamines, down in what is known as the Borinage, the coal fields near Charleroi. Tamines is a mining village in the Sambre; it is a collection of small cottages sheltering about 5,000 inhabitants, mostly all poor laborers.

The little graveyard in which the church stands bears its mute testimony to the horror of the event. There are hundreds of new-made graves, each with its small wooden cross and its bit of flowers; the crosses are so closely huddled that there is scarcely room to walk between them. The crosses are alike and all bear the same date, the sinister date of Aug. 22, 1914. * * *

But whether their hands were cut off or not, whether they were impaled on bayonets or not, children were shot down, by military order, in cold blood. In the awful crime of the Rock of Bayard, there overlooking the Meuse below Dinant, infants in their mother's arms were shot down without mercy. The

deed, never surpassed in cruelty by any band of savages, is described by the Bishop of Namur himself:

"One scene surpasses in horror all others: it is the fusillade of the Rocher Bayard near Dinant. It appears to have been ordered by Colonel Meister. This fusillade made many victims among the nearby parishes, especially those of des Rivages and Neffe. It caused the death of nearly ninety persons, without distinction of age or sex. Among the victims were babies in arms, boys and girls, fathers and mothers of families, even old men.

"It was there that twelve children under the age of 6 perished from the fire of the executioners, six of them as they lay in their mothers' arms:

"The child Fiévet, 3 weeks old.

"Maurice Bétemps, 11 months old.

"Nelly Pollet, 11 months old.

"Gilda Genon, 18 months old.

"Gilda Marchot, 2 years old.

"Clara Struvay, 2 years and 6 months.

"The pile of bodies comprised also many children from 6 to 14 years. Eight large families have entirely disappeared. Four have but one survivor. Those men that escaped death—and many of them were riddled with bullets—were obliged to bury in a summary and hasty fashion their fathers, mothers, brothers, or sisters; then after having been relieved of their money and being placed in chains they were sent to Cassel, [Prussia.] "

Civilians as Hostages

A system adopted early in the conquest of Belgium was the use of civilians as hostages and for screens. In a proclamation issued by Major Dieckmann, September, 1914, appears the following conclusion:

4. After 9 A. M., on Sept. 7, I will permit the houses in Beyne-Heusay, Grivegnée, and Bois-de-Breux to be inhabited by the persons who lived in them formerly, as long as these persons are not forbidden to frequent these localities by official prohibition.

5. In order to be sure that the above-mentioned permit will not be abused, the Burgomasters of Beyne-Heusay and of Grivegnée must immediately prepare lists of prominent persons who will be held as hostages for twenty-four hours each at Fort Fléron. Sept. 6, 1914, for the first time [the period of detention shall be] from 6 P. M. until Sept. 7 at midday.

The life of these hostages depends on the population of the above-mentioned communes remaining quiet under all circumstances.

During the night it is severely forbidden to show any luminous signals. Bicy-

cles are permitted only between 7 A. M. and 5 P. M. (German time.)

6. From the list which is submitted to me I shall designate prominent persons who shall be hostages from noon of one day until the following midday. If the substitute is not there in due time, the hostage must remain another twenty-four hours at the fort. After these twenty-four hours the hostage will incur the penalty of death, if the substitute fails to appear.

7. Priests, Burgomasters, and the other members of the Council are to be taken first as hostages.

8. I insist that all civilians who move about in my district * * * show their respect to the German officers by taking off their hats, or lifting their hands to their heads in military salute. In case of doubt, every German soldier must be saluted. Any one who does not do this must expect the German military to make themselves respected by every means.

To be shot whether guilty or not.

The following proclamation was posted in Belgium Oct. 5, 1914:

Sept. 25, in the evening, the railroad track and telegraph were destroyed on the line Lovenioul-Vertryck. * * *

Henceforth the villages situated nearest the spot where such events take place—it is of no consequence whether they are guilty or not—will be punished without mercy. For this purpose hostages have been taken from all places in the vicinity of railways in danger of similar attacks; and at the first attempt to destroy any railway, telegraph, or telephone line they will be immediately shot.

Furthermore, all troops intrusted with the protection of railways have received orders to shoot any one approaching railways or telegraph or telephone lines in a suspicious manner.

The Governor General of Belgium,
BARON VON DER GOLTZ,
Field Marshal.

Civilians Used as Screens

The following letter was published on the 7th of October, 1914, in the *Vorabendblatt* of the *Münchnener Neueste Nachrichten*:

Oct. 7, 1914.

But we arrested three other civilians, and then I had a brilliant idea. We gave them chairs, and we then ordered them to go and sit out in the middle of the street. On their part, pitiful entreaties; on ours, a few blows from the butt end of the rifle. Little by little one becomes terribly callous at this business. At last they were all seated outside in the street. I do not know what anguished prayers they may have said, but I noticed that their hands were convulsively clasped the

whole time. I pitied these fellows, but the method was immediately effective.

The flank fire from the houses quickly diminished, so that we were able to occupy the opposite house and thus to dominate the principal street. Every living being who showed himself in the street was shot. The artillery on its side had done good work all this time, and when, toward 7 o'clock in the evening, the brigade advanced to the assault to relieve us I was in a position to report that Saint Dié had been cleared of the enemy.

Later on I learned that the regiment of reserve which entered Saint Dié further to the north had tried the same experiment. The four civilians whom they had compelled in the same way to sit out in the street were killed by French bullets. I myself saw them lying in the middle of the street near the hospital.

A. EBERLEIN, First Lieutenant.

Germany's Hague Pledge

At the Second Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907 Germany pledged herself to the following:

Article L. No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, shall be inflicted upon the populations on account of the acts of individuals for which they cannot be regarded as jointly and severally responsible.

Article LII. Requisitions in kind and services shall not be demanded from municipalities or inhabitants except for the needs of the army of occupation. They shall be in proportion to the resources of the country, and of such a nature as not to involve the inhabitants in the obligation of taking part in military operations against their own country.

A summary of some of the conspicuous violations of this solemn pledge appears in the pamphlet.

Cardinal Mercier cites the following cases:

Malines, a working-class town, without resources, has had a fine of 20,000 marks inflicted on it because the Burgomaster did not inform the military authority of a journey which the Cardinal, deprived of the use of his motor car, had been obliged to make on foot. In fact, upon the flimsiest pretexts heavy fines are inflicted on communes. The commune of Puers was subjected to a fine of 3,000 marks because a telegraph wire was broken, although the inquiry showed that it had given way through wear.

In addition to such arbitrary, sporadic exactions, in December, 1914, the Germans demanded 40,000,000 francs (\$8,000,000) a month to be paid by the Belgian provinces jointly.

In November, 1915, one month before

the expiration of the twelve months' period fixed for the levy, they decreed that the contribution of 40,000,000 francs a month should be paid for an indefinite period. In November, 1916, this was increased to 50,000,000 francs a month. The military rulers made the families responsible for acts committed by, or charged against, members as shown by the following example, cited by Cardinal Mercier:

The Belgian Government has sent orders to rejoin the army to the militiamen of several classes. * * * All those who receive these orders are strictly forbidden to act upon them. * * * *In case of disobedience the family of the militiaman will be held equally responsible.*

A warning of the Governor General, dated Jan. 26, 1915, renders the *members of the family* responsible if a Belgian fit for military service, between the ages of 16 and 40, goes to Holland.

The Commander in Chief of the German army in Belgium posted a proclamation declaring:

The villages where acts of hostility shall be committed by the inhabitants against our troops *will be burned.*

For all destruction of roads, railways, bridges, &c., *the villages in the neighborhood of the destruction will be held responsible.*

The punishments announced above will be carried out severely and without mercy. *The whole community will be held responsible.* Hostages will be taken in large numbers. The heaviest war taxes will be levied.

The Forced Deportations

The deportations and forced labor which aroused the protest of the civilized world have been covered in previous numbers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The most important document in the Government summary is the official report made by Minister Whitlock to the Secretary of State in January, 1917. The full text of this was printed in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for June, 1917, but the following extracts are here reproduced to round out the present story of German abuses:

The deportations began in October in the Etape, at Ghent, and at Bruges, as my brief telegrams indicated. The policy spread; the rich industrial districts of Hainaut, the mines and steel works about Charleroi were next attacked; now they are seizing men in Brabant, even in Brus-

sels, despite some indications and even predictions of the civil authorities that the policy was about to be abandoned. * * *

The rage, the terror, and despair excited by this measure all over Belgium were beyond anything we had witnessed since the day the Germans poured into Brussels. The delegates of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, returning to Brussels, told the most distressing stories of the scenes of cruelty and sorrow attending the seizures. And daily, hourly almost, since that time appalling stories have been related by Belgians coming to the legation. * * *

The well-known tendency of sensational reports to exaggerate themselves, especially in time of war, and in a situation like that existing here, with no newspapers to serve as a daily clearing house for all the rumors that are as avidly believed as they are eagerly repeated, should of course be considered; but even if a modicum of all that is told is true there still remains enough to stamp this deed as one of the foulest that history records.

Treatment of City Governments

Municipal Governments in Belgium which appealed to the German authorities to observe their promises were insulted and offensively rebuked by the German commanders. The following two documents quoted in the pamphlet illustrate this:

RESOLUTION OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF TOURNAI, OCT 20, 1916

In the matter of the requisition made by the German authorities on Oct. 20, 1916, (requisition of a list of workmen to be drawn up by the municipality) * * *

The Municipal Council resolves to maintain its attitude of refusal.

It further feels it its duty to place on record the following:

The City of Tournai is prepared to submit unreservedly to all the exigencies authorized by the laws and customs of war. Its sincerity cannot be questioned. For more than two years it has submitted to the German occupation, during which time it has lodged and lived at close quarters with the German troops, yet it has displayed perfect composure and has refrained from any act of hostility, proving thereby that it is animated by no idle spirit of bravado.

But the city could not bring itself to provide arms for use against its own children, knowing well that natural law and the law of nations (which is the expression of natural law) both forbid such action.

In his declaration dated Sept. 2, 1914, the German Governor General of Belgium

declared: "I ask none to renounce his patriotic sentiments."

The City of Tournai reposes confidence in this declaration, which it is bound to consider as the sentiment of the German Emperor, in whose name the Governor General was speaking. In accepting the inspiration of honor and patriotism, the city is loyal to a fundamental duty, the lightness of which must be apparent to any German officer.

The city is confident that the straightforwardness and clearness of this attitude will prevent any misunderstanding arising between itself and the German Army.

THE GERMAN REPLY TO THE RESOLUTION

Tournai, 23d October, 1916.

In permitting itself, through the medium of municipal resolutions, to oppose the orders of the German military authorities in the occupied territory, the city is guilty of an unexampled arrogance and of a complete misunderstanding of the situation created by the state of war.

The "clear and simple situation" is in reality the following:

The military authorities order the city to obey. Otherwise the city must bear the heavy consequences, as I have pointed out in my previous explanations.

The General commanding the army has inflicted on the city—on account of its refusal, up to date, to furnish the lists demanded—a punitive contribution of 200,000 marks, which must be paid within the next six days, beginning with today. The General also adds that until such time as all the lists demanded are in his hands, for every day in arrears, beginning with Dec. 31, 1916, a sum of 20,000 marks will be paid by the city.

HOPFER, Major General,
Etappen-Kommandant.

German Falsehood Exposed

The protests of the United States Government and other neutrals against the deportations have appeared in previous numbers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. Former Ambassador Gerard in his book gives some new testimony on the subject, as follows:

The President [during my visit to America in 1916] impressed upon me his great interest in the Belgians deported to Germany. The action of Germany in thus carrying a great part of the male population of Belgium into virtual slavery had roused great indignation in America. As the revered Cardinal Farley said to me a few days before my departure, "You have to go back to the times of the Medes and the Persians to find a like

example of a whole people carried into bondage."

Mr. Grew had made representations about this to the Chancellor and, on my return, I immediately took up the question.

I was informed that it was a military measure, that Ludendorf had feared that the British would break through and overrun Belgium, and that the military did not propose to have a hostile population at their backs who might cut the rail lines of communication, telephones and telegraphs, and that for this reason the deportation had been decided on. I was, however, told I would be given permission to visit these Belgians. The passes, nevertheless, which alone made such visiting possible, were not delivered until a few days before I left Germany.

Several of these Belgians who were put to work in Berlin managed to get away and come to see me. They gave me a harrowing account of how they had been seized in Belgium and made to work in Germany at making munitions to be used probably against their own friends.

I said to the Chancellor, "There are Belgians employed in making shells contrary to all rules of war and The Hague Conventions." He said, "I do not believe it." I said, "My automobile is at the door. I can take you, in four minutes, to where thirty Belgians are working on the manufacture of shells." But he did not find time to go.

Americans must understand that the Germans will stop at nothing to win this war, and that the only thing they respect is force.—James W. Gerard, "*My Four Years in Germany*," 1917, pp. 351-352.

Mr. Hoover's Scathing Testimony

Herbert Hoover, former executive head of the Belgian Relief Commission and now Food Administrator of the United States, contributed to the pam-

phlet his observations in the following words:

September, 1917.

I have been often called upon for a statement of my observation of German rule in Belgium and Northern France.

I have neither the desire nor the adequate pen to picture the scenes which have heated my blood through the two and a half years that I have spent in work for the relief of these 10,000,000 people.

The sight of the destroyed homes and cities, the widowed and fatherless, the destitute, the physical misery of a people but partially nourished at best, the deportation of men by tens of thousands to slavery in German mines and factories, the execution of men and women for paltry effusions of their loyalty to their country, the sacking of every resource through financial robbery, the battering of armies on the slender produce of the country; the denudation of the country of cattle, horses, and textiles; all these things we had to witness, dumb to help other than by protest and sympathy, during this long and terrible time—and still these are not the events of battle heat, but the effects of a grinding heel of a race demanding the mastership of the world.

All these things are well known to the world—but what can never be known is the dumb agony of the people, the expressionless faces of millions whose souls have passed the whole gamut of emotions. And why? Because these, a free and democratic people, dared plunge their bodies before the march of autocracy.

I myself believe that if we do not fight, and fight now, all these things are possible to us—but even should the broad Atlantic prove our present defender, there is still Belgium. Is it worth while for us to live in a world where this free and unoffending people is to be trampled into the earth and to raise no sword in protest? HERBERT HOOVER.

Summary of the German Outrages

By Vernon Kellogg

Of the Belgian Relief Commission

The following statement of Vernon Kellogg, dated September, 1917, was prepared for the pamphlet reviewed in the preceding pages, as a summary of the practices which came under his observation in his work as a Commissioner for Relief in Belgium:

It was my privilege—and necessity—in connection with the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium to spend several months at the Great Headquarters of the German armies in

the west, and later to spend more months at Brussels as the commission's director for Belgium and occupied France. It was an enforced opportunity to see something of German prac-

tice in the treatment of a conquered people, part of whom (the French and the inhabitants of the Belgian provinces of East and West Flanders) were under the direct control of the German General Staff and the several German armies of the west, and part, the inhabitants of the seven other Belgian provinces, under the quasi-civil government of Governor General von Bissing. I did not enter the occupied territories until June, 1915, and so, of course, saw none of the actual invasion and over-running of the land. I saw only the graves of the massacred and the ruins of their towns. But I saw through the long, hard months much too much for my peace of mind of how the Germans treated the unfortunates under their control after the occupation.

It would be an unnecessary repetition to describe again the scenes in Louvain, Dinant, Visé, Andenne, Tamines, Aerschott, and the rest of the familiar long list of the ruined Belgian towns. But too little has been said of the many, many ruined villages all over the extent of the "occupied French territory from Lille in the north to Longwy in the south and from the eastern boundary of France to the fatal trench lines of the extreme western front.

Ruins of "Punished" Towns

As chief representative for the commission, it was my duty to cover this whole territory repeatedly in long motor journeys in company with the German officer assigned for my protection—and for the protection of the German Army against any too much seeing. As I had opportunity also to cover most of Belgium in repeated trips from Brussels into the various provinces, I necessarily had opportunity to compare the destruction wrought in the two regions.

I could understand why certain towns and villages along the Meuse and along the lines of the French and English retreat were badly shot to pieces. There had been fighting in these towns, and the artillery of first one side and then the other had worked their havoc among the houses of the inhabitants. But there were many towns in which there had

been no fighting, and yet all too many of these towns also were in ruins. It was not ruin by shells, but ruin by fire and explosions. These were the famous "punished" towns. Either a citizen or perhaps two or three citizens had fired from a window on the invaders—or were alleged to have. Thereupon a block, or two or three blocks, or half the town, was methodically and effectively burned or blown to pieces. There are many of these "punished" towns in occupied France. And between these towns and along the roadways are innumerable isolated single farmhouses that are also in ruins. It is not claimed that there was any sniping from these farmhouses. They were just destroyed along the way—and by the way, one may say. When the roll of destroyed villages and destroyed farmhouses in occupied France is made known, the world will be shocked again by this evidence of German thoroughness.

Heartlessness of German Rule

The rigor of the control over the inhabitants of the occupied French territory is almost inconceivable. The lines delimiting the regions occupied by the various distinct German armies are lines of impassable steel for the inhabitants. If a member of the family in one town was visiting friends or relatives in another town a few kilometers away at the time of the outbreak of the war that family has remained separated through all the long months that have since elapsed. No messages can pass except by dangerous subterranean ways from town to town.

The requisitioning of everything from food to furniture, from farm animals to the blankets and mattresses from the beds, has been carried to such an extent that the people live on nothing amid nothing. These requisitions in the earlier days had a more or less official seeming in that Quartermaster's *bons* were given for the things taken. Even then the German sense of humor too often made the *bon* a crude jest. The *bons* were written in the German language in German script, illegible and beyond the understanding of the simple natives. A *bon*

might be given for a chicken when it was a pair of horses that was taken. But later, when these jests palled on the German soldiers, the requisitioning was simplified by the omission of *bon* giving. Where the villagers and peasants had tried to save something that could be buried or concealed, the searching out of these pitiful hiding places became a great game with the German soldiers. One ingenious Frenchman had secreted a few choice bottles of wine in a famous tomb on heights above the Meuse. But these bottles found their way to special tables at the Great Headquarters.

Brutal Methods of Deportation

In the Spring of 1916 the army authorities devised the plan of deporting a number of men and women from Lille and the industrial towns near it to the agricultural regions further south. These French were to work in the fields and held produce food for the German Army. As a matter of fact this plan had at bottom something to recommend it. The congestion in the industrialized northern region made the food problem there very difficult. Our commission had more trials in connection with the provisioning of the great city of Lille and the lesser but crowded towns of Valenciennes, Roubaix, and Tourcoing than with all the rest of the occupied territory. Also these people had no work to do, as the great factories were still. To come south and work in the open air in the fields and be allowed a fair ration would have been a real advantage to these people. It would also have helped in the whole food supply situation.

But the horrible methods of that deportation were such that we, although trying to hold steadfast to a rigorous neutrality, could not but protest. Mr. Gerard, our Ambassador to Berlin, happened at the very time of this protest to make a visit to the Great Headquarters in the west, and the matter was brought to the attention of certain high officers

at headquarters on the very day of Mr. Gerard's visit and in his hearing. So that he added his own protest to that of Mr. Poland, our director at the time, and further deportations were stopped. But a terrible mischief had already been done. Husbands and fathers had been taken from their families without a word of good-bye; sons and daughters on whom perhaps aged parents relied for support were taken without pity or apparent thought of the terrible consequences. The great deportations of Belgium have shocked the world. But these lesser deportations—that is, lesser in extent, but not less brutal in their carrying out—are hardly known.

I went into Belgium and into occupied France a neutral and I maintained while there a steadfastly neutral behavior. But I came out no neutral. I cannot conceive that any American enjoying an experience similar to mine could have come out a neutral. He would come out as I came, with the ineradicable conviction that a people or a government which can do what the Germans did and are doing in Belgium and France today must not be allowed, if there is power on earth to prevent it, to do this a moment longer than can be helped. And they must not be allowed ever to do it again.

I went in also a hater of war, and I came out a more ardent hater of war. But, also, I came out with the ineradicable conviction, again, that the only way in which Germany under its present rule and in its present state of mind can be kept from doing what it has done is by force of arms. It cannot be prevented by appeal, concession, or treaties. Hence, ardently as I hope that all war may cease, I hope that this war may not cease until Germany realizes that the civilized world simply will not allow such horrors as those for which Germany is responsible in Belgium and France to be any longer possible.

Ruthlessness and the Law of Evolution

By John Burroughs

Mr. Burroughs at the age of 80 takes as keen an interest in the issues of the world war as he did in the secrets of nature during his earlier years. In this brief article, which appeared in The New York Tribune, he examines the German "militarist theory of frightfulness from the viewpoint of evolutionary science and holds that it is both fallacious and suicidal.

WHEN a good thing, a great thing, has been turned to infernal uses, as science has been by the Germans in this war, one is half inclined to lay the blame on the thing itself. A pious friend of mine, thinking of these things, says science is the second fall of man and has resulted in expelling us from the paradise in which, but for it, we should still be living; it has filled our heads with forbidden knowledge and our hands with forbidden power, and is in a large measure responsible for the present world war.

But science is just as much on the side of peace as on the side of war. It is a two-edged sword, a tremendous instrument that the hand of man can turn to a multitude of uses, noble and ignoble, to build up and to tear down, to save and to destroy. It is certainly true that without science Germany could not cut much of a figure in this war, probably would not have begun it. It is equally true that without science the Allies would not be able to meet her on anything like equal terms.

The fundamental trouble is to be found in Germany's interpretation of scientific conclusions. She has perverted biological laws to suit her own purposes. The Darwinian conception of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, which certainly are great truths, (but not the whole truth when applied to the world of man,) got into her blood. They became her inspiration and the well-spring of her national philosophy. Her thinkers and teachers turn to the primary factors of evolution as they are operative in the non-human world as the final court of appeal in settling all questions of man's relation to man and the relations of one nation to another. They

do not for a moment take into account that man is an exceptional creature in the animal kingdom, and that his true progress has been in reversing, or putting under his feet, the laws that rule in what we may call the brute stages of evolution.

When evolution gave man his moral consciousness and his concepts of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood, justice and mercy, he was born again. Of course, it was a long, slow, and painful birth, a true dystocia; but after the throes and the travail a new being saw the light, and man was differentiated from all the other animals, and obligations were placed upon him that were his alone. This new birth made him the fittest to survive. Only through the development and freer and freer play of man's moral consciousness was modern civilization possible. Only by more and more subordinating the rule of might to the rule of right—fair dealing, the common weal, justice to the weak as well as to the strong—was the rise of States and organized Governments possible.

No matter how often States and Governments have run counter to this great law and waged aggressive wars and ruthlessly pursued the rule of might, which nearly all States and nations have at times been guilty of, the principle stands. Man would not be man without it. Reversals to the law of the jungle only prove how slow and painful man's complete evolution has been. The outbreak of Prussianism which has resulted in this terrible war is like the outbreaks of earth's primal energies as seen in earthquakes and volcanoes. Only the gradual subsidence and quiescence of these elemental energies have made the earth habitable and given us a stable

soil upon which to build and plant and sow. If the primal seismic forces were once more to break loose and begin their mad career anew, where should we be?

The course of the German military power in beginning and conducting this war has been precisely analogous to the outbreak of nature's merciless forces—earthquakes, tornadoes, lava flows, and the like. All these things are a part of the nature of which we ourselves are a part, and in the shaping of the earth and rendering it a fit abode for living beings their work has been immense.

The battle of the elements through the long geological ages has given us a planet upon which we can battle for existence with a fair prospect of success. So has the rule of might, in the long course of evolution—the supremacy of force and greed and selfishness among the prehistoric and early historic races—at last prepared the way for the rule and dominance of man's better nature. We say "better" because it makes life more and more attractive and worth while and leads to the greatest good of the greatest number. Again, meaning by "good" that which is in harmony with the human constitution and man's relation to his environment. It does not abolish struggle and the survival of the fittest, at least of the fit, but it enthrones justice, mercy, and truth, and arms us against tyranny, savagery, and the aggressive war spirit.

The appeal to nature for the justification of our conduct, whatever it be, is risky business. Nature is heaven on one side and hell on the other. In all creatures below man the rule of might prevails. The only sin is weakness and the only virtue strength. There is no question of right or wrong, of justice and mercy. The only questions are those of adaptation and power to survive. The trees in the forest, the plants in the field, the fowl of the air, the sea forms and the land forms are all under the same law of adaptation to the environment. The less adaptable, the poorly equipped for competitive struggle, defectives, unfortunates, the handicapped, fall out.

The law of variability, whatever be its cause, never ceases to act. Those that

vary in the wrong direction suffer and fail; those that vary in the right direction prosper, and the more they vary in this direction the more they prosper. But variation in man brings in new problems and new factors. It is no longer a question of the survival of brute force, but one of force armed with the moral consciousness. The questions of fraternity, equality, liberty play prominent parts. Selfishness is tempered by altruism; instinct is guided by reason, power is wedded to conscience, and the strong in the long run prevail in proportion to their adherence to justice and truth.

During the last half century or more the Germans have varied or developed remarkably in the direction of organization, of material efficiency, State supremacy, and so on, but they have varied less than their neighbors in the direction of true culture, of humanism, altruism, refinement of spirit, political liberty, and of the other virtues that make for a noble, disinterested people. Hence their advantage in this war, so far as military efficiency is concerned, and their disadvantage, so far as the sympathy and good opinion of the rest of the world are concerned. They are the fittest to survive by reason of sheer power; they are the least fit by reason of sheer brutality—their reliance upon the predatory methods and the lower aims of earlier times. They have gone forth to battle in the spirit of their ancestral Huns, and in many ways in a worse spirit. * * * Wreckers of cathedrals, destroyers of libraries, despoilers of cemeteries, slayers of old men and women and children and priests and nuns, barbarians by instinct, pirates and incendiaries by practice, terrorists by training, slaves by habit and bullies by profession, void of humility, void of spirituality, resourceful but not inventive, thorough but not original, docile as individuals but brazen and defiant as a nation—ravishing, maiming, poisoning, burning, suffocating, deporting, enslaving, murderers of the very soul of a people, so far as it is in their power—the rest of the world can live on terms of peace and good-will with them only after they have drained to the dregs the bitter cup of military defeat.

When the War Is Over

Discussion of Some of the Serious Problems That Are Already Shaping Themselves

THE question of how the war will end is scarcely more portentous than that of how to solve the problems that will arise when the war is over. J. H. Thomas, a member of Parliament, Secretary of the British Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, in an address at London, Dec. 7, 1917, presented some of the more serious phases of the labor question that will loom before England when the war is over. Eleven millions of English people were engaged in war service, including over a million women, he said, and when peace came manufacturers would have orders to cease making certain things on which they were now exclusively engaged, and would be faced with the possibility of having to discharge hundreds of thousands of men. In addition, there would be millions of men who had passed through the hell of trench and battle and had become callous of death. If they were to take places in long queues waiting for jobs there would arise in their minds the question, "Is this what we fought for?" and it might be that the feeling would come that it might be worth a scrap to alter such a state of things. Business men must realize that this was one of the immediate problems to be faced.

In the first place, every controlled establishment which today was making exclusively materials for war ought to be in a position, as soon as that manufacture ceased, to direct itself to making useful things. The Government must ascertain the world shortage in all things, and give orders so that industries in the transition stage might be carried on. The end of the war would bring the question what was to be the army of the future. If efforts were made, as he was afraid they might be, to make conscription a national institution, the feeling would be created among the people that by their sacrifices to destroy German

militarism they had assisted to perpetuate militarism in their own country.

A Day of Reckoning

The working classes for a number of years before the war when agitating for old-age pensions, better housing, and other social reforms were told that to spend twenty-five or thirty millions on such things would mean bankruptcy. Now it was found that Great Britain could spend \$40,000,000 a day in the destruction of humanity, apparently without any trouble. It was said there was plenty of money in the country. Was it realized that there must be a day of reckoning, and that from the beginning of the war Great Britain had only met 30 per cent. of its expenditure? If the war ended tomorrow it would have to provide \$1,500,000,000 interest on present commitments; on pensions, another \$250,000,000; on a sinking fund on a basis of thirty years, another \$250,000,000. Adding the pre-war budget of \$1,000,000,000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the future would have to raise \$3,000,000,000 a year at least. There was glib talk today about taxes on capital, and he recognized that it was a plausible thing to talk about, but it cut both ways, and anything that tended to check industrial development reacted on the working classes. Serious consideration, however, must be given to taxes on wealth, as distinct from capital. It had to be realized that, so far as workers were concerned, the pre-war standard would never be accepted again. Some people said that the taxation of German goods would bring relief, but he would not insult them by discussing that. He considered the situation in the light of facts.

The Future of Railways

There was approximately \$7,000,000,000 invested in railways. If the war ended tomorrow and railways returned to

the old conditions, all ordinary and preference stock and all debenture stock interest would be wiped out by the wages bill and the cost of railway material. Nobody would suggest that shareholders would view that position with enthusiasm.

Supposing the State were to decide to take over the railways, would it be common sense to allow competition by motor traffic? Again, there were hundreds of boats working on the canals of France, and these might be used in development of British canal transport. It must be remembered, too, that railway rates were

governed by coastwise traffic. These matters had to be considered with the transport system as a whole and worked out as a financial proposition. There was an unfortunate tendency to forget that we were now living an artificial life, and business and working men should think out these matters and not accept manufactured opinion.

The British Nation, he said, was faced with one of the most critical periods in its history, with the food problem more serious than people believed and with the industrial situation bristling with difficulties.

The Economic Weapon Against Germany

Sir Edward Carson's Plan

PRESIDENT WILSON in his address to Congress on Dec. 4, 1917, gave a broad intimation of a possible economic war against Germany. Alluding to the possibility that Germany would retain her "ambitious and intriguing masters, interested to disturb the peace of the world," he said that it "might be impossible also in such untoward circumstances to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of real peace."

Sir Edward Carson, in an address at the Royal Colonial Institute in London, Dec. 13, 1917, referred to the same subject in these words:

The question of imperial trade is so closely connected with this war that you cannot dissociate the one from the other, and we are not going to lose the war through any consideration for Germany in our future trade policy. Never again are we going to have the peaceful penetration of amiable Germans. Never again are we going to allow Germany to build up her reserves of war under the guise of the peaceful carrying on of business. These are the great lessons that we ought to have learned. Nothing astonished me more than why Germany ever went into the war. She had taken possession of three-fourths of London and of almost every other city and town in the country; in fact, we were beginning to take off our hats to the Germans for allowing us to engage in any kind of commerce at all.

As showing the thoroughness of their organization for the carrying on of peaceful commerce, some time ago I served on a committee which was inquiring into what was to be done with Hun businesses in this country by the Board of Trade, and this was one of the matters brought before us: A firm in Holland had contracted with an English firm to supply them with a large amount of machinery. Before proceeding with the contract the firm in Holland applied to an inquiry agent in London with a British name to know whether the English firm was in a position of solvency to enter into such a large contract, and they got back an answer from the inquiry agent, who was a German, that the firm in question was so insolvent and in such a parlous condition that they could not possibly carry out such a contract, but if the Dutch firm were in a hurry about the contract the agency could strongly recommend a particular German firm. Owing to the outbreak of the war the German firm was not able to carry out the contract, and it handed over all the documents to the English firm, and I have them now in my possession.

That is the kind of thing that has been going on, and to people engaged in the carrying on of honest trade in this country it is absolutely intolerable. If the people of the British Empire ever again tolerate anything approaching the system that was in vogue before the war this war will have been waged in vain. On behalf of the martyrs of that system—because the men in the trenches and on the seas who have lost their lives during this war were the martyrs of that sys-

tem—I appeal to all to see that never again in this country shall these ghastly German ideas of trade or business be allowed to hold up their heads.

Raw Material as a Weapon

In addition to our splendid navy and army at the present moment we hold in our hands a weapon which is almost equal in importance to anything you can do in the field and on the sea. That is an economic weapon. Look around and see the position in which we stand along with the overseas dominions in the economic world! They talk of a League of Nations! Let us at all events commence with a League of British Nations. To what you can do by a proper League of British Nations there is no limit. Take the case of raw material. When this war is over there will be a lack of raw material to go round in order to rebuild the world which has been devastated by the Hun. The Germans are removing from gallant little Belgium every particle of machinery that can be of use to them and that might have been of help in the reconstruction of that country. Everywhere it is the same thing. At the same time, the Germans know perfectly well—we have evidence of it from day to day—that their own society and their own commerce never can be reconstructed unless the British Empire and her allies are willing to give them the lease.

I am not preaching the doctrine of boycott after the war. When we come to the terms of peace it will be time enough to talk of that. But I am preaching this emphatically, that we ought by our legislation and administration to make it perfectly clear to Germany that every day that passes on which devastation and loss goes on is to be to their sorrow and their loss. We ought to make it perfectly clear to the Germans, not merely in words but in acts, that the longer the war continues the less chance is there of their coming in for any share of that much too short supply of raw material that exists throughout the world for the reconstruction of the devastated nations. We have a vast amount of raw material in the British Empire. Almost the whole of the mineral wealth that goes to produce spel-

ter, zinc, and lead and various other things comes from Australia, Canada, and other places in his Majesty's dominions. Before the war every particle of that in one way or another was within the clutches of Germany. After the war they should not be able to touch an ounce of it without our consent.

An Economic Offensive

Take, again, the question of shipping. We are suffering grievous losses in our ships, which are the very heart of our commerce and that of the dominions overseas. Ships go along the lines of communication which are kept open by our splendid navy. In consequence of the ruthless breaches of international law by the German submarines, after the war shipbuilding must be one of our most essential industries if we are to revive our trade. I suppose when we come to ask the House of Commons to give us some priority in shipbuilding we shall be told that it is an interference with trade and commerce. I believe the nation will rise against that kind of thing, and I hope that no ships will be allowed to be built in any shipyard here for any other country until we have made sure of having sufficient shipping to enable us to carry on the commerce of ourselves and our allies.

An economic offensive! I once called it bombing Hun businesses. I say bomb them till there is not a brick left in their foundations. Do it now. Do not wait. You have every justification, for this reason—Germany has rendered reconstruction necessary, and therefore in the reconstruction let us and our allies have priority. Do not let us be afraid of loving our friends and loathing our enemies. Do not let us be afraid of mutually assisting each other. We have shaken hands together and gone into the trenches together and left there hundreds of thousands of the best lives of the empire. Let us keep before our minds the ideals for which we are fighting. Let us really frame our policy with an eye for freedom and liberty, and let us take care that the fruits which have been cultivated by our peoples shall be reaped for their benefit as a whole.

An Imaginary Letter by the Head of the Hamburg-American Line

AS illustrating the state of mind of the Conservative English press, the following extracts are given from an article in *The London Chronicle* of Dec. 12, 1917. It pleased the author's fancy to put

his ideas into the form of a letter supposed to be written by Albert Ballin, head of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, to Dr. Rathenau, the German Privy Councillor. The letter reveals the

trend of thought among the English Conservative classes and their idea as to what an intelligent German must be thinking at the present juncture. Herr Ballin is represented as saying:

What sorry lies have been dished up to our people on the subject of shipping! One reads of the resounding hammer strokes of riveters as they work at the creation of new leviathans for our overseas commerce. Hamburg, Bremerhaven, Danzig, Stettin are supposed to be buzzing with shipbuilding. Not long ago one journal asserted that nearly 400,000 tons were almost ready for launching! And there is hardly a vestige of truth in any of these statements. Our yards are only working for the navy, and, as for other ships, we have not the material or accommodation, and, above all, we have not the necessary labor, skilled and unskilled.

Believe me when I say that our mercantile marine is in a perilous condition. The bill to re-establish and strengthen it which is now before the Reichstag, even if passed in its integrity, will show no results for at least five years, and it is in these five years that our fate will be most adversely influenced. What will not our great maritime competitors make of these five years—Great Britain, the States, Japan? What will not neutrals make of them—neutrals who have enormously added to their reserve capital—Norway, Denmark, Holland? I almost despair when I think how different it all might have been. You and I, dear Herr Privy Councilor, were never advocates of this fatal policy of unrestricted submarine warfare. You will remember how I went to Berlin to seek to stay the hand of the authorities. I begged them to reflect, and they told me the country insisted on it. This was not true. I pointed out how it would inevitably draw America into the conflict. They pooh-poohed me, smiled at America, and scorned her threat. Do they smile now? Let me tell you that in my opinion the entry of the United States into this struggle may spell absolute disaster for us.

Our people have little or no knowledge of the American character. You and I have made a most careful study of it. What stuff our publicists and journalists write about their mammon worship, their greed, their envy of other nations, their lack of discipline—oh, that blessed word discipline! You and I know that the Americans are probably the most idealistic nation on the earth's surface. We know that they would not have entered the lists of our foes had they had any doubt as to the justice of their cause. Nonsense to say they have been influ-

enced by Britain. We are mad not to see where we are and whither we are driving. In antagonizing America we have done a disastrous thing—a thing which will throw its cold shadow on our economic life for a generation. * * *

How are we to resume our sea trade in face of an Anglo-Saxondom which loathes and must loathe our presence among them? Do our fools of Chauvinists realize that we have hardly a port at which our ships can call and where a friendly welcome will be extended to them? Dover, Falmouth, and Southampton; Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria; Aden, the Persian Gulf, Bombay, and Colombo; Singapore and Hongkong—what are they? Great British arsenals, naval bases, coaling stations, repairing docks, in which we dare not show our faces if Britain so wills. It is the same around the African Continent, the same in the West Indies and in the Pacific. We have not a coaling station of our own, not a place where we can effect repairs. Yet in face of this—a most deadly serious state of affairs—we go on piling up offense on offense.

But we must beat England, you say, no matter what the consequences. I agree. All I say is that, whether we beat her or she beats us, the consequences will be the same—disaster to our overseas trade if Britain so wills it. We may, in the event of victory, impose all sorts of conditions securing us most-favored-nation treatment, securing us free entry into British ports everywhere. No sane man believes that these conditions will help us.

And just one point more, and it is, perhaps, quite as serious. With a hostile British Empire, galled and fretted with our military success, raging at its losses, hopelessly alienated, how are we to procure the raw material which this empire alone can supply? You have studied this question, and I am sure of your agreement. You do not believe in the silly assertion that after the war these British markets for raw material will be open to us. Where are we to procure our supplies of jute if not from India? If we are driven from Africa, where are we to seek our full supplies of rubber, palm kernels, and copra?

What a prospect! Within the British Empire are produced countless articles on which we have hitherto relied, and which will be indispensable in the future if we are to swim and not to sink. Wool from South Africa and Australia, spelter, wolfram, nickel, cobalt, and endless more. That great empire is self-contained, and we are not. And all the military victories and all the wild will-o'-the-wisps about "Hamburg to Bagdad" will not help us.

The Doom of Germany After the War

Frederic Harrison's Letter to a German

The English essayist, Frederic Harrison, at the close of 1917, addressed the following open letter to his former friend, Emeritus Professor Lujo Brentano, of the Universities of Munich, Breslau, Strassburg, Vienna, and Leipsic:

PROFESSOR BRENTANO: I did not think I could ever again address a word to any German. But, in resigning your offices, you seem to us to be the one eminent German who foresees the appalling doom into which the Tyrant has thrust your people. It is now nearly fifty years since you came to our country, mastered our language and our history, studied our institutions, and were received as a colleague and a friend. You and I of old have exchanged books, letters, and friendly offices. All England recognizes your learning, your industry, your devotion to the cause of economic and social progress.

Can you do nothing to open the eyes of your nation, intellectual and far-seeing as it is, to the awful moral isolation into which the crimes of your soldier-caste have doomed them? If you have not yet grasped this fact, I will try to explain it to you. I am in England, as you are in Germany, an independent student of society, a social worker, wholly detached from politics, party, army, or Government. In extreme old age, your senior by so many years, untouched by those passions this war has roused in those who have to act and to fight, I tell you that for years to come the German name will spell shame to every true man and woman of English blood. We have no Hymn of Hate. One does not hate a mad dog or a hungry wolf. We guard our own, and close every door and wall against them. Henceforth in Europe a German will be taboo—outside the pale of civilized man.

Do you think any Englishman can take in friendship any German hand? I warn you that to us it would be like touching a thief or a murderer. Do you expect that we shall employ as before German men and women in our business or in our homes? Never again! We know now that the German servant, clerk, mer-

chant, diplomat in Britain too often has been spy, rival, swindler, traitor. Do you think we shall trade again—"as usual"? No! If your great capitalists nurse such a dream, do not let them delude your workmen. It will not be.

This will not be an affair of treaties, laws, and Governments. Our business men, our workmen will see to it themselves. Do you think that our seamen and maritime laborers who have seen tens of thousands of civilians done to death with every form of wanton barbarism will ever again welcome your ships in our docks? Do you think your "pirates" will ever again enter our ports—dump on us their cargoes—refit from our stores—"all as usual"? Your crimes against human nature have been too vast, too general, too revolting to be forgotten. You are yourself not only a great economist, but also a great moralist—an eminent social reformer. You know how the deep passion of indignation against savagery sweeps away in honest men the baser instincts of gain. We may have, too, a few men mean enough to desire a return to the old trade conditions. They are not so many nor so strong as your Krupps and Ballins fancy. No! Our profiteers, such as there are, will find themselves overborne and boycotted themselves by the indignation of our true-hearted people.

This war will not end as all modern wars have ended. We have often fought other nations, and quickly returned to civil intercourse in peace. But this has not been war. It has been the inundation of barbarism upon civilization of a kind unheard of since Oriental and mediaeval incursions. It is the deluge of a whole race, drunk with the lust of blood and booty, "running amok" upon their peaceful neighbors. In this orgy they have outraged every law of morality—defied every decency of civil life—

destroyed the sacred relics of past ages—prostituted science to become the tool of torture—proclaimed Terrorism to be the new Code of Nations. Every utterance of your Kaiser, of your Staff, of your press has been false—slandrous, treacherous, brazen lies to conceal their own disasters, to accuse their enemy of fictitious crimes. The tolerance, the good faith, the magnanimity we show has been perverted to some new murderous device. And your people to a man, woman, or child, with one voice accept, aid, applaud these treacheries, mendacities, and infamies. The whole German people have made themselves the docile creatures of their military drillmasters, who dominate the nation, in war, in trade, in education, in morals.

I leave it to you to warn your people of the ghastly conditions into which their industry will have fallen—of the universal ruin when your huge war debt is

at last proved to be waste paper, when your factories are empty of material, your docks void of shipping, your braggart dreams of plunder all gone into the clouds. Where are you to get cotton, wool, metals, corn, ships, and overseas products? Not from us—not from Europe—not from America—not from Africa! We English could not restore your colonies, even if we wished or tried to do so. How, then, are the German workingmen to work? You are a great economist. Perhaps you can tell them. I have nothing to do with that. All I wish you to understand is this.

Professor! the German will stand outside the "Comity of Nations," which now he defies and ridicules, until he has shown the world that he is no longer the monster of ambition and cruelty which forty years of Bismarcktum and Kaiser-tum have made him. I await your answer to all this.

Offenses Against Food Regulations in Germany

ACCORDING to Vorwärts of Berlin, there were in Germany 189,806 indictments under the various food regulation acts between Oct. 1, 1916, and Sept. 30, 1917, or, roughly, 520 daily. One can take up no German daily paper without seeing columns occupied with the cases of delinquents who have wittingly or unwittingly sinned against one or other of the innumerable enactments with which every German citizen is supposed to be familiar. Sometimes he is the big provision merchant who has been criminally manipulating markets; more frequently the adulterator who has been palming off on the public poisonous substitutes for food; most frequently of all the hungry woman or child who has robbed a potato field or a hen-roost, and has been caught red-handed by the Constable. Nearly 130,000 of the indictments are the result of information laid by private informers. The following cites a case from each of these categories:

A large food merchant in Osnabrück was fined \$1,250 for acts which gave him control of all the beans and peas in

the district. He had bought stocks, for which he paid 27 pfennigs a pound, and had sold them at 95 pfennigs. His net profits amounted to \$175,000.

A master tailor of Duisburg, finding tailoring an unsatisfactory occupation, took to the manufacture of soap and soup tablets. The soap was composed of ingredients of a most deleterious character, and when used set up a violent inflammation of the skin. The soup tablets were salt mixed with the fatty scum of boiled offal. He was punished with three years' penal servitude, but he had scooped in over \$18,000 profit.

Lisbeth Eckhardt, from a village near Crefeld, 72 years, her daughter and grandchild were severely punished for roaming the fields at night and for digging up twenty pounds of potatoes and cutting ten heads of cabbage. Moreover, they had told untruths to the gendarme who had pounced on them. Old Lisbeth was fined \$25, her daughter \$15, with a fortnight's imprisonment, and the child, aged 7, was sent for a year to a reformatory.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

The Invasion of Italy



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

“The giant rolled into our plain
Shall yet be rolled back home again.”

[Italian Cartoon]

The Teutonic Wolves in Italy



—From *Il Numero*, Turin.

This is the food they found on the Venetian plain.

[Russian Cartoon]

Defenders of the Revolution



—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd.

And while they argue.....!!!!

[Australian Cartoon]

Bruin on the Brink



—From The Sydney Bulletin.

[English Cartoon]

A Nursery Tale that Came True

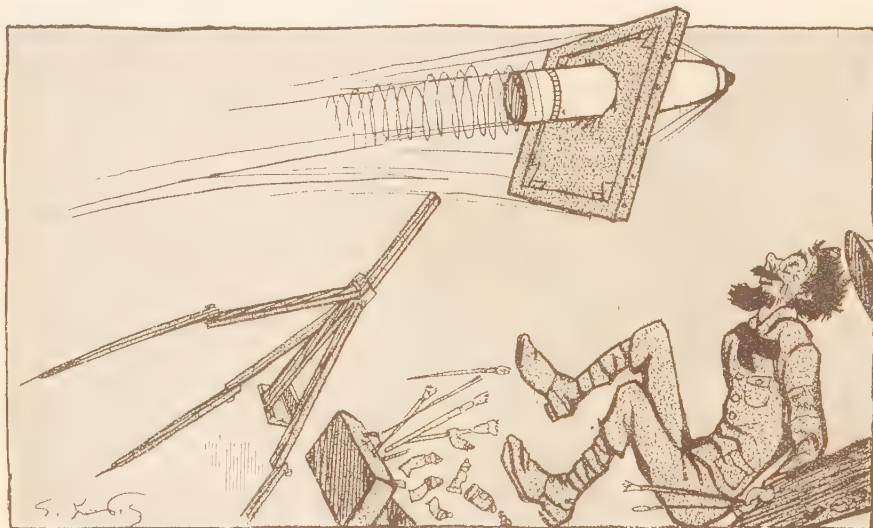


—From *The Passing Show*, London.

Russia in the rôle of Little Red Riding Hood.

[French Cartoon]

Art at the Front

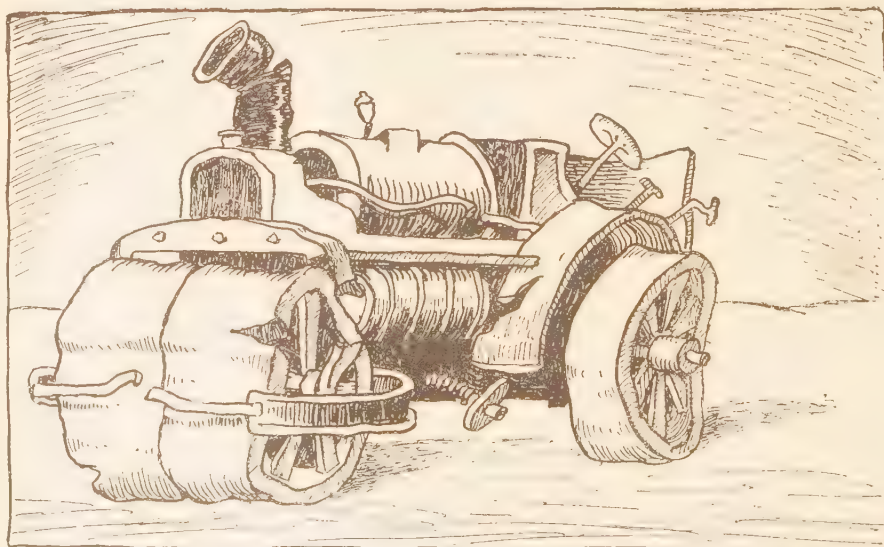


—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

"It's astonishing! At Paris I can't dispose of a canvas, and here I can hardly finish one before it is carried off!"

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Bids Invited

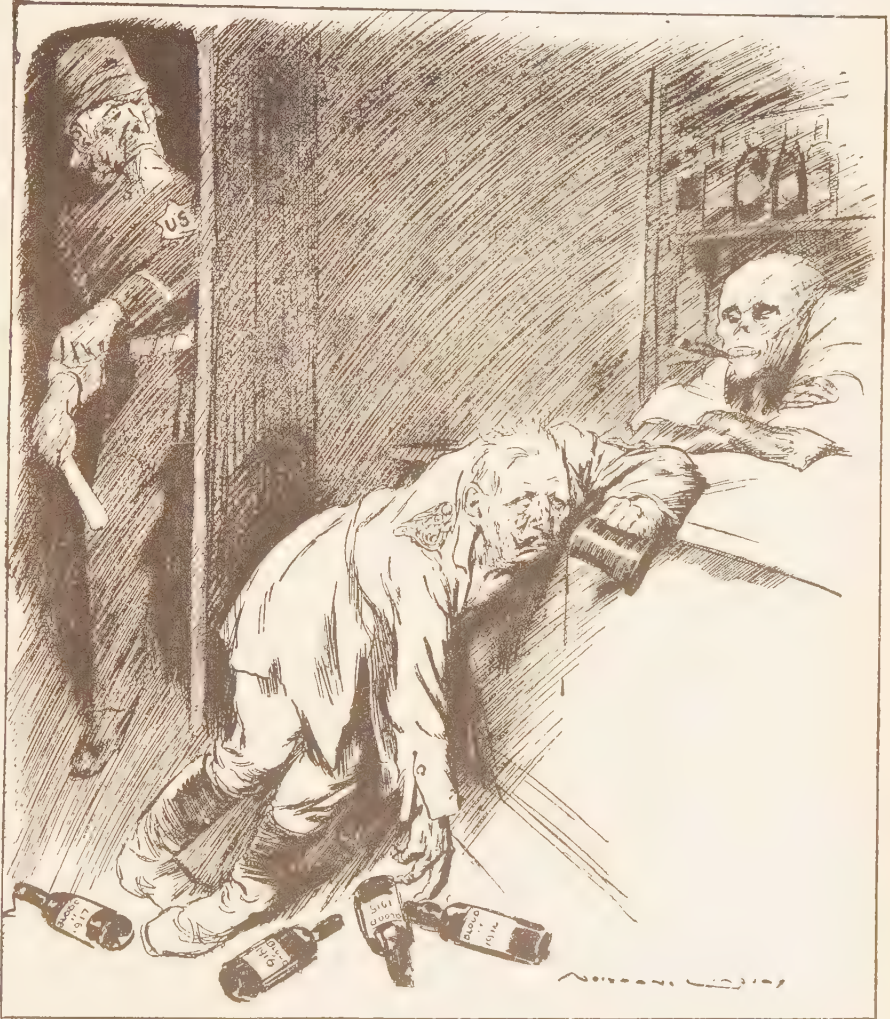


—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

Offers are invited for the conversion of the Russian steam roller into a steam plow. Bids to be sent to L. E. Nine & Co., Petrograd.

[Australian Cartoon]

The New Policeman on the Beat



—From *The Sydney Bulletin*.

[American Cartoon]

'Neath the Old Chestnut Tree



—From *The New York Times*.

"Come, let us sit down and be friends."

[English Cartoon]

Oh! Jerusalem!



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

The real magic carpet that tossed the Turk.

[American Cartoon]

Austria Pulls the Car of Victory



—From The Chicago Herald.

[American Cartoon]

Russia's Plight



—From *The Chicago Herald*.

Treason, Anarchy, and Ignorance bind the Giant.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The German Sphinx



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

The mouth opens, but the saving word about Belgium is not spoken.

[American Cartoon]

Sudden Admiration



—From *The Washington Times*.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Hohen- zollern Peace Bat

I am a bird
—hark while I
sing!

I am a mouse
—the cats I
dread!

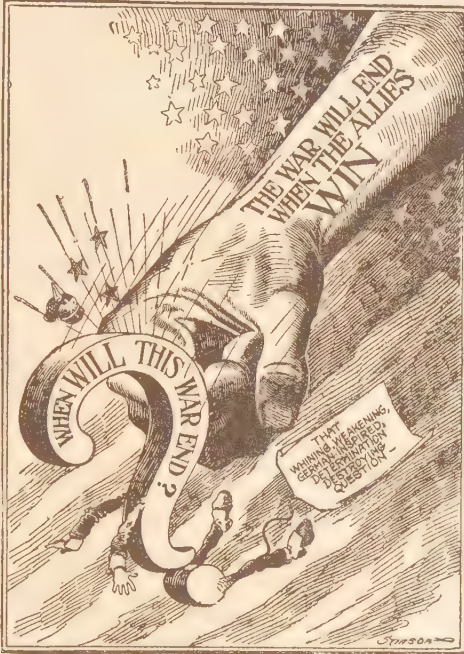
I am sweet Peace
—look at my
wing!

I am dread War
—look at my
head!



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

The Only Answer



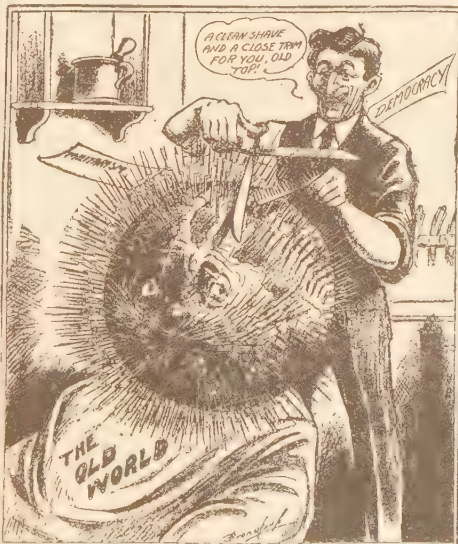
—Dayton News.

On His Way to Self-Government



—San Francisco Examiner.

A Necessary Tonsorial Operation



—San Francisco Chronicle.

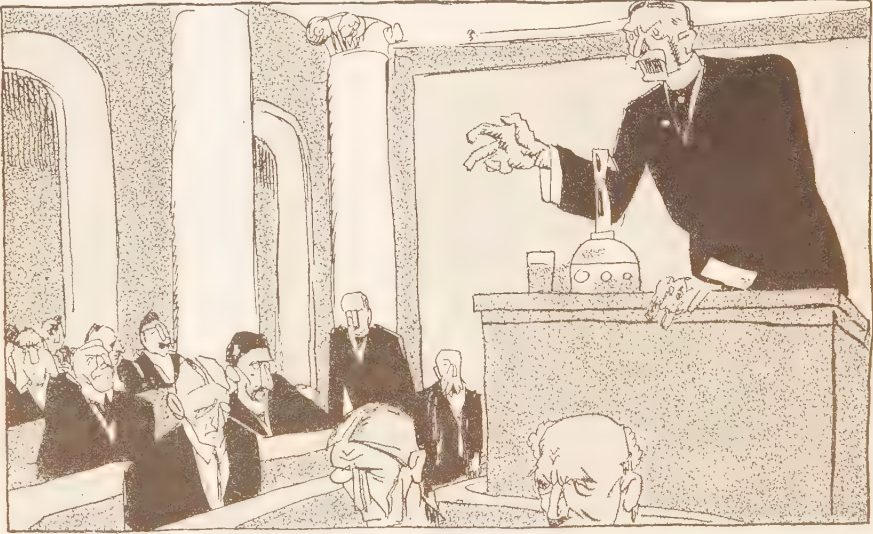
The Two-Headed Monster



—Dallas News.

[Russian Cartoon]

A Difference in Position



The pacifists who stand for peace—



—From *Novi Sattrikon*, Petrograd.

—and the martyrs who have lain down for peace.

[English Cartoon]

The Pirate's Opportunity



—From *John Bull*, London.

"The struggle for the wheel."

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Military Balance



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

The scales rise and fall, but the sword never stops cutting.

[American Cartoons]

Now on the Firing Line



—New York Herald.

Camouflage Diabolical



—Providence Journal.

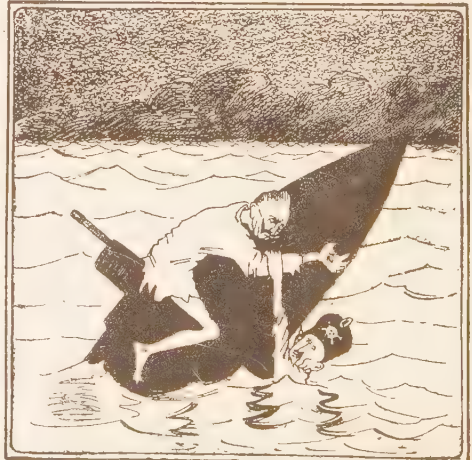
[Polish-American Cartoon]

More Terrible as Friend Than Foe



—Macaulay in New York Globe.

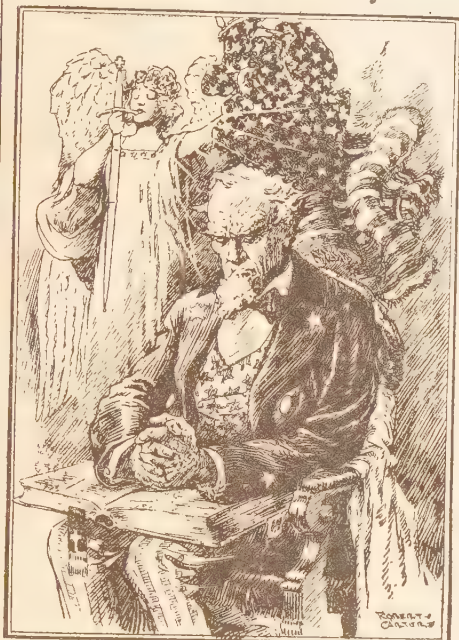
Hanging On to the End



—From The Cepy, Chicago.

"U-boats are now being sunk faster than Germany can build them."—British Admiralty Report.

A Prayer for Victory



—Philadelphia Press.

If Only the Crusaders Could Have Seen It!



—Des Moines Register.

The Manicurist



Toasting the Kaiser



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Stars and Stripes for Austria

So Near and Yet So Far!



—Los Angeles Times.



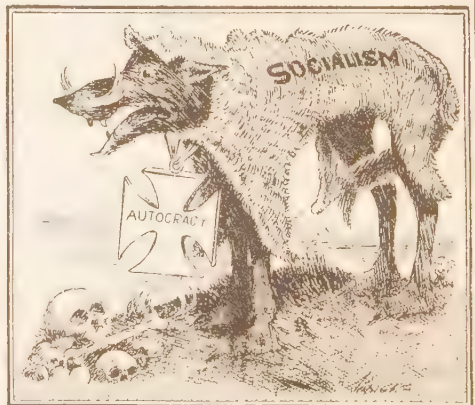
—Chicago Herald.

Putting the "E" on Slave

A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing



—New York Herald.



—Duluth Herald.

MAJOR GENERAL PEYTON C. MARCH



Appointed Acting Chief of Staff of the United States Army,
succeeding General Bliss.

(© Clinch Studio.)

GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS



Who has relinquished active duty as Chief of Staff of the United States Army to become American military representative on the Inter-Allied Council.

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VII. } No. 3
Part II. }

March, 1918

25 Cents a Copy
\$3.00 a Year

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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1918]

A BIRDSEYE VIEW OF THE MONTH'S WAR EVENTS

THE chief military engagement in the month under review occurred in the invaded region of Italy; in co-operation with British and French batteries, the Italians drove the Austrians from the positions which threatened the Venetian plains and captured several thousand prisoners; the pressure on the critical fronts by the invaders was relieved and immediate danger of a further offensive by the Austrians was removed. General Allenby made further advances beyond Jerusalem. On the western front there were numerous skirmishes and trench forays, but no operations of consequence were undertaken. The movement of troops by Germany from the east to the west deepened the conviction that this concentration was preliminary to an offensive on a wider scale than any since the first invasion.

Politically the month was replete with events of profound significance. Chief of these was the withdrawal of Russia from the rôle of belligerents and the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the Ukraine and the Central Powers. The situation in Russia up to the signing of the peace treaty is described in detail elsewhere. Events since then have followed in quick succession. Chief of these was the announcement that Germany refused to construe Russia's refusal to sign a treaty of peace as equivalent to her withdrawal as an enemy. It was declared that Russia's action automatically ended the armistice, which had expired Feb. 18, and that Germany would resume hostilities even to the extent of occupying Petrograd. There was no news from the Bolshevik Government to indicate whether a new offensive by Germany would be resisted. Russia's army was practically dissolved, and her powers of resistance seemed ended, except by leaderless bands of demobilized soldiers, who could easily be swept aside

by the German troops. The cession to the new Ukraine Republic by Austria of the Kholm district was bitterly denounced by the Poles as tantamount to another partition of Poland, and produced new alignments between the Poles, Slovaks, and Czechs in the Austrian Parliament, which foreshadowed serious political consequences. On Feb. 18 the German Government officially announced that the armistice had expired; the reports indicated that German troops would be sent to the aid of the anti-Bolshevist Rada in the Ukraine and the German military occupation of Courland, Esthonia, Livonia, and the Baltic ports extended and consolidated. There were reports of bloody excesses by lawless revolutionists in Petrograd on Feb. 18.

The interchange of views on peace through public addresses by President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George for the United States and Great Britain, and by the German and the Austrian Premiers was interpreted as amounting to a preliminary peace discussion at long range. These four historic addresses are given in full in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The reception of President Wilson's latest address by the chief newspapers of Germany and Austria was much less violent and denunciatory than that given to previous utterances. This change was interpreted as indicating that the conflict had moved a step nearer the end. It was announced that both Count Czernin and Count Hertling would deliver addresses in reply to the latest proposals of the President and Premier before March 1.

There was some agitation in political circles in the United States over the charge made by Senator Chamberlain, (Democrat,) Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, that the War Department had failed in its task, and over his introduction of a bill to create a War Cabinet. The Senator was pub-

lily rebuked by the President in scathing terms, but he persisted in his determination to reorganize the War Department and defended his statement in a Senate speech in which he reiterated his charges. Other speeches were delivered, some by Democrats in support of Senator Chamberlain; one Republican who participated up to Feb. 16 was Senator Weeks of Massachusetts, who repeated the charges of inefficiency and added that President Wilson was responsible for dragging politics into the situation. Meanwhile the effect of the agitation was plainly shown in the quick reorganization of the War and Munitions Departments and in a definite movement by the Executive to bring about in effect the results aimed at by the War Cabinet measure.

The movement of American troops to France continued without interruption, and it was understood that fully 500,000 were expected to be on French soil early in the Spring.

There was political excitement in Great Britain, due to the suspicion that the Lloyd George Government was practically displacing Generals Haig and Robertson by the Versailles Council, but the British Premier defeated his critics by a significant majority. The resignation of General Robertson as Chief of Staff and the appointment of Sub-Chief General Wilson in succession was announced, and indicated that the Government had determined to speed up the Chief Command.

In France the Clemenceau Cabinet and the national defense were materially strengthened by the conviction of Bolo Pacha for treason; the atmosphere of intrigue and doubt, which had weakened the French armies in the Spring of 1917, was entirely dispelled; it was felt, as a result, that the French morale was higher and more unconquerable than at any time during the war.

The serious strikes in Austria and Germany late in January and early in February were symptomatic of war weariness and the fruits of the Russian revolution: they were repressed by stern military measures, but their influence was felt in the Reichstag.

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S REPORT IN FULL

THIS issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE contains the text of the official report of Sir Douglas Haig on the battles of Arras, Messines, Ypres, also the operations in the Lens area and at Bullecourt against the Hindenburg line, with subsidiary undertakings between April 9, 1917, and the end of the Flanders offensive in November, 1917. It is estimated that the Germans had 131 divisions in these engagements, while the British had between 65 and 70.

The official report on the battle of Cambrai, which was fought on Nov. 20, will be covered later.

General Haig reports that the battle of Arras, which opened April 9 and closed May 5, was fought on a front of 16 to 20 miles. The British wrested from the enemy 60 square miles of French territory and captured over 20,000 prisoners, with 257 guns, including 98 of heavy calibre. In the battle of Messines 7,000 prisoners and 67 guns were captured and the objectives were attained. The third battle of Ypres began July 31 and continued intermittently through September and October, reaching its final stage Nov. 10 with the capture of Passchendaele. In this battle 78 German divisions were used, and the British captured 24,065 prisoners, 74 guns, 941 machine guns, and 138 trench mortars.

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THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF UKRAINIA

THE readiness of the Ukrainians to make peace with Austria is clear when it is remembered that the affiliations of the Ukraine were always rather with the West than with the North. The Ukraine grew up as a prolongation of the Kingdom of Poland, as a frontier State barring the advance of the Turks and Tartars and as a refuge for fugitives from Russia. In the days of the second Romanoff, Czar Alexei Mikhailovitch, the oppression exercised by the Polish feudal lords over the people of the Ukraine became so intolerable that a series of desperate revolts against Polish domination broke out, under the leadership of Bogdan Khmelnitzki. For years repeated appeals were made to Czar

Alexei to take the Ukraine under his protection; he finally consented in 1654, and, after a long war, the Ukraine was attached to Moscow as a semi-independent State.

Two tendencies then became active in the Ukraine: a movement for more complete assimilation with the Russian realm; and a countermovement toward nationalism and practical independence both of Poland and Russia. Under Peter the Great, the son of Czar Alexei, Mazzeppa headed a separatist movement in the year 1709, entering into an alliance with Charles XII. of Sweden, with whom Peter was at war. Peter completely triumphed over both his opponents. At first the Ukraine continued to elect its own Hetman, or Cossack Generalissimo, but the position gradually fell into abeyance as Russian administration extended itself throughout the Ukraine. Finally, under Catherine the Great, the Ukraine became an integral part of the Russian Empire, which it continued to be for a century and a quarter.

But the old separatist movement never quite died out. It was always strongly supported by Austria as successor to Southern Poland, (Galicia,) and Lemberg was made a strong centre of Ukrainian, anti-Russian propaganda, the practical object of which was to bring under Austrian influence the southwestern corner of Russia. It thus happened that, when the Russian Empire broke to pieces, there was a strong Ukrainian movement which was also strongly pro-Austrian; this led naturally to the separate peace with Austria, and to the annexation to Ukrainia of the Polish district of Kholm, which has a considerable proportion of Ukrainian inhabitants.

* * *

RUMANIA AND BESSARABIA

WHILE the name of Rumania, or, more properly, Romania, is comparatively modern, the political existence of the Rumanian people is of old date. During the late Middle Ages the Rumanian Nation was divided into the twin principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and through considerable periods Rumanian-peopled Eastern Transylvania adhered to the two principalities. This

was true particularly in the days of Michael the Brave, who, with Vlad the Impaler, receives almost divine honors in Rumanian tradition. Michael reigned in the closing days of the English Queen Elizabeth. The northward expansion of Turkey after the capture of Constantinople presently submerged the principalities, but fell short of the grinding tyranny suffered by the Serbians and Bulgarians.

When, in the reign of Catherine the Great, the frontiers of Russia touched the margin of the Sultan's realm, the principalities became the inevitable battleground between Russian and Turk. By several treaties, Russia won considerable rights for the Rumanians, as by the treaty of Kutshuk Kainardji, in 1774. In 1808 the Russians once more occupied Wallachia and Moldavia, and, by the peace of Bucharest, in 1812, Bessarabia, which takes its name from the old Rumanian princely house of Bas-sarab, was ceded to Russia. In 1856, after the disastrous Crimean War, Russia was compelled to return to Turkey a strip of Bessarabia. Five years later the two principalities were practically separated from Turkey, and united under the name of Rumania.

After the war of 1877, in which Russia advanced almost to the walls of Constantinople, the Czar wished to recover the strip of Bessarabia which Russia had held from 1812 to 1856, but had been compelled to relinquish during a period of twenty-one years. But this meant a loss of territory to Rumania, which had come into existence precisely in that interval, and Rumania never really forgave this, though nominally accepting as compensation the Dobrudja—the quadrangle below the mouths of the Danube. It was probably the loss of the Bessarabian strip which drove Rumania secretly to join Germany and Austria about 1883, and the possibility of regaining a part or the whole of Bessarabia may induce Rumania once more to make a treaty with the Central Empires. Bessarabia is genuinely Rumanian; if ethnical reasons are conclusive, then it should be rejoined to the Rumanian realm.

THE LINES OF FRACTURE IN THE RUSSIAN REALM

THE genuinely national Russia is better described by its older title of Muscovy, or Moscovia, "the Land of Moscow," under which John Milton, author of "Paradise Lost," wrote an admirable history of that country, incorporating the very valuable records and vivid observations made by the early English expeditions to Russia by way of the White Sea, in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth.

The region of which Moscow is the centre is uniform in race, language, and character; a genuine ethnical unit. From this central region the waves of conquest and expansion went north, west, south, and east during the whole three centuries of the Romanoff rule; and practically all that was thus added, since 1613, is not genuinely Russian in the ethnical sense. As a part of the movement which, in Milton's day, added the Ukraine to Moscovia, a war with Poland added to the dominion of the Czars the cities of Polotsk, Mohilev, and the rest of White Russia; Smolensk, Vilna, Grodno, Kovno, and the rest of Lithuania, as well as Lublin, which is distinctively Polish. The two partitions of Poland simply extended this movement further west. Dvinsk and Dorpat (Yuriev) were taken from Charles X. of Sweden during the same period; and the movement toward the northwest, (Courland, Esthonia, Livonia,) was completed by Peter the Great, when he conquered Charles XII. of Sweden.

This region on the Baltic and Gulf of Finland has, therefore, been a part of Russia for just over two centuries. In 1809 Finland passed from Swedish to Russian suzerainty, rounding out the northwestern expansion. The story of the Ukraine, to the southwest, has already been told. East of the Ukraine the Russian conquest of the Mussulman Tartars of the Crimea and Southern Volga was a slow process, lasting centuries; the conquest of the Caucasus was completed only in 1864; it included many tribes grouped under four nations: the Tartars and Circassians, both Mussulman; the Armenians and

Georgians. Turkestan was added to Russia by a campaign under Skobelev and Kuropatkin, thus completing the expansion of Russia to the southeast, in the direction of India. These additions, therefore, to Moscovia, mark the natural lines of fracture in the dissolution of the Russian Empire. The position of Siberia is somewhat different.

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SIBERIA AND RUSSIA'S PACIFIC LITTORAL

IN Shakespeare's day the region east of the Ural Mountains was still under Tartar and Turcoman rule, the final stages of the great movement of expansion started by Genghis Khan in the early thirteenth century. The town of Sibir was the capital of the region nearest the Urals. A Cossack adventurer, Yermak, crossed the Urals about 1580, in the reign of John the Terrible, almost the last ruler of the old dynasty of Rurik. He captured Sibir and offered the territory to the Russian Czar. By 1628 the Russians had reached the River Lena. In 1637 they built the fort of Yakutsk. Between 1631 and 1641 they fought the Buddhist Buryats about Lake Baikal, where there is now a ferry of the Siberian Railroad. In 1650 Khabarov reached the Amur, which flows into the Pacific. But the Chinese blocked Russian advance in this direction for just two centuries. In 1648 the Cossack Dejnev, sailing from the River Kolyma, (160° east longitude,) reached the strait later named after Bering, who rediscovered it in 1728. In 1741 Captain Vitus Bering and Chirikov explored Alaska, which then became Russian territory and so remained for a century and a quarter. In 1784 a Russian settlement was established at Kodiak. In 1852 Muraviev explored the Amur and immediate Russian colonization followed, China recognizing Russian occupation by treaty in 1860, while the explorer received the title of Count Muraviev of the Amur. Finally, while Count Cassini was Russia's representative at Peking, a treaty gave Russia certain advantages in Manchuria, with a terminal at Port Arthur, which Russia lost in the Japanese war of 1905, with the southern half of the bleak island of Sakhalin. There was an ironical pro-

posal to confer on the statesman who negotiated the peace with Japan the title of Count Witte of Half-Sakhalin. Taking the more than 4,000,000 square miles of Siberia, with its population not much larger than that of Scotland, more than 80 per cent. of its inhabitants are of Russian blood, while there are about a million natives remote kindred of the Aleuts and Eskimo. But these native tribes can hardly be called nations. They are more accurately an ethnical museum.

* * *

JUNIOR OFFICERS' PAY

IT was announced in London, in the middle of January, that the War Cabinet had decided to increase the pay of junior officers in the British Army and Navy, the principle adopted being that the minimum rate for an army officer should be half a guinea, or 10s. and 6d. a day. For convenience in comparison, we give the equivalents of the new rates of British Army pay in American money, taking the pound sterling as equal to \$4.80, or taking the cent as equal to a halfpenny. Under the new scale, the pay of British junior officers will be:

	—Per Day.—	Per Month.
Second Lieutenant...	10s. 6d. \$2.52	\$75.60
Lieutenant	11s. 6d. 2.74	82.20
Captain	13s. 6d. 3.24	97.20
Major	18s. 0d. 4.32	129.60
Lieutenant Colonel...	23s. 0d. 5.52	165.60

In the middle of February Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, requested the Chairmen of the Military Affairs Committees of Congress to provide legislation immediately granting certain allowances to all officers on field service in the United States and in foreign lands, which will practically amount to increased pay. It was found that an officer doing desk duty in Washington received allowances, while an officer living in a tent in France received nothing but his pay; for example, a Colonel occupying a chair in the War Department receives pay of \$444.14 a month, while a Colonel in camp or in France receives \$333.33, or a quarter less.

The monthly pay of American officers

of the same rank as in the British list is at present as follows:

	Monthly Pay.
Second Lieutenant	\$141.67
Lieutenant	166.67
Captain	200.00
Major	250.00
Lieutenant Colonel	291.67

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REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA'S FINANCES

DETAILS have just been received in this country of a statement made by M. Nekrasoff, then Minister of Finance, at the Moscow Conference in August, 1917—details which shed a somewhat ominous light upon the internal situation of Russia, as expressed in financial terms. During the war months of 1914, the issue of Russian paper money amounted to \$109,500,000 per month; during 1915 it amounted to \$111,500,000 per month; during 1916 to \$145,000,000 a month; during the five revolutionary months, from March to August, 1917, the issue of paper money rose to the enormous sum of \$416,000,000 per month, from three to four times that under the Imperial Government. At the same time, said M. Nekrasoff, all revenue enormously declined during the first months of the revolution; in August it had almost completely ceased; and the Minister of Finance went on to say that any measures of confiscation or expropriation of capital or real estate would lead to the complete disappearance of revenue, and would react disastrously upon the people at large. Further, the revolution had almost stopped the output of textiles, so that, it was stated at the Moscow Conference, the total visible supply of cotton cloths in August, 1917, amounted to only seven inches of material per head of the Russian population. So the peasants had to go about in rags or skins, reverting to the costume of the cave man. The cities of Russia are now living on the money and food set apart for the armies which have been disbanded. When these come to an end, no alternative to starvation seems to exist. Even the villages will suffer greatly, owing to the huge areas left uncultivated. The Petrograd Soviet pay roll was \$350,000 monthly.

FOOD PRICES IN SWITZERLAND

It is reported that there is an ample quantity of food in Switzerland, but that prices have more than doubled since 1914. Food is rationed as follows, with prices in centimes, each centime being approximately one-fifth of a cent:

	Ration.	1914. C'times.	1918. C'times.
Bread	225 grs. daily (nearly ½ lb.)	7 2-5	15½
Milk	6 litres daily (about 1 pint.)	10 4-5	18-19 4-5
Butter	100 grs. monthly (about 3½ oz.)	32	65
Rice	400 grs. monthly (about 14 oz.)	20	40
Sugar	600 grs. monthly (about 1 lb. 5 oz.)	28 4-5	77
Macaroni ...	250 grs. monthly (nearly 9 oz.)	22½	33
Corn	250 grs. monthly (nearly 9 oz.)	5	20

Persons engaged in especially hard manual labor receive an additional 50 grams of bread a day. There is a monthly ration of 150 grams of butter and 350 grams of oil and fat. The following are the prices for unrationed commodities, those marked (*) being temporarily unobtainable:

	1914. C'times.	1918. C'times.
Meat, 500 grs., (1 1-10 lb.)...	90	185
*Lard, " " ..	90	400
Tea, " " ..	300	700
Coffee, " " ..	120-130	180-250
*Oatmeal, " " ..	16- 30	60
Cheese, " " ..	170	180-200
Potatoes, " " ..	3½	20
Wool, " " ..	275	850
Coal, " " ..	3	12
Eggs, each, (average).....	10	30
Cotton, 1 meter, (approx- imately 1 1-10 yd.).....	65- 80	200-220
Soap, Sunlight, 1 piece.....	35- 40	120
Firewood, beech, 1 cubic meter	1,700	2,900
*Oil, olive, 1 litre, (1 7-10 pt.)	150-180	520

A London Times correspondent reports the following:

A somewhat belated attempt is being made to increase the agricultural output. There are said to be between 20,000 and 30,000 deserters from various armies—none are English—in Switzerland at the present moment, and it is proposed to make them work on the land. Many country hotel keepers have been unable to keep going. In the large towns, on the other hand, the hotels have never been more prosperous. Accommodation in Berne, for instance, is practically unobtainable. As in the case of other neutral countries, there has been much money

made in the war by those who had anything to sell.

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A MONTH'S AIR RAIDS

AIR raids on leading cities of Europe marked the early weeks of 1918. On the nights of Jan. 29 and 30 German aviators made two attacks on the south-east coast of England and on London. The casualties in the first were: Killed, 58; injured, 173; and in the second: Killed, 10; injured, 10. On Jan. 30, 1918, Paris was attacked by air raiders for the first time since July 27, 1917. The number of persons killed was 20; injured, 50. One of the German machines was brought down and its crew captured. The German official account of the raid on Paris read:

On Christmas Eve and during January enemy aviators, in spite of our warning, again dropped bombs on open German towns outside the region of operations. Thanks to our measures of defense the losses and damage were slight. As a reprisal fourteen tons of bombs were dropped last night on the City of Paris in our first systematic attack from the air.

According to the British official communication of Jan. 14, a daylight air raid was made on Karlsruhe, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Baden. One and a quarter tons of bombs were dropped on factories and railway tracks. Bursts of flame were seen to follow the explosions. Observers reported that a very large fire was started in the factories alongside the railway, which was confirmed by photographs taken after the raid. This was not the first time Karlsruhe was visited by allied airmen, several raids having been made in 1917, and earlier in the war. More extensive aerial operations against German towns were carried out on Jan. 24 by British aviators, who, according to official report, made direct hits on factories, docks, and in the town of Mannheim. The barracks and railway station at Treves, the steel works at Thionville, and the railway stations at Saarbrücken and Oberbillig also were attacked. The pilots reported large explosions at all objectives, and a big fire at Treves.

An attack was made on Venice on Feb. 3, when a number of bombs fell into the water at the eastern end of the Grand Canal. One fell near the Church of

Santa Maria del Giglio, another in the Calle Furlain, and three on the Lido. No one was killed. At Mestre, a suburb of Venice, the Church of San Lorenzo was almost entirely destroyed by bombs. The raid made it clear that the belief that the enemy had decided to respect the remaining art treasures of Venice was ill-founded. Padua was visited by enemy airplanes on Feb. 5. Buildings in the centre of the city were damaged, and a few persons injured.

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A SOLDIER'S LIFE IN FRANCE

LIEUTENANT MILTON SEE, Jr., of the Coast Artillery, U. S. R., in a letter written Oct. 12, 1917, from France, refers to the cordiality of the greetings to Americans by the French soldiers in the following terms:

We have become well acquainted with many of the French officers, who have treated us like kings. They have given us all the privileges of their officers' club, where we can drop in in our spare time and play bridge with them and gossip over tea and coffee and the ever-present wine of the country.

The French "Capitaine" gave a dinner in our honor the other night, at which Generals Muteau and Mounier were present. The French and American officers alternated at the long tables, which, of course, were loaded down with wine and champagne.

After the meal, which was thoroughly French, the "Capitaine" made a speech in English and repeated it in French. He touched on the close relations between France and America, Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, &c., and evoked very much enthusiasm on both sides. The band played the "Marseillaise" and "Star-Spangled Banner," and there were toasts to Presidents Wilson, Poincaré, and the armies of France and America, now fighting side by side. We then treated them to some choice selections of American rag-time, and they came back with a lot of French songs. When we were getting our hats and coats on, one of our fellows started to play "Tipperary," and the Frenchmen went wild. They threw their caps in the air and grabbed ours, and burst out of the place. Outside they started a "snake dance" and, singing "Tipperary," wound down past the old cathedral and through the nearly deserted streets of the town in one grand rough house. After many a "Vive la France" and "Vivent les Etats-Unis," and a few more cheers and songs, every one called it a night and went home to bed.

The next night they gave a show in our

honor. Every one of the actors was in the army. This is nothing extraordinary, as everything in pants seems to be in uniform—even Arabians, Turks, and French Indo-Chinese, who work in the munitions factories. * * *

The railroads treat the soldiers generously in this country, as it costs us only about \$2.50 for a first-class fare which takes all together eight hours. The dearth of men is very noticeable, especially in France. Women run the stores, theatres, and are conductresses on the tramways, &c. Nearly every one is in mourning, and the convalescent wounded are everywhere.

* * *

HINDENBURG THROUGH GERMAN EYES

THE worship of General Hindenburg in Germany is almost universal, and the entire newspaper press is fulsome in its flattery. A newspaper editor named Auernheimer, in a recent publication, gives his impression of the General in the following terms:

Hindenburg's appearance is immense, but it is one of greater tenderness and goodness than his picture would lead one to gather. To me also his head is lighter, his features clearer, the expression less forbidding than in the best-known pictures. This was my first impression as I looked through the half-open doors of his reception room and saw the mighty figure of the Field Marshal in profile as he greeted his guests singly with German thoroughness and punctilio.

Hindenburg has not a face to which justice can be done by the photographer or portrait painter. You only see him as he is when he is in motion. In repose he is the buttoned-up soldier, with stern and forbidding demeanor. But in any case it is a face you can never forget. [Then follow details of forehead, cheeks, eyes, and mustache, neck, upper lip, and of a remarkable "serpent line," whatever that may be.]

When we approach him we feel like Gulliver in the land of the Brobdingnags. Like Odysseus, Hindenburg appears greater when sitting than standing. As we all sat at a round table with him, we felt that he overtopped us as an Alpine summit overtops its foothills.

* * *

A DISPATCH from Paris on Feb. 10 stated that General Cadorna, former Commander in Chief of the Italian Army, had been replaced as Italian delegate to the Supreme War Council by General Gaetano Giardino, Assistant Chief of Staff to General Diaz, the present Italian Commander in Chief.

DURING 1917 the British took 114,544 prisoners and 781 guns, divided as follows:

	—Captures.—		British	
	Prison- ers.	Guns.	Prison- ers.	Guns.
Western theatre...	73,131	531	27,200	166
	(Approx.)			
Saloniki.....	1,005	...	202	...
Palestine.....	17,046	108	610	...
Mesopotamia.....	15,944	124	267	...
East Africa.....	6,728	18	100	...
Total.....	114,544	781	28,379	166
	* * *			

DURING January, 1918, the total British casualties were 1,484 officers and 72,912 men, of whom 368 officers and 13,980 men were killed or died of wounds. The figures for September, October, November, and December were:

Officers.....	2,938	Men.....	109,200
Officers.....	6,205	Men.....	80,195
Officers.....	4,006	Men.....	124,806
Officers.....	6,054	Men.....	53,031

The casualties in the Admiralty during January were 84 officers and 1,357 men, of whom 44 officers and 456 men were killed.

* * *

BOLO PACHA, the Frenchman with a Levantine title, was convicted of high treason by a court-martial at Paris on Feb. 14 and sentenced to death. The case was appealed. Bolo was charged with having received large sums of money—through American banks and other institutions—from German sources, and with having undertaken to purchase or corrupt French newspapers with a view to producing internal unrest and thus discourage the prosecution of the war. The testimony was conclusive. His activities were said to be part of the general movement which former Premier Caillaux was charged with engineering, and for which he is in prison awaiting trial on charges of treason.

* * *

BESSARABIA AND THE DOBRUDJA

BESSARABIA, a triangular territory on the Black Sea and the Rumanian border, is preponderantly Rumanian in race and tongue. As a part of the Turkish Empire, it was ceded to Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, its western half being again lost by Russia

after the disastrous Crimean war. But Russia demanded this piece of territory again in 1878, when she was at the gates of Constantinople, disregarding the fact that it had since become a part of restored Rumania and strongly Rumanian in sentiment. Russia demanded, as compensation for Rumania, the Dobrudja, the square block of land between the lower Danube and the Black Sea, which Rumania accepted, though cherishing bitter resentment against Russia.

The Dobrudja is peopled chiefly by Turks and Bulgarians, and has always been claimed by Bulgaria. In 1913, when the threat of Rumanian intervention against Bulgaria, on the side of Greece, Serbia, and Turkey, compelled Bulgaria to surrender, Rumania exacted an added slice of the Dobrudja as her compensation. This incensed Bulgaria, and was a contributing cause of the alliance between Bulgaria and the Central Powers. According to the principle of nationalities, it would seem that the arrangement of 1878 should be reversed, Bessarabia going back to Rumania, while the Dobrudja would revert to Bulgaria, which at present holds it by armed force.

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THE daily rations of prisoners of war in England consist of the following:

PER DAY.			
	Ozs.		Ozs.
Bread.....	9	Salt.....	½
Broken biscuit....	4	Potatoes.....	20
Meat (five days a week; pickled beef on one of these days).....	6	Other fresh vegetables.....	4
Salt-cured herrings (two days a week).....	10	Split peas or beans	2
Tea.....	1	Rice.....	1
Or coffee.....	½	Margarine.....	1
Sugar.....	1	Onion.....	1
		Jam.....	1
		Butter.....	2
		Pepper.....	1-72
		Mince meat.....	½

* * *

SIR WILLIAM GOODE, in a statement made at London Feb. 13, announced that the self-denial in food consumption that had been practiced by the American people within three months as a result of the conservation campaign had resulted in a surplus of food available for Great Britain of 150,000,000 pounds of bacon and 25,000,000 pounds of frozen meat in excess of what had previously been estimated as likely to be available.

THE PEACE OFFENSIVE

Official Peace Declarations of President Wilson, Premier Lloyd George, Count Hertling, and Count Czernin

What amounts to a long-distance exchange of peace negotiations between the Allies and the Central Powers took place in the period beginning with President Wilson's war-aims address to Congress on Jan. 8, 1918. This was preceded, on Jan. 5, by an address by Premier Lloyd George to the labor unions of England, in which the war aims of Great Britain were restated. Both these addresses were printed in full in the February CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. Count Hertling, the German Imperial Chancellor, replied to these addresses before the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Jan. 24, and Foreign Minister Czernin replied the same day before the Austrian Parliament, President Wilson replied to both of these declarations in an address to Congress on Feb. 11, and Premier Lloyd George replied in Parliament on Feb. 12. The last four addresses are given herewith in the order in which they were delivered before their respective bodies.

The German Chancellor's Reply to America and Great Britain

[Delivered before the Reichstag Main Committee, Jan. 24, 1918]

After referring to the negotiations with the Russians at Brest-Litovsk and saying that he held fast to the hope that a good conclusion would be arrived at, both with the Bolsheviki and with the Ukrainians, the Chancellor continued:

THE Russians last month proposed to issue an invitation to all the belligerents to participate in the negotiations. Russia submitted certain proposals of a very general character. At that time we accepted the proposal to invite the belligerents to take part in the negotiations, on the condition, however, that the invitation should have a definite period for its acceptance. At 10 o'clock on the evening of Jan. 4 the period expired. No answer had come, and as a result we were no longer under obligations and had a free hand for separate peace negotiations with Russia. Neither

were we longer bound, of course, by the general peace proposals submitted to us by the Russian delegation.

Instead of the reply which was expected but which was not forthcoming, two declarations were made by enemy statesmen—Lloyd George's speech and President Wilson's speech. I willingly admit that Lloyd George altered his tone. He no longer indulges in abuse, and appears desirous of again demonstrating his ability as a negotiator, which I had formerly doubted.

I cannot go so far, however, as many opinions which have been expressed in neutral countries, which would read in this speech of Lloyd George a serious desire for peace, and even a friendly disposition. It is true he declares he does not desire to destroy Germany, and never desired to destroy her. He has even

words of respect for our political, economic, and cultural position. But other utterances also are not lacking, and the idea continually comes to the surface that he has to pronounce judgment on Germany, charging her with being guilty of all possible crimes.

That is an attitude with which we can have nothing to do, and in which we can discover no trace of a serious purpose to attain peace. We are to be the guilty ones, over whom the Entente is now sitting in judgment.

That compels me to give a short review of the situation and the events preceding the war, at the risk of repeating what long ago was said. The establishment of the German Empire in the year 1871 made an end of dismemberment. By the union of its tribes the German Empire in Europe acquired a position corresponding to its economic and cultural achievements and the claims founded thereon.

Bismarck crowned his work by the alliance with Austria-Hungary. It was purely a defensive alliance, so conceived and willed by the exalted allies from the first. Not even the slightest thought of its misuse for aggressive aims ever occurred in the course of decades. The defensive alliance between Germany and the Danube monarchy, closely connected by old traditions and allied to us by common interest, was to serve especially for maintenance of peace.

SAYS GERMANY WAS MENACED

But Bismarck had even then, as he was often reproached for having, an obsession in regard to coalitions, and events of subsequent time have shown it was no vision of terror. The danger of hostile coalitions which menaced the allied Central Powers often made its appearance. By King Edward's isolation policy the dream of coalitions became a reality. The German Empire, progressing and growing in strength, stood in the way of British imperialism. In French lust of revenge and Russian aspirations of expansion this British imperialism found only too ready aid. Thus future plans, dangerous for us, were formed.

The geographical situation of Germany in itself had always brought near to us

the danger of war on two fronts, and now it became increasingly visible. Between Russia and France an alliance was concluded whose participants were twice as numerous as the population of the German Empire and Austria-Hungary. Republican France lent the Russia of the Czar billions to construct strategical railways in the Kingdom of Poland, in order to facilitate an advance against us. The French Republic drew on its last man for three years of service. Thus France, with Russia, built up armaments extending to the limit of the capabilities of both, thereby pursuing aims which our enemies now term imperialistic.

It would have been a neglect of duty had Germany remained a calm spectator of this game and had we not also endeavored to create an armament which would protect us against future enemies. I may, perhaps, recall that I, as a member of the Reichstag, very frequently spoke on these matters, and, on the occasion of new expenditures on armament, pointed out that the German people, in consenting to these, solely desired to pursue a policy of peace, and that such armaments were only imposed upon us to ward off the danger threatening from a possible enemy. It does not appear that any regard was paid to these words abroad.

CLAIMS ALSACE-LORRAINE

And Alsace-Lorraine, of which Lloyd George speaks again? He speaks of the wrong Germany did in 1871 to France. Alsace-Lorraine—you need not be told, but abroad they appear still to be ignorant of things—Alsace-Lorraine comprises, as is known, for the most part purely German regions which by a century of violence and illegality were severed from the German Empire, until finally the French Revolution swallowed up the last remnant. Alsace and Lorraine then became French provinces.

When, in the war of 1870, we demanded back the districts which had been criminally wrested from us, that was not a conquest of foreign territory, but, rightly and properly speaking, what today is called disannexation. This disannexation was then expressly recognized by the

French National Assembly, the constitutional representatives of the French people at that time, March 29, 1871, by a large majority of votes.

And in England, too, gentlemen, language quite other than is heard today has been heard. I can appeal to a classic witness. It is none other than the famous British historian and author, Thomas Carlyle, who in a letter to *The Times* in December, 1870, wrote:

No people has had such a bad neighbor as Germany has possessed during the last 400 years in France. Germany would have been mad had she not thought of erecting a frontier wall between herself and such a neighbor when opportunity offered.

Observe that I have not repeated a very hard expression which Carlyle used about France. I know of no law of nature, no resolution of heavenly Parliaments, whereby France alone of all earthly beings was not obliged to restore stolen territories if the owners from whom they had been snatched had an opportunity of reconquering them. And respected English press organs expressed themselves in a like sense. I mention, for example, *The Daily News*.

REPLY TO WILSON TERMS

I now come to President Wilson. Here, too, I recognize that the tone appears to have changed. The unanimous rejection of Mr. Wilson's attempt, in reply to the Pope's note, to sow discord between the German Government and the German people has had its effect. This unanimous rejection might of itself lead Mr. Wilson on the right path. A beginning to that end has perhaps been made, for now there is at any rate no longer talk about oppression of the German people by an autocratic Government, and the former attacks on the House of Hohenzollern have not been repeated.

I will not enlarge upon the distorted representation of German policy which is contained in Mr. Wilson's message, but will deal in detail with the points which Mr. Wilson lays down there—not less than fourteen points, in which he formulates his peace program—and I pray your indulgence in dealing with these as briefly as possible.

The first point is the demand that there

shall be no more secret international agreements. History shows that it is we above all others who would be able to agree to the publicity of diplomatic documents. I recall that our defensive alliance with Austria-Hungary was known to the whole world from 1888, while the offensive agreement of the enemy States first saw the light of publicity during the war, through the revelations of the secret Russian archives. The negotiations at Brest-Litovsk are being conducted with full publicity. This proves that we are quite ready to accept this proposal and declare publicity of negotiations to be a general political principle.

In his second point Mr. Wilson demands freedom of shipping on the seas in war and peace. This also is demanded by Germany as the first and one of the most important requirements for the future. Therefore, there is here no difference of opinion. The limitation introduced by Mr. Wilson at the end, which I need not quote textually, is not intelligible, appears superfluous, and would therefore best be left out.

[The limiting clause reads "except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."]

It would, however, be highly important for the freedom of shipping in future if strongly fortified naval bases on important international routes, such as England has at Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Hongkong, the Falkland Islands, and many other places, were removed.

Point 3. We, too, are in thorough accord with the removal of economic barriers which interfere with trade in a superfluous manner. We, too, condemn economic war which would inevitably bear within it causes of future warlike complications.

LIMITING ARMAMENTS

Point 4. Limitation of armaments: As already declared by us, the idea of limitation of armaments is entirely discussable. The financial position of all European States after the war might most effectively promote a satisfactory solution. It is therefore clear that an understanding might be reached with-

out difficulty on the first four points of Mr. Wilson's program.

I now come to the fifth point—settlement of all colonial claims and disputes. Practical realization of Mr. Wilson's principles in the realm of reality will encounter some difficulties in any case. I believe that for the present it may be left for England, which has the greatest colonial empire, to make what she will of this proposal of her ally. This point of the program also will have to be discussed in due time, on the reconstitution of the world's colonial possessions, which we also demand absolutely.

Point 6. Evacuation of Russian territory: Now that the Entente has refused, within the period agreed upon by Russia and the Quadruple Alliance, to join in the negotiations, I must in the name of the latter decline to allow any subsequent interference. We are dealing here with questions which concern only Russia and the four allied powers. I adhere to the hope that, with recognition of self-determination for the peoples on the western frontier of the former Russian Empire, good relations will be established, both with these peoples and with the rest of Russia, for whom we wish most earnestly a return of order, peace, and conditions guaranteeing the welfare of the country.

BELGIUM AS A PAWN

Point 7. Belgium: My predecessors in office repeatedly declared that at no time did the annexation of Belgium to Germany form a point in the program of German policy. The Belgian question belongs to those questions the details of which are to be settled by negotiation at the peace conference. So long as our opponents have unreservedly taken the standpoint that the integrity of the Allies' territory can offer the only possible basis of peace discussion, I must adhere to the standpoint hitherto always adopted and refuse the removal in advance of the Belgian affair from the entire discussion.

Point 8. The occupied parts of France are a valuable pawn in our hands. Here, too, forcible annexation forms no part of the official German policy. The conditions and methods of procedure of the

evacuation, which must take account of Germany's vital interests, are to be agreed upon between Germany and France.

I can only again expressly accentuate the fact that there can never be a question of the dismemberment of imperial territory. Under no fine phrases of any kind shall we permit the enemy again to take from us territory of the empire which with ever increasing intimacy has linked itself to Germanism, which has in highly gratifying manner ever and increasingly developed in an economic respect, and of whose people more than 87 per cent. speak the German mother tongue.

The questions dealt with by Mr. Wilson under Points 9, 10, and 11 touch both the Italian frontier question and questions of the future development of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the future of the Balkan States; questions in which, for the greater part, the interests of our ally, Austria-Hungary, preponderate. Where German interests are concerned we shall defend them most energetically.

But I may leave the answer to Mr. Wilson's proposals on these points in the first place to the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. Close contact with the allied Dual Monarchy forms the kernel of our present policy, and must be the guiding line in the future. Loyal comradeship in arms, which has stood the test so brilliantly in wartime, must continue to have its effect in peace. We shall thus on our part do everything for the attainment of peace by Austria-Hungary which takes into account her just claims.

The matters touched upon by Mr. Wilson in Point 12 concern our loyal, brave ally, Turkey. I must in nowise forestall her statesmen in their attitude. The integrity of Turkey and the safeguarding of her capital, which is connected closely with the question of the strait, are important and vital interests of the German Empire also. Our ally can always count upon our energetic support in this matter.

Point 13 deals with Poland. It was not the Entente—which had only empty words for Poland and before the war

never interceded for Poland with Russia—but the German Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which liberated Poland from the Czaristic régime which was crushing her national characteristics. It may thus be left to Germany and Austria-Hungary and Poland to come to an agreement on the future constitution of this country. As the negotiations and communications of the last year prove, we are on the road to this goal.

The last point, the 14th, deals with a bond of the nations. Regarding this point, I am sympathetically disposed, as my political activity shows, toward every idea which eliminates for the future a possibility or a probability of war, and will promote a peaceful and harmonious collaboration of nations. If the idea of a bond of nations, as suggested by President Wilson, proves on closer examination really to be conceived in a spirit of complete justice and complete impartiality toward all, then the Imperial Government is gladly ready, when all other pending questions have been settled, to begin the examination of the basis of such a bond of nations.

THE PERORATION

Gentlemen, you have acquainted yourselves with the speech of Premier Lloyd George and the proposals of President Wilson. We now must ask ourselves whether these speeches and proposals breathe a real and earnest wish for peace. They certainly contain certain principles for a general world peace, to which we also assent, and which might form the starting point and aid negotiations.

When, however, concrete points come into the question, points which for us allies are of decisive importance, their peace will is less observable. Our enemies do not desire to destroy Germany, but they cast covetous eyes on parts of our allies' lands. They speak with respect of Germany's position, but their conception, ever afresh, finds expression as if we were the guilty who must do penance and promise improvement. Thus speaks the victor to the vanquished, he who interprets all our former expressions of a readiness for peace as merely a sign of weakness.

The leaders of the Entente must first renounce this standpoint and this deception. In order to facilitate this I would like to recall what the position really is. They may take it from me that our military position was never so favorable as it now is. Our highly gifted army leaders face the future with undiminished confidence in victory. Throughout the army, in the officers and the men, lives unbroken the joy of battle.

I will remind you of the words I spoke Nov. 29 in the Reichstag. Our repeatedly expressed willingness for peace and the spirit of reconciliation revealed by our proposals must not be regarded by the Entente as a license permitting the indefinite lengthening of the war. Should our enemies force us to prolong the war they will have to bear the consequences resulting from it.

If the leaders of the enemy powers really are inclined toward peace let them revise their program once again, or, as Premier Lloyd George said, proceed to reconsideration.

INVITES NEW PROPOSALS

If they do that and come forward with fresh proposals, then we will examine them carefully, because our aim is no other than the re-establishment of a lasting general peace. But this lasting general peace is not possible so long as the integrity of the German Empire and the security of her vital interests and the dignity of our Fatherland are not guaranteed. Until that time we must quietly stand by each other and wait.

As to our purpose, gentlemen, we are all one. Regarding methods and "moralities," there may be differences of opinion, but let us shelve all those differences. Let us not fight about formulas, which always fall short in the mad course of world events, but above the dividing line of party controversies let us keep our eyes on one mutual aim—the welfare of the Fatherland. Let us hold together the Government and the nation, and victory will be ours. A good peace will and must come.

The German Nation bears in an admirable manner the sufferings and the burdens of a war which now is in its fourth year. In connection with these

burdens and sufferings I think especially of the sufferings of the small artisans and the lowly paid officials. But you all, men and women, will hold on and see it through.

With your political knowledge, you do

not allow yourselves to be fooled by catch phrases. You know how to distinguish between the realities of life and the promises of dreams. Such a nation cannot go under. God is with us and will be with us also in the future.

Count Czernin's Reply on Behalf of Austria-Hungary

[Delivered before the Austrian Parliament, Jan. 24, 1918]

IT is my duty to give a faithful picture of the peace negotiations, [at Brest-Litovsk,] discuss the various phases of the results reached to date, and to draw from these conclusions which are true, logical, and justified.

It seems to me above all that those who seem to find the course of the negotiations too slow cannot have even a slight idea of the difficulties which are naturally met in them everywhere. In what follows I shall describe these difficulties, but would like to point out in advance the cardinal difference between the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk and all those which ever took place in history.

Never, so far as I know, have peace negotiations taken place in open view. It is quite impossible that negotiations which approach the present ones in extent and depth can take their course smoothly and without obstacles from the very beginning. Our task is to build a new world and rebuild all that which this most trying of wars has destroyed and trampled to the ground.

OPEN DIPLOMACY

The various phases of all the peace negotiations of which we know have developed more or less behind closed doors, and their results have been told to the world only after the negotiations have been completed.

All histories teach, and it is easily understood, that the troublesome road of such peace negotiations always leads up and down, that prospects are more favorable some days, less favorable on others. But when these various phases

and these details are telegraphed each day to the world it is quite easily understood that they act like electric shocks in the present condition of nervousness which rules in the world and that they excite public opinion.

We were completely aware of the disadvantage of this procedure. Still, we immediately gave way to the desire of the Russian Government for publicity because we wished to show ourselves friendly and because we have nothing to hide, and also because we might have made a false impression had we insisted on a method of provisional secrecy.

But the consequent other fact of this complete hostility of the negotiations is that the great public, that the country, and that, above all, the leaders, kept their nerves steady. The game must be finished in cold blood, and it will come to a good end if the peoples of the monarchy support the responsible representatives at the peace conference.

NO ANNEXATIONS

In advance let it be said that the basis on which Austria-Hungary treats with the various newly created Russian Governments is that of no indemnities or annexations. That is the program which I stated briefly to those who wanted to speak about peace after my nomination as Minister, which I have repeated to the Russian people in power on their first offer of peace, and from which I will not deviate.

Those who believe I can be crowded off the road which I purpose to go are bad psychologists. I have never let the public be in doubt as to the road which I

SENATOR GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN



Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee and leader of
the attack on Secretary Baker's war administration.

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EDWARD R. STETTINIUS



Formerly chief buyer for J. P. Morgan & Co. as agents for Allies, and
now Surveyor General of all purchases for the United States Army.

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go, and I have never allowed myself to be crowded from this road a hair's breadth, either to the right or to the left.

Since then I have become the undisputed darling of the Pan-Germans and those in the monarchy who imitate the Pan-Germans. At the same time I am calumniated as an inciter to war by those who want peace at any price, of which innumerable letters are proof. Neither has ever troubled me. On the contrary, these double insults are my only amusement in these hard times. I declare once more, I demand not a square foot nor a penny from Russia, and if Russia, as it seems to do, puts itself on that point of view also, peace will be made.

Those who want peace at any price might have doubted as to my non-annexationist purposes toward Russia if I did not tell them with the same inconsiderate openness that I shall never allow myself to make a peace which transcends the form I have just sketched. Should our Russian fellow-peacemakers demand the cession of territory from us, or indemnity, I should continue the war despite a desire for peace which I have as well as you, or would resign if I could not make my view prevail. * * *

THE NEW RUSSIA

The Governments in question are, first, that part of Russia which is led by Petrograd; secondly, our own new neighboring State, Great Ukraina; thirdly, Finland, and, fourthly, the Caucasus.

With the first two States we treat directly, with the two others now only more or less indirectly, because they have to date sent no negotiator to Brest-Litovsk. These four Russian fellow-peacemakers are met by us four powers, and the case of the Caucasus, in which we naturally have no difficulty to remove, but which is in conflict with Turkey, shows the extent of the subjects under discussion.

What interests us especially and chiefly is the newly created great State which will be our neighbor in the future, Ukraina. We have gotten very far in our negotiations with this delegation.

We have agreed on the above-mentioned basis of no annexations nor compensations and have agreed what and how commercial relations with the newly created republic are to be established.

But this very example of Ukraina shows one of the ruling difficulties. While the Ukrainian Republic holds the point of view that it has the right to treat with us quite autonomously and independently, the Russian delegation stands on the basis that the boundaries of its country and those of Ukraina have not been definitely fixed, and that St. Petersburg, consequently, has the right to participate in the negotiations with Ukraina, a view which the gentlemen of the Ukrainian delegation do not care to agree with. But this troubled situation of domestic conditions in Russia was the cause of enormous delay. * * *

ATTITUDE ON POLAND

We want nothing at all of Poland, the boundaries of which have not been definitely settled. Poland's people shall choose their own destiny, free and uninfluenced. I consider the form of popular decision of this question not especially important; the more surely it reflects the general will of the people the more I shall be pleased. For I desire only voluntary union on the part of Poland, and only in the desire of Poland in this matter do I see a guarantee of lasting harmony.

I hold irrevocably to the point of view that the Polish question must not delay the conclusion of peace by a single day. Should Poland seek close relationship with us after the conclusion of peace, we shall not refuse, but the Polish question shall and will not end after peace. I should have liked to see the Polish Government take part in the negotiations, for, according to my opinion, Poland is an independent State. The St. Petersburg Government, however, thinks that the present Polish Government is not entitled to speak in the name of the country and failed to recognize it as a competent exponent of the country. Therefore, we desisted from our intention in order not to create possible conflict. The question is certainly important, but more important for us is the

removal of all obstacles which delay the conclusion of peace.

The second difficulty which we encountered and which found the greatest echo in the press is the difference of opinion between our German ally and the St. Petersburg Government in the matter of interpretation of the right of the Russian nations to determine their own destinies—that is, those territories occupied by German troops.

Germany holds the point of view that it does not intend to make forcible territorial acquisition from Russia, but, to express it in two words, the difference of opinion is a double one.

First, Germany holds as justified the point of view that the numerous expressions of desire for independence by legislative bodies, communal bodies, &c., in the occupied provinces should be considered as a provisional basis for popular opinion which would be tested later by a plebiscite on a broad basis. The Russian Government is now opposed to this point of view, since it cannot recognize the right of existing organizations of Courland and Lithuania to speak in the name of these provinces any more than in the name of the Polish province.

The second difficulty is that Russia demands that the plebiscite should take place after all German troops and administrative organizations have vacated the occupied provinces, while Germany contends that by such evacuation, carried through to its extreme consequence, a vacuum would be created, which undoubtedly would bring about an outbreak of complete anarchy and the greatest misery.

Here it must be explained that everything which today permits political life in the occupied provinces is German property. The railways, posts, telegraph, all industries and administrative parts of police and justice are in German hands. The sudden withdrawal of these parts would indeed create a condition which does not seem practically tenable. In both questions we must find compromise. The difference between these two points of view is, in my opinion, not big enough to justify the failure of the negotiations. But such negotia-

tions cannot be completed over night. They take time.

GENERAL PEACE IN SIGHT

Once we have reached peace with Russia, a general peace cannot long be prevented, in my opinion, despite all the efforts of Entente statesmen. We have heard that it was not understood in places why I declared in the first speech after the resumption of the negotiations that it was now not a question of general peace, but of a separate peace with Russia in Brest-Litovsk. That was a necessary statement of clear fact which Trotzky has inevitably recognized and was necessary because we were treating on a different basis; that is, in a more limited scope, when the question was one of separate peace with Russia rather than a general peace. Although I have no illusions that the effort for a general peace might mature over night, I am still convinced it is maturing and is only a question of our holding through whether we are to have a general honorable peace or not.

REPLY TO PRESIDENT WILSON

I have been strengthened in this view by the peace offer which the President of the United States of America has made. To the whole world this is a peace offer, for in fourteen points Mr. Wilson develops the basis on which he attempts to bring about general peace.

It is evident that no such offer can be an elaboration acceptable in all details. Should this be the case, negotiations would be unnecessary, for then peace might be made by simple acceptance—by a simple yes and amen. That, of course, is not the case. But I do not hesitate to say that I find in the last proposals of President Wilson considerable approach to the Austro-Hungarian point of view, and among his proposals are some to which we can agree with pleasure.

If I shall now be allowed to discuss these proposals in greater detail I must say two things in advance: As far as those proposals relate to our allies—and in them there is mention of the German holding of Belgium and of the Turkish Empire—I declare that, faithful to the duties of the alliance which I have ac-

cepted, I am determined to go to every extreme in defense of our allies. The state of the property of our allies before the war we shall defend as our own. This is the point of view of the Allies in complete reciprocity.

Secondly, I should say that I must refuse politely but definitely any advice as to our internal government. We have a Parliament in Austria, elected by common, equal, direct, and secret suffrage. There is no more democratic Parliament on earth, and this Parliament, in conjunction with other constitutionally authorized factors, alone has the right to decide the internal affairs of Austria. I speak only of Austria because I am speaking in the Austrian delegation and not about the general affairs of the Hungarian State. I should not consider that constitutional. We do not interfere in American affairs, and we wish as little foreign guardianship by any other State. Having said this in advance, I allow myself to answer the remaining points as follows:

SECRET DIPLOMACY

I have nothing to say on the point which discusses abolishing secret diplomacy and complete publicity of negotiations. As for the question of publicity of negotiations, nothing can be said against this method from my point of view as far as it is based on complete reciprocity, although I have serious doubts whether it is always the most practical and quickest way to reach a result.

Diplomatic treaties are nothing but business affairs. I can easily think of cases, for instance, when commercial treaties are being made between States, and when it would be undesirable that the incomplete results should be told to the whole world beforehand.

In such negotiations both sides naturally begin by making as large as possible demands and by using one desire after another as compensation until that balance of interest is present which must be reached to make the conclusion of a treaty possible.

Should such negotiations be conducted before the eyes of the general public, it could not be avoided that the public

should passionately take sides for every single one of the demands, so that the renunciation of such a demand, even if made only for tactical reasons, would be considered a defeat.

Should the public take sides especially strongly for one desideratum, then the conclusion of a treaty might become impossible, or the treaty, should it be concluded, might be felt as a defeat perhaps on both sides. This would not further peaceful relations, and the points of friction between the States would be increased. But what is valid for commercial treaties would be just as valid for political ones which treat of political business.

If abolishing secret diplomacy means that there are to be no secret treaties—that treaties shall not be made without the knowledge of the public—I have nothing to say against the realization of this. How the realization of this principle and its safeguard is to be considered I know not. When the Governments of two States agree, they will always be able to make secret treaties without any one discovering it. But these are minor points. I do not stick to formulas and will never be responsible for the failure of reasonable arrangement because of more or less formalities. We can, therefore, dismiss Point 1.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

Point 2 relates to the freedom of the seas. In this postulate President Wilson has spoken from the heart of all, and I subscribe to this desire of America's completely, especially because the President adds the clause: "Outside territorial waters," that is, freedom of open sea. But I cannot subscribe to the violation of the sovereign rights of our faithful Turkish ally. Its point of view on this question will be ours.

Point 3, definitely against future economic war, is so just and so reasonable and has been so often demanded by us that I have nothing to add to it.

Point 4, demanding general disarmament, explains in especially good and clear style the necessity of forcing free competition in armaments after war to a point which the domestic safety of States demands. President Wilson explains

this clearly. I permitted myself to develop the same a few months ago in a Budapest speech. It is part of my political creed.

As far as Russia is concerned, we are proving with deeds that we are ready to create a friendly, neighborly relationship.

As far as Italy, Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro are concerned, I can only repeat the point of view which I have expressed already in the Hungarian delegation.

I refuse to figure as surety for enemy war adventures. I refuse to make one-sided concessions to our enemies who remain stubbornly on the point of view of war to final victory concessions which would forever injure the monarchy and give immeasurable advantage to our enemies and drag on the war indefinitely.

I trust Mr. Wilson will use the great influence he doubtless has on all his allies that they explain conditions on which they are willing to negotiate, and he will have gained the immeasurable merit of having called a general peace conference to life.

Just as openly and freely as I am here replying to President Wilson, I will also speak to all those who desire to speak themselves, but it is quite comprehensible that the time and continuation of the war cannot remain without influence on our relations in this connection.

ITALY'S ENTRANCE

I said this once before, and may refer to Italy as an example. Italy had the opportunity before the war to attain great territorial acquisitions without a shot. She refused, entered the war, lost hundreds of thousands of dead, billions in war costs and destroyed property, brought upon her population misery and need, and all this only for advantages which she could have had once, but which are now lost forever.

Regarding Point 13, it is an open secret that we are supporters of the idea that there must be "an independent Polish State," which shall "include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations." Regarding this, I

am also of the opinion that we could soon reach an agreement with Mr. Wilson.

Nor will the President find anywhere in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy any opposition to his proposal regarding the idea of the league of nations.

As may be seen, then, from this comparison of my views with those of Mr. Wilson, we agree not only on great principles in general, according to which the world is to be newly regulated after the end of this war, but our views also approach each other on several concrete peace questions. The remaining differences do not seem to me great enough to lead to the belief that a discussion at this point should not bring clearness and rapprochement.

This situation, which probably arises from the fact that Austria-Hungary and the United States of America are the two great powers among the two groups of enemy States whose interests least conflict, suggests the thought that an exchange of ideas between these two powers might be the starting point for conciliatory discussions between all States which have not entered into peace conversations. So much for President Wilson's propositions.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA

I now hasten to finish, and the conclusion is perhaps the most important thing I have to say. I am working on a peace with Ukraina and with St. Petersburg. But peace with St. Petersburg does not change our definite situation. Nowhere do Austrian troops oppose those of the St. Petersburg Government. Ukrainian troops do oppose us.

Nothing could be exported from St. Petersburg because it has nothing but revolution and anarchy to export, articles which Bolsheviki would like to export, but acceptance of which I politely refuse. Still, I desire peace with St. Petersburg also, because it makes general peace nearer, as does the conclusion of any peace.

Affairs with Ukraina are definite, for Ukraina has stocks, foodstuffs, which it will export if we agree. The food question is today a world worry. Everywhere, with opponents, as with neutral States, it plays an important rôle.

The way to help out the population is by concluding peace with those Russian Governments which have for export a quantity of foodstuffs. We can and will hold out even without this aid, but I know my duty commands me to attempt everything to lessen the suffering of our population.

Therefore, I will not reject this advantage for our population from hysterical nervousness in order to bring about peace a few days or weeks earlier. Such a peace needs time. It cannot be concluded over night, for in the conclusion of peace it must be discovered whether, and what, and how the Russian fellow-peacemakers will supply us. This is because Ukrania wishes to settle this business during the peace negotiations and not afterward.

ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES

I have said already that the troubled relations of these newly created Governments involve great hindrance and natural delay in the negotiations. If you attack me in the back, force me to finish hastily, then we will have no economic advantages and our people must go without the advantage which it might derive from peace.

If a doctor has to make a difficult operation and people stand behind him with a watch and force him to finish the operation in a few minutes, the operation will probably be done in record time, but the sick person will not be grateful for the technique of the operation. If you make a wholly wrong impression on your opponents that we must make peace at any price and immediately, we will not get a bushel of grain and our success will be more or less platonic.

Chiefly, it is not at all a question of ending the war after we have agreed on a basis of no annexations. The question is not one—I repeat it for the tenth time—of imperialistic or annexationist plans and intentions, but is to assure our population a deserved reward for steadily holding out and give it those foodstuffs which it will gladly accept.

But our partners are good arithmeticians, observing exactly whether or not I am being forced into a bad position by you. If you want to spoil peace and refuse grain shipment, then it is logical to force my hand by speeches, resolutions, strikes, and demonstrations.

It is a thousand times untrue that we are in a position where we would rather make a bad peace without economic advantages today than one with economic advantages. Food difficulties in the last analysis do not come from the lack of food. The crises which must be allayed are coal transportation and organization. If behind the front you arrange strikes you move in a vicious circle. Strikes increase and make the existing crisis more acute and the transportation of foodstuffs and coal more difficult. You are cutting your own flesh, and all those who think that such methods hasten peace are in an awful error.

People are said to spread rumors in the monarchy that the Government is not unconcerned in the matter of strikes. I leave these people the choice of whether they desire consideration as criminal slanderers or fools. If you had a Government which wanted another peace than the overwhelming majority of the population; if you had a Government which was continuing the war because of annexationist intentions, then the battle of the country behind the front against the Government might be comprehensible.

Since the Government wants exactly what the majority of the monarchy wants—an honorable peace as soon as possible without annexations—it is madness to attack it in the back, slander it, and disturb it. Those who do that do not fight against the Government, but blindly against the peoples whom they pretend to wish to help and against themselves. * * * If you have confidence in me to conduct peace negotiations, then you ought to assist me. If you have not that confidence, then you ought to dismiss me. There is no third way.

President Wilson's Reply to Hertling and Czernin

[Address delivered before Congress Feb. 11, 1918]

ON the 8th of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our people conceive them. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the 5th of January. To these addresses the German Chancellor replied on the 24th, and Count Czernin for Austria on the same day. It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of views on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address on the 8th of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own Government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two Governments.

He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them; but in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

GERMAN REPLY ANALYZED

Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads it is not clear where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes the unfortunate impression made by what we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk.

His discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions. He refuses to apply them to the substantive items which must

constitute the body of any final settlement. He is jealous of international action and of international council. He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined, at any rate in this case, to generalities, and that the several particular questions of territory and sovereignty, the several questions upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the twenty-three States now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general council, but severally by the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood.

He agrees that the seas should be free, but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order. He would without reserve be glad to see economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military party, with whom he seems constrained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objection to a limitation of armaments. That matter will be settled of itself, he thinks, by the economic conditions which must follow the war. But the German colonies, he demands, must be returned without debate. He will discuss with no one but the representatives of Russia what disposition shall be made of the peoples and the lands of the Baltic provinces; with no one but the Government of France the "conditions" under which French territory shall be evacuated; and only with Austria what shall be done with Poland.

In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan States he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman Empire, to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, effected

in this fashion, by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steady against external disturbance.

It must be evident to every one who understands what this war has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace, no peace worth the infinite sacrifices of these years of tragical suffering, can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna. We can not and will not return to that.

PEACE OF THE WORLD

What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice—no mere peace of shreds and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is, in fact, living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag resolutions of the 19th of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace, not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between State and State.

The peace of the world depends upon the just settlement of each of the several problems to which I adverted in my recent address to the Congress. I, of course, do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unbiased justice, with a view to the wishes, the natural connections, the racial aspirations, the security and peace of mind of the peoples involved, no permanent peace will have been attained.

They cannot be discussed separately or in corners. None of them constitutes a private or separate interest from which the opinion of the world may be shut out. Whatever affects the peace affects mankind, and nothing settled by military

force, if settled wrong, is settled at all. It will presently have to be reopened.

NATIONS ARE JUDGING

Is Count von Hertling not aware that he is speaking in the court of mankind, that all the awakened nations of the world now sit in judgment on what every public man, of whatever nation, may say on the issues of a conflict which has spread to every region of the world? The Reichstag resolutions of July themselves frankly accepted the decisions of that court. There shall be no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages. Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril.

We cannot have general peace for the asking or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful States. All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it, because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain, and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment whether it be right and fair, an act of justice, rather than a bargain between sovereigns.

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE

The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settlements she has suggested are not the best or the most enduring. They are only her own provisional sketch of principles, and of the way in which they should be applied.

But she entered this war because she was made a partner, whether she would

or not, in the sufferings and indignities inflicted by the military masters of Germany against the peace and security of mankind; and the conditions of peace will touch her as nearly as they will touch any other nation to which is intrusted a leading part in the maintenance of civilization. She cannot see her way to peace until the causes of this war are removed, its renewal rendered, as nearly as may be, impossible.

This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiances and their own forms of political life. Covenants must now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future; and those covenants must be backed by the united force of all the nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost.

COMMERCIAL SETTLEMENTS

If territorial settlements and the political relations of great populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful Governments which consider themselves most directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, why may not economic questions also? It has come about in the altered world in which we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international dealing as much as access to raw materials and fair and equal conditions of trade.

Count von Hertling wants the essential bases of commercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by common agreement and guarantee, but he cannot expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be determined by the articles of peace are not handled in the same way as items in the final accounting. He cannot ask the benefit of common agreement in the one field without according it in the other. I take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and the essential materials of manufacture would afford no foundation for peace. Neither, he may rest assured, will separate and selfish

compacts with regard to provinces and peoples.

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes, and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland, made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another, is a matter of European concern, and must, of course, be conceded; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind.

If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, it must, of course, be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much further had it not been for the embarrassments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

FUNDAMENTALS OF PEACE

After all, the test of whether it is possible for either Government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

First—That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Second—That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that,

Third—Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States; and,

Fourth—That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost

satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected, the objectors have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their voices audible. The tragical circumstance is that this one party in Germany is apparently willing and able to send millions of men to their death to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

CAN NEVER TURN BACK

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength

will be put into this war of emancipation—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers—whatever the difficulties and present partial delays.

We are indomitable in our power of independent action, and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We believe that our own desire for a new international order, under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail, is the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back.

I hope it is not necessary for me to add that no word of what I have said is intended as a threat. That is not the temper of our people. I have spoken thus only that the whole world may know the true spirit of America—that men everywhere may know that our passion for justice and for self-government is no mere passion of words, but a passion which, once set in motion, must be satisfied. The power of the United States is a menace to no nation or people. It will never be used in aggression or for the aggrandizement of any selfish interest of our own. It springs out of freedom and is for the service of freedom.

Premier Lloyd George on the Central Powers' Views

[Delivered in Parliament Feb. 12, 1918]

After stating that he would reply to the questions of the opposition as represented by Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George said:

THE Government stand by the considered declaration of war aims which I made on behalf of my colleagues to the trade union representatives early this year. I read with profound disappointment the replies given to President Wilson's speech and to one which I de-

livered on behalf of the Government by the German Chancellor and Count Czernin. It is perfectly true that, as far as the tone is concerned, there was a deal of difference between the Austrian and German speeches; but I wish I could believe there was a difference in the substance.

I cannot altogether accept that interpretation of Count Czernin's speech. It was extraordinarily civil and friendly in

tone, but when you come to the real substance of the demands put forward by the Allies it was adamant.

Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia were put in exactly the same category as Belgium. They were apparently to be restored to the Turks on the same terms as Germany was to restore Belgium. When you come to the demands of Italy, Count Czernin said that certain offers had been made before the war to Italy, and they were now withdrawn as far as the Slavonic population of Austria was concerned.

It was a purely polite statement to President Wilson and to others that it was none of their business to inquire. There was not a single definite question dealt with about which Count Czernin did not present a most resolute refusal to discuss any terms which might be regarded as possible terms of peace.

HERTLING HARDLY SERIOUS

When you come to the German reply, it is very difficult for any one to believe that Count von Hertling could be even serious about some of the demands which were put forward.

What was his answer to the very moderate terms put forward by the Allies? His answer was that Great Britain was to give up her coaling stations throughout the world, and he named half a dozen. That demand was put forward for the first time, and I confess that I think that it was the last demand that Germany ought decently to have put forward. These coaling stations have been as accessible to the Germans as to British ships in the past.

The German fleet has always received most hospitable treatment at all these coaling stations, and in 1913 something like fifty to sixty German men-of-war and transports visited these stations, where they received exactly the same treatment as British men-of-war. The same thing applies to German merchant ships.

This demand is the best possible proof that the German Empire, or those who at present are in control of it, are not in the mood to discuss reasonable terms of peace with the Allies. I regret it

profoundly, but it is no use crying peace when there is no peace. These terms were examined carefully, with a real desire to find something in them which indicated that the Central Powers were coming somewhere near a basis of agreement. I confess that that examination of these two speeches proved profoundly disappointing to those who are sincerely anxious to find a real and genuine desire for peace in them.

GERMAN INSINCERITY SHOWN

The action of Germany in reference to Russia proves that all her declarations about no annexations and no indemnities have no real meaning. No answer has been given in regard to Belgium which any one can regard as satisfactory. There is no reference to Poland or the legitimate claims of France for the restoration of her lost provinces, and no word is said about the men of the Italian race and tongue who are now under Austrian rule.

As to Turkey, there was nothing said by either Count von Hertling or Count Czernin indicating that they are prepared to recognize the rights of the Allies in regard either to Mesopotamia or Turkey. There was nothing but pure denial of those rights.

Until there is some better proof than is contained in these speeches that the Central Powers are prepared to consider the war aims of the Allies it will be our regrettable duty to make all preparations necessary in order to establish international right in the world.

My right honorable friend [Asquith] asked me questions in regard to the Versailles conference. He seemed to think it possible to answer them without giving away any information as to the conduct of our actual military operations. It is no use giving partial information, and I think that if he will reflect as to the character of the decisions there arrived at, he will find it is impossible to make a statement to the House as to those decisions without giving information as to the plans of the Allies.

Just let the House consider what the position is. It is perfectly true that when in November I came here after the Rapallo conference to announce that an International Council had been set up for

the purpose of conducting the strategy of the Allies, I then stated that it was not the intention of the Allies that it should have any executive functions.

What has happened since then? Since then Russia has gone out of the war. Since then a very considerable number of German divisions have actually left the eastern front and been brought to the west. The situation has become very much more menacing than it was at that time, and the Allies met at Versailles to consider the best method of meeting that menace during 1918.

Up to the present the Allies have had an overwhelming majority of troops upon the western front. That is giving no military information away. Gradually, even rapidly, that superiority has diminished, especially during the last few weeks. In spite of the undertaking given by the Germans to the Russians that during the period of the armistice no troops would be moved from the east to the west, they are moving them as speedily as railway and transport arrangements will allow. That has to be kept in mind when we discuss terms of peace, because it has a real bearing upon guarantees.

NEW WAR SITUATION

That was the situation with which we were confronted at Versailles. Up to this year there was no attack which the Germans could bring to bear upon either our army or upon the French Army which could not in the main have been dealt with by the reserves of each individual army.

The situation has been completely changed by the enormous reinforcements brought from the east to the west, and the allied representatives at Versailles had to consider the best methods of dealing with a situation which was a completely different one from what it was before.

It is absolutely essential that the whole strength of the armies of France, Britain, Italy, and America should be made available for the point at which the attack comes. Where would the blow come? Will it come here, or there, or there? Who can tell? All we know is that it is preparing. They have a gigantic railway system behind, which can

swing it here and there, and it is essential that arrangements should have been made by which the Allies should treat their armies as one to meet the danger and menace, wherever it comes.

That was the problem with which we were confronted at Versailles, and if we had not dealt with it we should have been guilty of gross dereliction of duty. What happened there? In old conferences to which I have been accustomed the military members met there together, and the civilian members met there, and then the military members came there with a written document stating what they had decided. I don't mind saying that as conferences to discuss strategy they were pure farce.

UNANIMITY IN COUNCIL

Here we had for days civilian members and military members sitting together—four or five days. Commanders in Chief were there; Chiefs of Staff were there; military representatives were there; the Prime Ministers of three countries were there, and other Ministers as well.

Discussions took place freely during the whole of those days, and the military members took part as freely as the civilian members, and there was an interchange of views; and let me say this: that the result of it was that complete unanimity was established. There was no division of opinion upon any resolution which was to come.

With regard to this critical action which is involved in the extension of the Versailles power I must speak with caution, because I am talking of military decisions in a War Council. Ah! I wish there had been some one in Germany and in Austria whose ears were glued to the keyhole of the War Council of Austria and Germany, and who published their decisions in the newspapers! The man who had done that, who would tell us what arrangements the Austrians and Germans have come to together, co-ordinated in order most effectively to attack our force—he would be worth twenty army corps to the Allies.

When talking about the War Council and its decision I have got to talk with caution, because if information is to be

given away to the enemy I had rather the responsibility were on other shoulders than mine.

I know what it means. There are millions of gallant lives depending upon it. The honor and safety of our native land depends upon it. Those great war aims upon which the future of the world depends depend upon it, and to give away information that will imperil that is treason. I decline to do it.

SECURITY OF ARMIES

It is enough for me to say that decisions that were come to there were come to unanimously. We have got to consider the best methods of carrying them out; and may I say the word further? There is no army whose security more depends upon those conditions being carried out than the British Army.

I felt flattered in France, and I felt flattered at the council, when I realized that this new army which has sprung into being in the course of the last two or three years has been intrusted by France, with its great army, with the defense of its capital, with the defense of the most vital parts of France—all voluntarily handed over by France to the defense of the British Army—and the demand of France was not that we should take less, but take more—or the responsibility. That in itself is a vote of confidence on the part of France in the gallantry and prowess of our army.

And let me say here a word as to leadership. My right honorable friend talks about the leadership of the army. No man has talked of it in more glowing terms than I did at this very table. I do not withdraw a syllable of what I said then, but I do beg the House and my right honorable friend, who has had the responsibility of two or three years of conduct of the war—I beg him not to press the Government to give information which any intelligence officer on the other side would gladly pay large sums of money to get as to the arrangements which this country and the Allies have made for countering that great blow.

[At this point the Premier was interrupted by former Premier Asquith, who

resented the imputation in the preceding remark. Premier Lloyd George replied that he intended no reflection. Continuing, he said:]

We took the opinion not merely of the Council at Versailles, but each of the separate representatives referred it to their Governments at home, and it was only after we had the reply of each separate Government that in their judgment it would be undesirable to publish these facts that we issued the prohibition to the press. Again I say, does my right honorable friend wish to take the responsibility of forcing the Government to publish information which the whole of the allied representatives at Versailles deemed undesirable for publication, which each separate Government considered afterward on a report of their representatives and came to the same decision upon it? I cannot believe it.

[A member: "You have said too much already."]

I quite agree. What can be gained? Is it suggested that when the whole of the allied powers were in agreement as to the desirability of doing this, Great Britain should stand out? This was something that was agreed upon after the most mature discussion. When you are conducting a war there are questions which the Government must decide. The House of Commons, if it is not satisfied, in my judgment has but one way of dealing with the situation. It can change the Government.

HAIG AND ROBERTSON ASSENTED

This is a military decision, and a military decision of the first magnitude, a military decision at which some of the greatest soldiers of the Allies were present.

Mr. Lambert—Did Sir Douglas Haig and Sir William Robertson approve of this decision?

Lloyd George—Certainly. They were present. I could carry it further with regard to that. It is very difficult. The House must realize that I am anxious not to give information which would be of the slightest help to the enemy. It cannot possibly be of any help to the allied partnership. There is only one way when you go to councils of war. You must

leave it to those who are there to decide. If you have no confidence in them, whether military or civil, there is only one way—to change them.

[Mr. Lloyd George denounced as an "absolute and unmitigated falsehood" the implication that the Government was in any way privy to any newspaper agitation directed against Generals Haig and Robertson, and dispelled the idea that the Government was out of sympathy with them or with their viewpoint. The Gov-

ernment was sustained by a vote of 159 to 28. A change, however, occurred in the High Command. It was announced Feb. 17 that Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial Staff, had resigned, and had also declined to accept appointment as military representative on the Supreme War Council. General Sir Henry Wilson, Sub-Chief, succeeded as Chief of Staff; he was former Director of Military Operations at headquarters; an Irishman, aged 54.]

Speeches by King George and Kaiser Wilhelm

King George, in his speech from the throne on Feb. 12, said:

The aims for which I and my allies are contending were recently set forth by my Government in a statement which received the emphatic approval of my peoples throughout the empire and provided a fair basis for settlement of the present struggle and re-establishment of national rights and international peace in the future.

The German Government has, however, ignored our just demands that it should make restitution for the wrongs it has committed and furnish guarantees against their unprovoked repetition. Its spokesmen refuse any obligations for themselves, while denying rightful liberties of others. Until a recognition is offered of the only principles on which an honorable peace can be concluded it is our duty to prosecute the war with all the vigor we possess.

Kaiser Wilhelm, in replying, on Feb. 11, to an address presented by the Burgomaster of Hamburg on the conclusion of peace with the Ukraine, said:

We have gone through hard times. Every one has had a burden to bear— anxiety, mourning, grief, tribulation—and not the least he who stands before you. In him were combined the care and grief for the entire people in its sorrows.

We often entered false paths. The Lord pointed out to us by a hard school

the path by which we should go. The world, however, at the same time has not been on the right path. We Germans, who still have ideals, should work to bring about better times. We should fight for right and morality. Our Lord God wishes us to have peace, but a peace wherein the world will strive to do what is right and good.

We ought to bring peace to the world. We shall seek in every way to do it. Such an end was achieved yesterday in a friendly manner with an enemy which, beaten by our armies, perceives no reason for fighting longer, extends a hand to us, and receives our hand. We clasp hands. But he who will not accept peace, but on the contrary declines, pouring out the blood of his own and of our people, must be forced to have peace. We desire to live in friendship with neighboring peoples, but the victory of German arms must first be recognized. Our troops under the great Hindenburg will continue to win it. Then peace will come.

On Feb. 12, in a telegram to the manager of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, the Kaiser said:

Many thanks for your congratulations over our first peace. It is only a small beginning made by Germany's sword against the closed door leading to a general peace. I am filled with gratitude. May God help further.

Military Events of the Month

From January 17 to February 16, 1918

By Walter Littlefield

AGAIN it has been a month in which the interest in tactics has surpassed that in strategy. The movements on the western front, whether conducted by patrols or aircraft, have been almost entirely those of reconnoissance. There was a natural curiosity to divine the position of the American troops and their movements, and a keen military interest in the closing of the last two gates which lead to the Venetian plains.

But all these things have been subordinated, in the official as well as the public mind, to the movement of Teutonic troops westward. In some respects this matter remains problematical at the present writing; nor have the political manoeuvres of the Ukraine, the Bolsheviks, or the conflicting stories which have emanated from Rumania and Besarabia furnished any true key to the situation. It is known, however, that in the last month Germany has sent west a maximum of 40,000 men, between the ages of 25 and 35, as the skeletons of twenty or more divisions; and that a few battalions of Austro-Hungarian troops were probably removed from Bukowina and Rumania for refitting. All else apparently remains as indicated in this review a month ago.

On the French front or near it there are not more than 1,000,000 Germans, from the North Sea to St. Quentin, a sector of 135 miles; not more than 600,000 on the Vauquois-St. Mihiel (the Verdun) sector of 55 miles, while elsewhere on the static sectors, measuring 270 miles, there are possibly 1,350,000. The 75,000 carefully selected German troops moved between Oct. 1 and Jan. 18 from the Russian front westward to their refitting depots on the watershed of the Moselle and Rhine, or behind the latter, as the skeletons of fifty divisions, have not yet reached

their maximum strength of 700,000. On the Russian front there remain 1,085,000 (1,200,000 minus 75,000 plus 40,000) in skeleton division formations. The total in the west, therefore, remains probably below the maximum of 3,650,000. And the German mobile division still remains under the maximum of 20,000 men. A month ago it was calculated at 13,000. Since then some official observers have placed the figure at 12,000; others as low as 10,000.

On the Italian front of 200 miles there were, a month ago, according to Italian official observers, sixty divisions, of which forty-nine were Austro-Hungarian. In all they believed the enemy's strength here to reach 1,200,000 men.

G. H. Perris, who is with the French armies in the field, stated on Feb. 2 that "the number of German divisions on the western front is now between 180 and 190, and of these 115 are in the line and 65 to 75 in reserve." These divisions were calculated to contain "rather more than 10,000 combatants" each.

Major Gen. Frederick B. Maurice, Chief Director of the British War Office, said on Feb. 6:

The chief event of military importance in the past month has been the continued movement of German troops to the west front. We long ago calculated the rate at which this movement could be carried on, and it is not going on any faster than expected. The Germans are now stronger on the west front than at any time during the war, but they are not yet numerically equal to the Franco-British forces.

An authorized military statement appearing in the *Echo of Paris* on Feb. 8 contained the information that the Germans had at the outside in the west 174 divisions, estimated at 12,000 men each, (2,088,000 men,) which was only 21 more (about 252,000 men) than at the time of the allied offensive last Spring, when the enemy was proved to be on the defensive at every point.

A French official statement issued from the Grand Headquarters five days later contained this passage:

One hundred and twelve divisions (1,344,000 troops at 12,000 men to a division) occupy the German front line facing the French, British, American, and Belgian troops, while their immediate reserves total sixty-three divisions, (756,000 men, or 2,100,000 in all.) * * * At any rate, it is agreed by the authorities here that the greatest possible number the Germans could add to their forces on the western front does not exceed twenty divisions, which would bring the total to 195 divisions, (2,340,000 men.)

UNENDING TRENCH RAIDS

Most of the movements on the western front during the last thirty days come within the category known as reconnaissance—even those on the American sector and in the air over the German depots in the neighborhood of the Rhine. Exceptions to the general character of the actions have been heavy German bombardments followed by raids, which were for a short time successful on the French positions east of Nieuport, and turned to nought in Champagne and at Verdun, and the taking over by the British of the French sector enveloping the southwestern suburbs of St. Quentin, on Jan. 26. Yet, day after day the French have reported with frequency, suggestive, when paralleled with the vivid accounts from the fronts of Crown Prince Rupprecht, the Imperial Crown Prince, and the Grand Duke Albrecht: "*A notre aile gauche, rien de nouveau.*" Yet all the time the unending struggle has gone on, positions being taken, lost, and retaken, while the eyes of the air have sought to penetrate the secrets of the earth.

On Jan. 17, what promised to be an important series of German raids west of the Oise were repulsed by the French. A week later the Germans, preceded by bombardment, made a spirited attack on the sector of Hill 344, and the front of Chaume Wood, (Verdun front,) only to meet with the same result. On the 25th it was the British who received the attention of the enemy by cannon and infantry attack between the Lys and Poelcappelle, near the coal pits of Lens, and on both sides of the Scarpe. On the 27th

the British repulsed an incipient assault on their line south of Lens. And so the first month of the year ended.

RAIDING PARTIES REPULSED

On Feb. 3 a French detachment captured a German post of thirty men on the Aisne front, while the British east of Polygon Wood, on the Ypres sector, drove back a hostile raiding party. From the 5th to the 6th the Germans, taking advantage of the fine weather, carried on a brisk bombardment from Passchendaele, on the Ypres sector, south into the Cambrai area. Simultaneously they were active east of the Meuse, in the region of Fosses Wood.

For the last fortnight the French and British seem to have had the upper hand as raiders. On the 9th the former in a raid on a post near Dioncourt bagged another garrison of thirty. On the 12th 250 fell into their hands west of Remenauville in the Woevre, and the next day they captured 100 southwest of Butte Mesnil in Champagne. On the 11th the British captured 28 southeast of Messines.

Altogether between Feb. 2 and the 9th the Imperial Crown Prince suffered seven defeats with relative heavy losses on the Verdun sector—still his cherished abattoir. Large bodies of troops were employed in every instance, yet not a single permanent advantage was gained.

The costliness of these combats of attrition cannot be judged by the bulletins announcing them, for in the week ended Jan. 21 the British casualties amounted to 17,043; Jan. 28, 8,588; Feb. 4, 6,354; Feb. 11, 7,077. In the last there were 1,433 deaths; the rest were either wounded or taken prisoners.

THE AMERICAN SECTOR

Early in October the American troops, who had been gradually concentrating in camps south of Toul and Nancy since July, began to supplement the French 47th Division on a sector lying across the Marne-Rhine Canal. This was the "quiet sector on the French front," where it was officially announced by Washington on Oct. 27 that our troops had begun the trench stage of their intensive training, and here, according to a Berlin dispatch less than a week later,

some "North American troops" were captured in a raid. Although raids and counter-raids, and artillery duels succeeded across No Man's Land on this sector, with casualties on both sides, it does not appear that the front was ever taken over in force by our troops, but was rather employed as a school under French tuition.

Early in January, however, it was learned that American regiments with artillery were actually taking the place of French troops on the southern slopes of the plain of the Woivre. This fact was simultaneously confirmed from Washington and Berlin on Jan. 31, when accounts were given out describing a German raid against the first-line trenches here on the preceding day, in which the Americans had suffered seven casualties—two killed, four wounded, and one missing—and the Germans had covered theirs by taking them away.

The bulletins of the French War Office gave the limits of this position—the French were holding Fliry and Remenauville on the east and Apremont on the west, and between were the Americans, who, according to deductions made from the localities where subsequent fighting has taken place, cover an eight-mile front.

This eight-mile sector occupies the middle of the line St. Mihiel-Pont-à-Mousson, which is the southern leg of the St. Mihiel salient established by the army from Metz in the last fortnight of September, 1914, when it attempted to pierce the French line of barrier forts, Verdun-Toul, and cross the Meuse. The angle of the salient incloses that part of the Meuse-Moselle watershed called, as has been said, the plain of the Woivre, flanked on the west by the forts of Verdun and on the east by those of Metz, lying in the bowl of the Moselle, within cannon shot of the French positions on the heights just below Pont-à-Mousson.

HISTORY OF THE SALIENT

The history of this salient is interesting. Away back in the Summer of 1912 a German company obtained a concession to establish a manufacturing plant on a piece of property near St. Mihiel. Unusually deep cellars were dug and con-

creted, but the buildings erected over them were of the flimsiest sort. The plant was soon abandoned and all entrances boarded up. Thus when the Army of Metz reached this site on Sept. 23 they found concrete emplacements already prepared for their seventeen-inch howitzers, and by them the Germans were enabled to reduce the French fort at the Roman Camp, as well as other redoubts within a seven-mile range, and to establish a bridgehead across the Meuse, which they have maintained ever since.

To strengthen this position they built a railway in March, 1915, from Thiaucourt down to St. Mihiel. In the following April the French attempted to get possession of this railway, but in vain. Little change took place on the sector facing the railway until Jan. 9 of the present year, when the French troops, soon to be replaced by American, as a parting gift to the Germans made a drive north of Seicheprey, destroying some enemy defenses recently erected and capturing prisoners. Under cover of this assault, it may be presumed, the Americans moved up to the front.

A description of the American front and what occurred there up to Feb. 18 is given on Page 423 of this issue. The nature of the terrain is graphically indicated in the full-page map herewith presented.

ON THE ITALIAN FRONT

When the snows came, in the last fortnight of December, blocking the Teuton lines of communication extending along the upper Piave—together with the railway leading down the same course from Belluno to their newly established depot at Feltre and thence to where their line crossed the river, north of Pederobba—and seriously interfering with their transportation by the two highways and one railway which lead from Trent, via the Val Sugana, down the Brenta, two gates still threatened the Plains of Veneto. In the west, there was that formed by the angle of the Brenta and the Frenzela Torrent, just above Valstagna on the road to Bassano; in the east, there was the Monte Tomba salient, extending to the enemy bridgehead on the Piave.

One was the complement of the other.

WALKER D. HINES



Chief executive aid to the Director General of Railroads. He is a well-known railroad attorney.

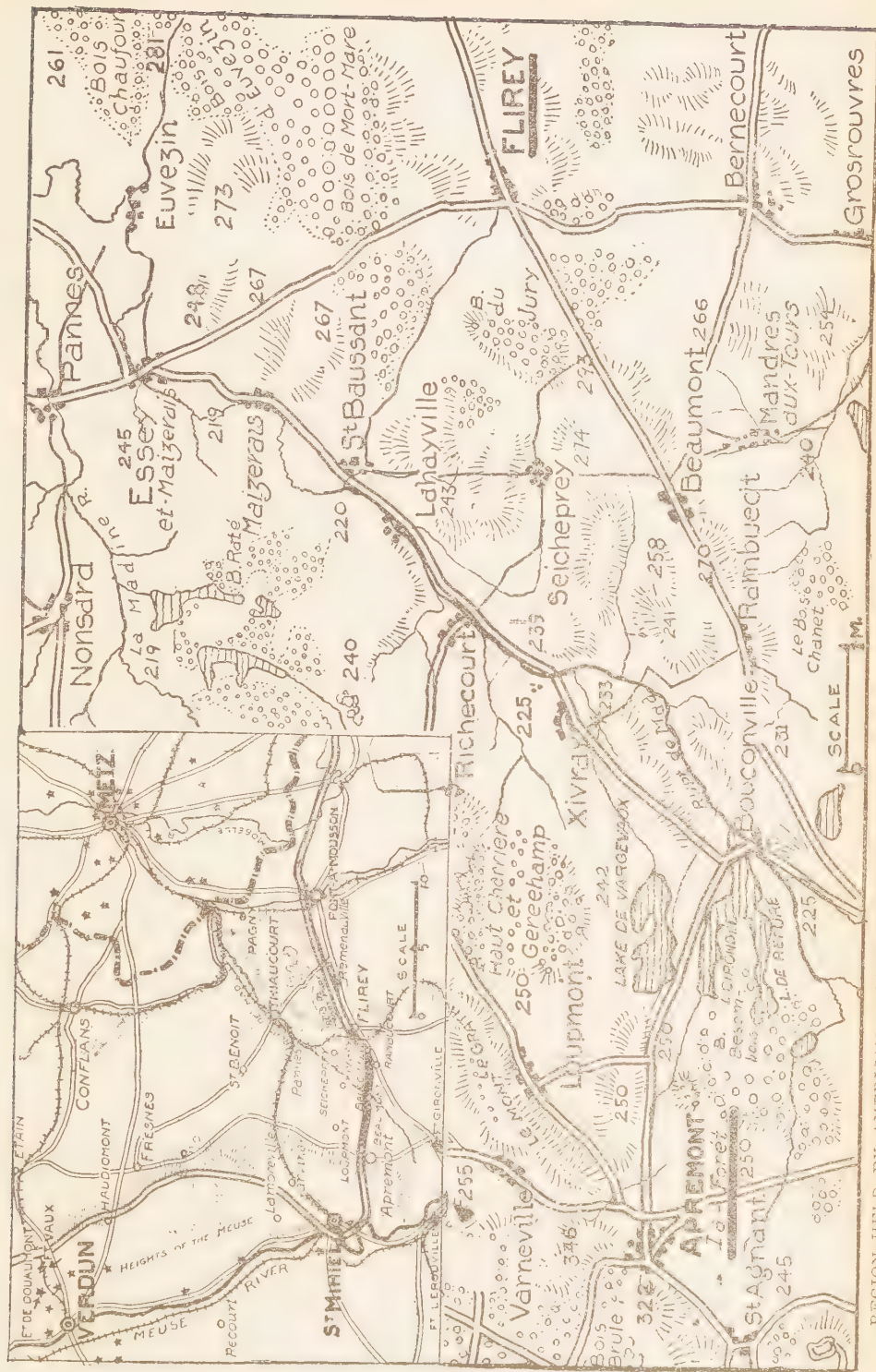
(© Harris & Ewing.)

SIGNING THE ARMISTICE AT BREST-LITOVSK, DEC. 16, 1917



Prince Leopold of Bavaria, commander of the Austro-German forces on the east front, is putting his signature to the Russo-Teutonic armistice. Sitting directly opposite him is Joffe, President of the Russian delegation.

(Photo International Film Service.)



REGION HELD BY AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE: SMALL MAP IN THE CORNER SHOWS RELATION TO WHOLE BATTLE FRONT

Each presented special strategic advantages to the invader, the successful utilization of which would lead to a widely differing employment of tactics. Valstagna was like the neck of a bottle passing through which the enemy could reach Bassano and apparently be able to cut off the 4th Italian Army lying across the northern approaches of the Monte Grappa Range, between the Brenta and the Piave. A successful drive from the Monte Tomba salient would inevitably reach Pederobba and permit the enemy, if in sufficient force, to deploy along two highways, both running southwest to the Brenta Valley, one via Possagno, Crespano, and Borso to Romano, on the slopes of the mountains, and the other, via Asolo, to Bassano, on the plains themselves. A simultaneous breaking through the gates would not only jeopardize the 4th Army and cause a hurried retreat of the 1st, lying westward before Rovereto, but it would also imperil the 2d and the 3d Armies with their French and British auxiliaries on the Piave, and cause a general retreat to the Adige line, with the surrender of the famous cities of the Venetian plains, including the Pearl of the Adriatic itself.

It became necessary, therefore, before the enemy could reinforce himself, to close the two gates. The prospect for something else was also alluring, for, while the Italians enjoyed extensive mobility and supply, the Teutons, on account of the snows, did not.

TWO ITALIAN SUCCESSES

On Dec. 31, therefore, the French troops recaptured the northern summit of Monte Tomba, which the Austrians had held since November, inflicting numerous casualties on the enemy, including 1,400 prisoners. In the middle of January the French made a drive four miles east up the Piave in the direction of Quero, which had been held by the Austrians since Nov. 15. These two movements caused the Austrians, between Jan. 20 and 23, to yield the whole salient, moving their defense line north from Monte Monfenera to the shelter of the Calcina Torrent and Monte Spinoncia, in the northern hills of which the torrent rises and then flows southeast into

the Piave four miles away. Thus the eastern gate was closed.

Then, on Jan. 28, the Italians themselves closed the other, just in time to smash an Austrian drive directed down the Nos and Campo Mulo Valleys, and captured 1,500 prisoners, including 62 officers. The Italian surprise was at once pressed home throughout the entire region, extending from south of Gallio in the Val di Nos eastward across the Frenzela Torrent, via Bertigo, Monte Sisemol, the Col del Rosso, and the Monte di Val Bella, to the Brenta.

In this series of actions, it has been reported by the Italian General Headquarters Staff, the Austrians lost, all told, close to 10,000 men. For example, their 21st Rifle Division is known to have had 5,000 men, or about 70 per cent. of its complement, put out of action. Brigades of the 18th and 6th Divisions lost 50 per cent. But the most terrible loss was inflicted on the 160th Landsturm, which had only a few hundred left. When the offensive was well under way British and French batteries joined those of the Italians, which caused an Italian staff officer to remark: "At last we have realized unity of command right in the face of the enemy fire."

ENEMY ON THE DEFENSIVE

Other actions of the month have been a putting up of more bars across the two gates on the part of the Allies, and, on the part of the enemy, attempts to take them down. On Jan. 31 the enemy, after repeated unsuccessful attempts to regain lost ground in the area of Sasso Rosso, diverted his attack to Monte di Val Bella, whence the Italians had reached by a sudden thrust at dawn the head of the Melago Valley. This attack was also quickly dispersed by the Italian artillery fire. On Feb. 10 the enemy made similar thrusts east and west of the Frenzela Torrent, and at the Italian new positions on Monte di Val Bella and Col del Rosso; again the Italian artillery knew its business and did it. On succeeding days it has been the same story, with ever-increasing evidence that the enemy is growing short of munitions and is unable to reinforce himself.

As early as Jan. 21 General Borovich

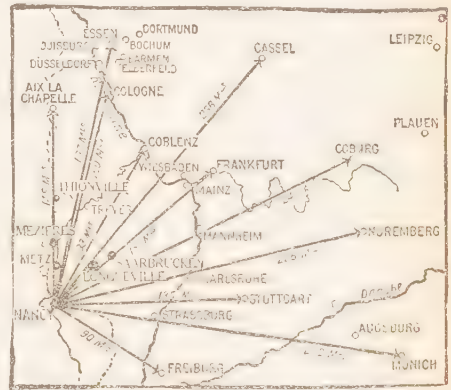
was appointed to succeed the Archduke Eugene in command of the entire enemy front against Italy. Emperor Charles looked for quick returns. He got them of a sort. Heretofore Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf had commanded the mountain front and Borovich the Piave. Conrad still commands in the north, and the promotion of Borovich to supreme command is not considered a criticism of his work—merely a sop thrown to the Slav element of Austria-Hungary, as Borovich is of Slavo-Croatian origin. It was the Archduke Eugene who planned the offensive of Austria into the Setti Comuni in May and June, 1916, which cost him between 80,000 and 100,000 men.

ACTIVITY OF AIRCRAFT

Never before has there been such activity in the air as during the period under observation. Aside from the customary bombing of the open towns of England and the open, historic towns of Italy, and the usual duels over the western front, the operations have conspicuously fallen into two categories—the bombing of the great supply stations of the Germans in the Rhine area by English, French, and American airmen, and the enormously successful offensive carried out by the Allies against the Teuton aircraft on the Italian front. Here, in a period of eleven days, fifty-six enemy airplanes were brought down in combats in which the casualties to the Italian, French, and British aviators were nil. For the first time since July 27-28, 1917, German airplanes, on Jan. 30, visited Paris, killing twenty and injuring twenty. The first American airmen to lose their lives in Italy were three cadets, who fell while training on the fields near Foggia.

Much has been written about the inhumane method of the Germans in periodically bombing the open towns of England. It has been said to have for its aim the terrorizing of the people. It is much more: it has constantly kept employed for home defense hundreds of batteries of anti-aircraft guns and hundreds of airplanes which would have taken the offensive on the Continent. When the so-called campaign of reprisals began

against German cities—not open towns, but supply and concentration posts—the enemy did not adopt the British methods of defense. They placed large bodies of prisoners in the exposed places. There is no doubt of this, as it is confirmed,



AIR RAID REPRISALS BY ALLIES—FROM NANCY AS A BASE

at least as to Stuttgart and Karlsruhe, by the Cologne Gazette of Jan. 7.

BRITISH AIR RAIDS

On Jan. 24 extensive air raids were carried out by the British against Mannheim, the principal commercial city of the Rhine Valley; against the garrison and supply towns of Treves and Saarbrücken, in Rhenish Prussia; Thionville, in German Lorraine, and enemy bases in Belgium, either concentration camps or airdromes. Mannheim, which is about 115 miles north of Nancy, has been repeatedly visited. Below the town, at the mouth of the Neckar, is Germany's great inland submarine base. On Feb. 5, French airmen dropped several tons of bombs on Saarbrücken, and on the 10th the British paid a visit to the forts of Metz and dropped ten tons of bombs on the railway tracks at Courcelles.

These raids are directed against arsenals, supply depots, lines and junctions of communication, naval repair shops, and airdromes. They seriously interfere with the enemy's movements.

BATTLE WITH TURKISH CRUISERS

On Sunday morning, Jan. 20, the British naval forces in the Eastern Mediterranean engaged the German battle cruiser Goeben, (Turkish name Sultan Selim),

the light cruiser Breslau, (Turkish name Midullu,) and destroyers. The Breslau was sunk, the Goeben was beached, and then escaped into the Dardanelles. The two German ships mentioned are those which, at the beginning of the war, escaped from Admiral Troubridge's clutches, reached the Golden Horn, and, before Turkey entered the war, were announced as having been sold to her and receiving Turkish names and the Turkish flag.

As genuine naval actions are rare nowadays the full British Admiralty report on the engagement may prove of interest:

At 5:20 A. M., (Jan. 20,) when his Majesty's destroyer Lizard was about two miles from the northeasterly point of Imbros on patrol duty, she sighted Breslau steaming in a northerly direction to the southeast of Cape Kephala, shortly followed by Goeben, about a mile astern.

His Majesty's ship Lizard at once gave the alarm, and, opening fire, proceeded to keep in as close touch as possible with the enemy ships. Goeben and Breslau engaged Lizard at about 11,000 yards, straddling her without hitting.

Goeben now sighted the monitors in Kusu Bay, on the northeast corner of Imbros, and engaged them, Breslau continuing to engage Lizard, who was prevented from closing to torpedo range by the accuracy of the enemy's fire at shorter range.

His Majesty's destroyer Tigress now joined Lizard, and the two destroyers endeavored to cover the monitors by forming a smoke screen, in attempting which they were subjected to an accurate fire from Goeben. Meanwhile his Majesty's ship Raglan had been heavily hit and sunk, and the small monitor M-28, which was on fire amidships, blew up and finally disappeared about 6 A. M. The enemy then ceased fire and altered course to the southward.

Tigress and Lizard, observing that trawlers were coming to the assistance of the monitors, followed the enemy. At 7 A. M., when Breslau was about six miles south of Kephala, a large explosion was observed abreast her after-funnel. Two or three minutes later three more explosions took place, and at 7:10 she sank by the stern, heeling over as she went down. On seeing Breslau sink Goeben turned and circled round her once, and then continued on her southerly course.

Immediately after this four enemy destroyers were sighted coming out of the Dardanelles, supported by an old Turkish cruiser. Tigress and Lizard at once en-

gaged the enemy destroyers, which hurriedly retired up the strait, the nearest one being hit repeatedly and set on fire.

Goeben continued on her southerly course until an attack by our aircraft forced her to alter course and head for the Dardanelles.

In the act of turning, however, she struck a mine, which caused her to settle down aft with a list of 10 to 15 degrees, and which considerably reduced her speed. She proceeded slowly up the Dardanelles, escorted by enemy seaplanes and the four Turkish destroyers, which had returned to her assistance.

Our aircraft repeatedly attacked her and obtained two direct hits when off Chanak. Goeben was now in such a damaged condition that she was steered for the shore, and was beached at the extreme end of Nagara Point, about 100 yards from the lighthouse. Shortly after beaching two more direct hits were made on her by our aircraft, who were heavily engaged by several enemy seaplanes. In the encounters which took place one of our seaplanes failed to return.

The shore batteries at Cape Helles then opened an accurate fire on Tigress and Lizard, who had been following Goeben, and in view of the activity of our naval aircraft the two destroyers retired out of range and proceeded to rescue the survivors of Breslau.

During these operations the periscope of a submarine was sighted, and the work of rescue was seriously interfered with while the destroyers hunted the submarine.

The German survivors from Breslau expressed intense dislike for the Turks, and stated that they had hoped to be sent back to Germany on Goeben's return to Constantinople after the raid.

Our aircraft reported on Monday afternoon that Goeben was still ashore in the same position. She is still being bombed.

The Turkish report of the encounter sent by wireless to Berlin on Jan. 21 reads as follows:

In a clever attack the Sultan Selim, the Midullu, and some torpedo boats advanced yesterday out of the Dardanelles, in order to destroy enemy forces which had been located near Imbros. Two enemy monitors, the Raglan, (4,500 tons,) with two 35.6 centimeter (14-inch) guns, and M-28, (500 tons,) with one 23.4 centimeter (9.2-inch) gun and one 15.2 centimeter (6-inch) gun, a transport ship of 2,000 tons, a signal station, and numerous munition depots were destroyed. Lively aerial activity reigned on both sides. An enemy airplane was shot down in an aerial fight and a second was seriously damaged. The coastal batteries successfully bombarded enemy torpedo boats. On the return the Midullu was sunk by striking several mines.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From
January 18, 1918, Up to and Including February 15, 1918

UNITED STATES

A bill providing for the creation of a Department of Munitions was introduced in Congress by Senator Chamberlain on Jan. 5, and on Jan. 22 he introduced a bill providing for a War Cabinet. Both measures were opposed by President Wilson.

Secretary Baker, in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs in defense of the work of the War Department Jan. 28, announced that 500,000 men would be in France early in 1918, and 1,000,000 more would be sent before the end of the year.

Announcement was made on Jan. 31 that United States troops were occupying first-line trenches. On the same day news was received of a German raid on the American line, in which two Americans were killed, four wounded, and one reported missing. On Feb. 3 an official statement was made that Americans were on the Lorraine front. Two Americans were killed and nine wounded in the bombardment of that sector. American prisoners were taken at Xivry Feb. 9. From that date on daily reports of trench raids, with a few casualties, were received.

Major Gen. Peyton C. March was appointed Chief of the General Staff of the army Feb. 1.

New regulations to prevent goods leaving the United States in neutral bottoms from reaching Germany, and to make it impossible for ships to supply submarines, went into effect Feb. 1 by order of the War Trade Board. On Feb. 15 President Wilson issued proclamations making subject to control by license the entire foreign commerce of the United States.

The War Finance Corporation bill was introduced in the House and Senate Feb. 4.

Nine German subjects and two American citizens, among the former Franz von Rintelen, were convicted and sentenced for attempting to blow up the British transatlantic cargo steamer Kirk Oswald.

A bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Overman on Feb. 6 to give the President unrestricted power to co-ordinate and consolidate all Governmental activities as a war emergency.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Announcement was made on Jan. 30 that since the launching of unrestricted submarine warfare on Feb. 1, 1917, 69 Amer-

ican ships, totaling 171,061 gross tons, had been sunk by submarines, mines, and raiders, and 300 persons drowned. To offset this loss, 107 German and Austrian ships, having a gross tonnage of 686,494, were seized and added to the American merchant marine, 426 vessels totaling more than 2,000,000 tons were requisitioned through the Shipping Board, and contracts were awarded for 884 more ships.

The total tonnage lost by Allies and neutrals from Jan. 1, 1917, to Jan. 26, 1918, was 6,617,000. Great Britain lost 1,169 ships.

A statement made in the British House of Commons on Feb. 5 revealed the fact that German U-boats had killed 14,120 non-combatant British men, women, and children since the beginning of the war.

England's losses for the week ended Jan. 19 included eight ships of over 1,000 tons; for the week ended Jan. 26, nine; for the week ended Feb. 2, ten, and for the week ended Feb. 9, nineteen. The armed escort vessel Mechanician was torpedoed in the English Channel on Jan. 30 and thirteen men were lost. The Cunard liner Andania was torpedoed off the Ulster coast Jan. 27, and her sister ship, the Aurania, was attacked Feb. 6, but remained afloat. The Irish steamship Cork was sunk Jan. 28, and twelve persons were lost. On Jan. 21 the armed boarding steamer Louvain was sunk in the Mediterranean, with a loss of 217 lives.

The British steamer Tuscania, serving as a transport for American troops, was sunk off the coast of Ireland on Feb. 5. Eighty-two known dead were reported, and 216 were unaccounted for.

The American freighter Alamance was sunk off the English coast Feb. 6, and six lives were lost.

The Argentine steamship Ministro Irriendo was sunk in the Mediterranean Jan. 26. On Feb. 1, Argentina's military and naval attachés were recalled from Berlin and Vienna.

French and Italian losses averaged one or two ships of over 1,600 tons weekly.

The Swedish steamship Fridland, loaded with grain from an American port, was torpedoed Feb. 7. Six men were killed.

Spain sent a protest to the German Government, Feb. 7, against the looting and torpedoing of the Spanish steamer Giralda on Jan. 26. Announcement was made on Feb. 9 that the Spanish steamship Sebastian was torpedoed while on its way to New York, and the Italian ship Duca di

Genova was reported sunk in Spanish territorial waters. The sinking of another Spanish ship, the *Ceferino*, was announced Feb. 13.

The Norwegian Government announced that from the outbreak of the war to the end of January, 1918, a total of 714 Norwegian ships, of 1,050,583 gross tonnage, had been sunk, and 883 seamen had lost their lives. Fifty-three other ships, with more than 700 members of their crews, were reported missing.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Jan. 18—German raids south and west of the Oise repulsed by the French.

Jan. 23—Germans gain footing east of Nieuport, but are expelled in counterattack.

Jan. 26—French repulse German raids west of St. Gobain, between the Oise and the Ailette Rivers.

Jan. 29—French penetrate deep German intrenchments in Upper Alsace.

Feb. 1—Two Americans killed, four wounded, and one missing after German raid on their salient.

Feb. 3—Germans bombard American sector on the Lorraine front; two Americans killed, nine wounded.

Feb. 4—French repulse a raid west of Fresnes.

Feb. 5—Fighting renewed in the sector held by Americans.

Feb. 6—Violent artillery engagement on the Verdun front.

Feb. 9—American prisoners taken at Xivry; French repulse German raids in the region of Nieuport and Juincourt and Moronvilliers.

Feb. 10—German attack near Caurières Wood repulsed; Australians raid German positions southeast of Messines.

Feb. 13—French penetrate German third-line positions southwest of Butte-Mesnil; Canadians and Germans engage in hand-to-hand combats northwest of Passchendaele.

Feb. 14-15—American gunners aid French raid in the Champagne sector, between Tahure and Butte de Mesnil.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Jan. 19—Italians on the Lower Piave repulse attack on the Capo Sile bridgehead.

Jan. 24—Teutons evacuate territory on the Monte Tomba front from the Piave River westward and move their defense lines back to Monte Spinoncia.

Jan. 29—Italians break Teuton lines at several points east of the Asiago Plateau and disperse reinforcements which are rushed through the Nos and Campo Mulo Valleys.

Jan. 30—Italians extend their gains on the Asiago Plateau, taking Monte di Val Bella.

Jan. 31—Italians advance northeast of Col del Rosso.

Feb. 1—Italians advance their lines as far as the head of the Melago Valley.

Feb. 2—Teutons repulsed at Monte di Val Bella.

Feb. 11—Italians shatter violent attacks west of the Brenta River.

NAVAL RECORD

The Turkish cruiser *Midullu*, formerly the German *Breslau*, was sunk by a mine, and the Sultan *Yavuz Selim*, formerly the German *Goeben*, was beached, after an engagement with British forces at the entrance to the Dardanelles on Jan. 20. The British lost the monitor *Raglan* and the small monitor *M-28*. The *Goeben* was later refloated and entered the Dardanelles. The British submarine *E-14*, which was sent into the Dardanelles on the night of Jan. 27 to complete the destruction of the *Goeben*, was sunk off Kum Kale.

Ostend was bombarded by allied naval forces on Jan. 20 and Feb. 6.

The French freight transport *La Drome* and the trawler *Kerbihan* were sunk by mines off Marseilles Jan. 23. Forty-five men were lost on the *Drome*.

Italian torpedo craft forced their way west of Dalmatia into the Bay of Buccari, Feb. 11, and torpedoed the largest Austrian steamer anchored there.

A raiding flotilla of German destroyers sunk eight British boats that were hunting submarines in the Strait of Dover Feb. 15.

AERIAL RECORD

British aviators, on the nights of Jan. 21 and 24, raided towns in the occupied parts of Belgium and in German Lorraine. Mannheim, Treves, Saarbrücken, and Thionville were bombarded.

Several raids were made on towns in Italy.

On the night of Jan. 26 Austrian airmen dropped bombs on Treviso and Mestre, killing three women. Three hospitals at Mestre were damaged, and two Americans, William Platt and Richard Cutts Fairfield, who were attached to the American Red Cross, were killed at Mestre. Venice, Padua, Treviso, and Mestre were attacked Feb. 4 and 6. In the raid on the 4th eight citizens were killed at Treviso and the Church of San Lorenzo was wrecked. Five enemy machines were brought down on the 5th. Calliano, Bassano, Treviso, and Mestre were raided on Feb. 6. Announcement was made that between Jan. 26 and Feb. 7 fifty-six Teuton airplanes had been brought down by the Allies on the Italian front. An Italian aviator dropped a ton of bombs on the hostile aviation grounds at Motta di Livenza Feb. 6.

London was raided on the night of Jan. 28. Fifty-eight persons were killed and 173 injured. The next night another raid was made and ten persons were killed and ten injured.

Paris and its suburbs were attacked on the night of Jan. 30. Forty-five persons were killed and 207 injured.

Announcement was made Feb. 3 that Ger-

many had tried two British airmen by court-martial and sentenced them to ten years' imprisonment for dropping a hostile proclamation in Germany.

RUSSIA, RUMANIA, POLAND

On Jan. 18 the Revolutionary Committee of the Ninth Russian Army sent a two-hour ultimatum to the Rumanian military authorities demanding free passage for Russian troops through Jassy. King Ferdinand was placed under the protection of the Allies. The Russians were defeated at Galatz on Jan. 26. The Bolshevik Government severed diplomatic relations with Rumania on Jan. 28, and Rumanian Legation and Consular officials were ordered out of Russia. Lieut. Gen. Tcherbatcheff was outlawed. Kishenev was occupied by the Rumanians on Feb. 1, and on the same day the Bolsheviks seized Rumanian ships in the Black Sea. The Rumanian Cabinet resigned Feb. 10 after receiving an ultimatum from Germany demanding that peace negotiations be begun in four days.

The Constituent Assembly, which met at Petrograd on Jan. 19, was dissolved on Jan. 20 by the Council of National Commissioners, although the All-Russian Railway Men's Congress passed a resolution supporting it and calling upon the People's Commissaries to aid the majority in forming a Government responsible to the assembly. On Jan. 26 the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates passed a resolution of confidence in the Government of the National Commissaries and approved all measures enacted by it, and on Jan. 30 the Congress adopted the Constitution of the "Russian Socialistic Soviet Republic."

A. I. Shingaroff and Professor F. F. Kokoshine, Cadets and former Ministers of the Provisional Government, were murdered by the Bolsheviks in the Marine Hospital at Petrograd Jan. 23.

Odessa and Orenburg were captured by the Bolsheviks on Feb. 1 and Niepin was taken by their troops in Minsk on Feb. 4.

The American Ambassador, David R. Francis, notified the State Department on Jan. 30 that he had been threatened by Russian anarchists and warned that he would be held responsible for the life and liberty of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who were imprisoned in the United States for conspiracy to obstruct the army draft law.

The Bolshevik Government announced on Feb. 2 that British and other foreign embassies would not be allowed to draw on funds deposited in the Russian banks until the Bolshevik Government should be allowed to have complete disposal of Russian funds in the Bank of England.

The Petrograd Soviet issued a decree on Feb. 4, signed by Lenine and other members of the *de facto* Government, separating

the Church and the State. As a result of the seizure of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery in Petrograd by the Bolsheviks on Feb. 1, the Metropolitan of Moscow issued an anathema threatening the participants with excommunication.

A counter-revolutionary plot, headed by Ensigns Sinebrukoff and Wolk, was unearthed in Petrograd on Feb. 1. Wolk was arrested and killed. General Verkhovski, who was War Minister in the Kerensky régime, was arrested on Feb. 4.

A Congress of Cossack Socialists was inaugurated at the military station of Kamesky on Jan. 26 and passed a resolution declaring war on General Kaledine and assuming all authority.

The Tartars held a constituent assembly in the ancient Tartar capital of Bakhtichsarai on Feb. 1 and announced the establishment of an autonomous Crimean republic. Yalta, in the Government of Taurida, was occupied by the Tartars on Feb. 4, and they then advanced on Sebastopol.

A revolution began in the eastern province of Finland on Jan. 28. The loyal army, or White Guards, under General Mannerheim, occupied Uleaborg and Tammerfors on Feb. 6 after an encounter with the Red Guards, or revolutionists, who were aided by the Russians. Viborg was taken by the White Guards Feb. 8.

Ensign Krylenko, the Bolshevik Commander in Chief, issued a decree on Feb. 7, ordering that all supplies be cut off from the Polish legion in the Russian Army and declaring its commander, Doybor Mousnitsky, an outlaw. He also appealed to all Bolsheviks to leave Polish commands. The decree was prompted by the refusal of the Polish commands to reduce their officers to the ranks and submit to Bolshevik democratization. Smolensk was captured by the Poles Feb. 10.

Kiev, the seat of the Ukrainian Rada, fell under control of the Bolsheviks on Jan. 30. Mussulmans in South Russia, including the Crimea, co-operated with the Ukrainians against the Bolsheviks. The Ukrainians claimed a great victory over the Bolsheviks at Sarny Feb. 8, and the same day the Bolsheviks failed in an attempt to occupy Kiev. M. Holubowicz was appointed Premier of the Ukraine.

Russian delegates to the Brest-Litovsk conference decided on Jan. 24 to reject Germany's peace terms, which called for the cession of Courland and the Baltic provinces to Germany. Another conference opened on Jan. 30. The question of Poland presented a difficulty. Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, while declaring his readiness to recognize the independence and right of self-government of the Polish State, contended that the fact of foreign occupation prevented him from recognizing the repre-

sentatives of the State under existing conditions.

Announcement was made on Feb. 7 that steamship service between the Asiatic ports of Russia and Constantinople had been resumed in the Black Sea since Jan. 11, and the Russians were reported to be supplying the Turks with food.

A peace treaty between the Central Powers and the Ukraine was signed Feb. 9.

Germany announced on Feb. 11 that the Bolsheviks had declared the state of war with the Teutonic powers at an end and had demobilized the Russian armies.

The Belgian Government's reply to Pope Benedict's peace note was made public Jan. 23.

On Jan. 24 Chancellor von Hertling, in an address before the Main Committee of the German Reichstag, replied to President Wilson's statements on war aims, and on the same day Count Czernin addressed Austrian delegations of the Reichsrat on the attitude of Austria-Hungary on peace. Philip Scheidemann replied to von Hertling in the Reichstag, accepting eleven points of President Wilson's program, and attacking the German military leaders. On Jan. 25 and 26 the German Foreign Minister, von Kühlmann, made speeches in the Main Committee of the Reichstag justifying the policy pursued by the German representatives at Brest-Litovsk and denouncing the Bolsheviks as ruling by force. The Turkish Foreign Minister, Nessimy Bey, expressed complete accord with the Czernin and Hertling speeches in

an address before the Chamber of Deputies, Feb. 8.

Replies to Hertling and Czernin were delivered by President Wilson in an address to Congress Feb. 11, and by Lloyd George in a speech to Parliament Feb. 12.

The British House of Commons on Feb. 13 rejected a resolution expressing regret that in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme War Council at Versailles prosecution of the military effort was the immediate task of the war.

Peace strikes occurred in Austria-Hungary and in Germany, but were suppressed by the military forces.

Count Rudolph von Valentini was displaced by Herr von Berg as Chief of the German Emperor's Civil Cabinet Jan. 20.

Sir Edward Carson resigned from the British War Cabinet Jan. 21. His resignation was followed by that of Lieut. Col. James Craig, Lord Treasurer of the Household.

The House of Commons passed the third reading of the Man-Power bill on Jan. 24. The Supreme War Council of the Allies convened at Versailles Jan. 29. It was decided to continue the vigorous prosecution of the war.

A War Trade Board was established in Canada to co-operate with the United States War Trade Board.

Bolo Pacha was convicted of treason in France and sentenced to death Feb. 14. His co-defendant, Darius Porchère, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and Filippo Cavallin, another co-defendant, under arrest in Italy, was sentenced to death.

The Sinking of the Tuscania

America's Greatest Military Loss to Date

THE first serious military loss of the United States in the war against Germany occurred on Feb.

5, 1918, when a submarine torpedoed and sank the British steamship *Tuscania* of the Anchor Line. The vessel was under charter to the Cunard Line and serving as a transport for American troops, mostly National Guardsmen from Michigan and Wisconsin. On Oct. 1, 1917, the United States Army transport *Antilles* had been sunk by a German submarine while returning from France under convoy, with a loss of sixty-seven men, the majority of them wounded soldiers. That was the first disaster of the kind. The sinking of the

Tuscania was the second, and the death roll was much larger.

There were 2,179 American soldiers on board the *Tuscania* at the time the vessel was torpedoed off the north coast of Ireland. The total number of victims is still in doubt at this writing, (Feb. 18,) but it is known to include 164 whose bodies were washed ashore on the Scottish coast and buried there with appropriate services. Thirty or more of these had not been identified. Many of the passengers were still unaccounted for. The members of the crew who lost their lives were nearly all killed in the explosion in the engine room.

The survivors were for the most part

quartered in hotels, private residences, and hospitals along the north coast of Ireland. Two groups were sent off to Belfast by rail and thence by boat to England. Everywhere the inhabitants gave the Americans a warm welcome and spared no pains to make them comfortable.

The possibility of being torpedoed had been discussed almost daily from the time the *Tuscania* left American shores. Several hundred lumberjacks from the Northwest and Pacific Coast States were eating their evening meal when the disaster occurred. Hundreds of other American troops were waiting for their meals when the general alarm sounded. False alarms had been sounded for boat drill every day on the trip, but all knew that this one was genuine. Officers shouted instructions to the men. Many of them were husky youths, and, despite their brief military training, they displayed wonderful coolness as they marched to their boat stations. There was no running about, nothing resembling a panic. In a few isolated cases there were signs of nervousness on the part of some of the youngsters as the ship took a heavy tilt to starboard, and they slid to the rail, to which they clung for dear life. But that was all. Veteran British officers in the crew, who had themselves been on torpedoed ships, marveled at their coolness.

The rescue work was done by British destroyers, trawlers later coming on the scene and picking up survivors whom the destroyers had missed. One of the trawlers rescued the record number of 340, all Americans.

The *Tuscania* was attacked in the early evening of Feb. 5, while proceeding under convoy in sight of the Irish coast. With other troop and provision ships, which after a long passage across the Atlantic were entering what, until recently, were considered comparatively safe waters, the *Tuscania* was moving along in the dusk, the land just distinguishable in the distance, when a torpedo struck the liner amidships. No sign of a submarine had been seen before the blow was struck, according to most accounts. Apparently two torpedoes were launched at the liner. The first, according to some survivors,

passed just astern of the vessel, while the second struck in the vicinity of No. 1 boiler.

The steamship at once took a heavy list to starboard, but the damage done was seen to be not so serious as to cause immediate sinking. Instead of plowing forward as most vessels do under the circumstances, the *Tuscania* stopped dead. A shiver ran through her, and she heeled over at a dangerous angle. The list to starboard so elevated the lifeboats on the port side as to render them practically useless, and only a few boats on that side were launched. The first of these struck the water unevenly, capsizing and throwing the occupants into the sea. After that several boats were launched successfully, but the vessel's list became more perilous, and some of the men who were trying to get into the boats from the starboard side now climbed along the deck to the rail, to which they clung. Many by this time had donned lifebelts and jumped overboard. Hundreds of others were preparing to follow this example when a British destroyer drew up right alongside the *Tuscania*.

When the men saw this many of them leaped from the boat and saloon decks to that of the waiting destroyer. This destroyer took off several hundred men, all she could carry, and moved away. She had come up along the starboard side of the *Tuscania*. As she steamed away with her deck loaded down with Americans another British destroyer emerged out of the darkness on the *Tuscania*'s port side, now high out of the water. When the men on the doomed ship recovered from their surprise at this skillful manoeuvring of the British commander there was another scramble to reach the elevated port rail, from which some of the men slid down the ship's side by the aid of ropes, and others on their hands and knees. All the time this rescue work was progressing, cool heads were getting the few other lifeboats afloat.

The troops on board the *Tuscania* included 750 of the First Forestry Engineers, recruited from different parts of the country; one battalion of Michigan Engineers and one battalion of Wisconsin

Engineers, parts of three regiments of former Wisconsin infantry, detachments of former National Guard troops from Michigan, and three Aero Squadrons, largely from New York.

Most of the deaths were caused by the

capsizing of lifeboats in the attempt to lower them from the port side of the ship. Many of those thus thrown into the icy waters perished of exposure even after they had reached rafts or other boats.

The Month's Submarine Warfare

Although the latter part of the period indicates a tendency toward greater losses, the number of British ships sunk during the last month shows a considerable decrease in contrast with the month before:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fish- ing Ves- sels.
Week ended Jan. 20.....	6	2	..
Week ended Jan. 27.....	9	6	..
Week ended Feb. 3.....	10	5	4
Week ended Feb. 10.....	13	6	3
Total for four weeks.....	38	19	7
Total previous 4 weeks...	53	9	7

Two great tragedies of the sea were revealed by the British Admiralty announcement of the sinking of two transports, with a loss of 809 lives. The transport Aragon was torpedoed and sunk in the Eastern Mediterranean on Dec. 30, 1917. A British destroyer, while picking up survivors, was herself torpedoed and sunk. The mercantile fleet auxiliary Osmanieh struck a mine and sank on Dec. 31 in approximately the same locality as the Aragon. The lives lost were: Captains and officers of the two steamers, 7; crew, 36; military officers, 11; soldiers, 747; female nurses, 8; total, 809.

Another revelation of the ravages of the German submarines was made by Lord Rhondda, the British Food Controller, in a speech on Jan. 26, when he said that in one week in December cargoes including 3,000,000 pounds of bacon and 4,000,000 pounds of cheese were sunk.

According to a reply given by Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the House of Commons on Feb. 5, German submarines had up to that date been responsible for the death of 14,120 noncombatant British men, women, and children.

A complete survey of Norwegian vessels during 1917 shows that the number

lost was 434, aggregating 686,862 tons. The number of Norwegian sailors known to have been killed was 401, while 258 were missing or unaccounted for.

In the first twelve months of unrestricted warfare launched against American and allied shipping by Germany on Feb. 1, 1917, there were sunk by submarines, mines, and raiders 69 American vessels, representing 171,061 tons. On the other hand, former German and Austro-Hungarian ships seized by the United States numbered 107, having an aggregate tonnage of 686,494. The credit balance in America's favor was, therefore, 38 ships and 515,435 gross tons. The loss of life caused by the sinking of the 69 American vessels was more than 300 persons.

The first definite information as to the scope of the new danger zones decreed by the German Government was made public in Washington on Jan. 29, when the Secretary of State issued the text of the German order, which had been received through the Swiss Legation. The decree bore date of Jan. 5, 1918, and was described as a supplement to the decree of Jan. 31, 1917. It established two very large barred areas in the North Atlantic Ocean. One was around the Cape Verde Islands, off the Senegalese coast of Africa. The other extended from the Madeira and Azores Islands, and included both these groups. The metes and bounds of the new barred areas, charted on the naval hydrographic chart of the North Atlantic Ocean, showed that both zones covered routes between South American ports and Europe and North American and European ports and Africa.

HOSPITAL SHIP TORPEDOED

The British hospital ship Rewa, a vessel of over 7,000 tons, brilliantly lighted with all the distinctive Red Cross mark-

ings, was torpedoed and sunk in the British Channel on the night of Jan. 4, 1918, while on the way home from the Mediterranean. Before the vessel sank all the wounded, nearly 300, were saved, and the only casualties were three Lascars, who were probably killed by the explosion. The sinking of the *Rewa* caused great indignation in Great Britain, because the vessel was not, and had not been, the British official statement said, "within the so-called barred zone as delimited in the statement issued by the German Government on Jan. 29, 1917." The Germans originally sought to justify their attacks on Red Cross ships by alleging that these vessels were misused and carried ammunition. With a view to preventing further outrages by the enemy, the British Government agreed that each hospital ship should carry a neutral Com-

missioner, appointed by the Spanish Government, as a guarantee against any abuse of the privileges attaching to Red Cross vessels. On Sept. 9, 1917, it was announced that King Alfonso had obtained from the belligerent Governments an agreement which would permit the free passage of French and British hospital ships in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic as far north as the English Channel. Spanish officers were to board the hospital ships at Gibraltar and Toulon. In accordance with the agreement, a Spanish representative traveled in the *Rewa* from Saloniki, but left the vessel at Gibraltar. This was the ship's last port of call, so that there was no possibility of the sanctity of the *Rewa* as a hospital ship, of which the Spanish officer would have satisfied himself, having been violated afterward.

America in the War

A Record of the Month

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1918]

PROGRESS in America's war preparations, both at home and abroad, was very considerable during January and February. The taking over of a part of the French line in Lorraine indicated that Pershing's army was emerging from the state of preparation. As will be seen from the article on Page 423, by the middle of February the training operations included work on the firing line which involved casualties and had already produced a death roll.

The navy has been growing at a rapid rate, as was shown in the report issued on Jan. 16, 1918, by William B. Oliver, Chairman of the special sub-committee of the House Naval Affairs Committee which inquired into the conduct of the naval side of the war. Mr. Oliver showed that 424 war vessels were under construction or contract by the Navy Department, in addition to submarine chasers; that this was the largest building program undertaken by any navy, and that the progress made in warship con-

struction and in expanding naval ship-building facilities had been "phenomenal." One destroyer was recently finished by a navy yard in fifty-one weeks, one week less than a year, whereas before the war the shortest time on record for the building of an American destroyer was eighteen months, while very few of our destroyers were built in less than two years in the pre-war period. The investigating committee was impressed by the "efficient and expeditious methods" employed in the naval Bureaus of Ordnance, Construction, and Steam Engineering. These bureaus did not wait for the outbreak of war, but began making extensive preparations, began accumulating stores on a large scale, and took other important military steps before the actual outbreak of war. The statement disclosed that since the United States entered the war the navy has taken over and converted to war use between 700 and 800 passenger and freight vessels, yachts, tugs, fishing boats, and other craft.

Simultaneously with the growth of the armed forces on land and sea, the drafting of civilians into the new armies and their training and equipment, there was a considerable amount of criticism in Congress and the press. Secretary Baker's war administration was the particular object of attack, and demands for reorganization were insistent in many quarters. A full review of the attack in Congress and Secretary Baker's defense will be found on Pages 457-73 of this issue.

While the management of the War Department has been productive of controversy, the industrial mobilization of the nation has encountered the first serious emergency since the United States entered the war. The crisis, which reached its height in January, 1918, arose from a shortage of coal in the great cities and manufacturing centres of the East. But the shortage was really due to the absence of sufficient transportation facilities to move coal and other freight and also adequate terminal accommodation to cope with the congestion of merchandise, in its turn due to the lack of enough shipping. This phase is treated on Page 473 of this issue.

It became more obvious than ever before that the basis of America's aid to the Allies was the providing of ships for the transport of troops, for the continuous stream of supplies to keep the armies in the field properly equipped, and for the supply of food and other necessities for the Allies. Pershing summed up the vital need of the situation in the exhortation to make "a bridge of ships" to France. Under Chairman Hurley the Shipping Board and its Emergency Fleet Corporation increased their efforts to hasten the production of ships from the many new yards which came into existence during 1917. Everything in the way of material necessary for the carrying out of the great building program was available, but at the critical moment, early in February, 1918, when a call was sent out for skilled labor and a recruiting campaign initiated to obtain 250,000 additional shipyard workers, discontent on the part of the workmen threatened to tie up every yard on the Atlantic

Coast. Several thousand men went on strike, and by the middle of February the stoppage seemed about to extend unless a considerable advance in wages were granted.

William L. Hutcheson, General President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in a statement on Feb. 15 issued demands for a "closed shop" in shipyards and a wage scale similar to that in force on the Pacific Coast, ignoring at the same time the suggestion that differences should be settled by the Government Labor Adjustment Board. This was the first serious labor trouble, apart from the I. W. W. agitation in the West, with which the Government had been confronted since the nation went to war, and was more serious because the shipyard workers belong to well-organized unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, presided over by Samuel Gompers, whereas the I. W. W. is very loosely organized, sporadic in its action, and strongly discountenanced by the American Federation of Labor.

The trouble was ended by the intervention of President Wilson, who, on Feb. 17, addressed a telegram to Mr. Hutcheson in which he said:

I feel it to be my duty to call your attention to the fact that the strike of carpenters in the shipyards is in marked and painful contrast to the action of labor in other trades and places. * * *

All the other unions engaged in this indispensable work have agreed to abide by the decisions of the Shipbuilding Wage Adjustment Board. * * *

If you do not act upon this principle, you are undoubtedly giving aid and comfort to the enemy, whatever may be your own conscious purpose. * * *

It is the duty of the Government to see that the best possible conditions of labor are maintained, as it is also its duty to see to it that there is no lawless and conscienceless profiteering, and that duty the Government has accepted and will perform. Will you co-operate or will you obstruct?

Mr. Hutcheson promptly replied that he was doing his utmost to induce the striking carpenters and joiners to return to work. With his staff of brotherhood officials he took energetic steps, issuing instructions to all local officials to get the strikers back to work on the following day, Monday, Feb. 18.

In the sphere of finance and trade, the most interesting developments were the Government's proposal to create a corporation to control issues of bonds and stocks, and the placing of the whole of the country's foreign trade under a licensing system. The object of the new finance corporation is to stabilize monetary conditions in connection with the issue of Government loans; while the

control of foreign trade is dictated by the necessities of the shipping situation; no imports or exports of any character can be handled except by special license, and it is believed that the foreign commerce of the country will be reduced considerably and enable fully one million additional tons of shipping to be diverted for the transport of troops and supplies to the oversea forces.

America on the Battle Front

[See map on page 411.]

THE announcement was authorized by the War Department on Jan. 31, 1918, that American soldiers in France were occupying front-line trenches and bearing the full brunt of the defense of certain sectors of the line. This was the first time that the War Department authorized mention of the fact that the American expeditionary forces were occupying trenches for other than training purposes.

A dispatch, dated Feb. 5, from The Associated Press correspondent with the American Army in France stated that the sector occupied by the American troops was northwest of Toul, which indicated that they were on the south side of the St. Mihiel salient. Writing in the *Paris Temps*, Commandant de Civrieux described the American sector in the following terms:

According to indications given, the region in which our allies are established for their debut is that of the Woëvre, in a district which, at this season, is most impracticable for the movements of troops. It is a low plain, shut in on one side by the Highlands (Hauts) of the Meuse, and on another by the hills of the Moselle—all of it covered with pools and swamps.

To the west may be seen the skyline of the forests of Apremont, where the prolonged combats of Ailly and the Bois Brûlé took place.

To the east is the Bois de Mort-Mare, often mentioned in the dispatches, extending in a succession of clumps of trees as far as the grove of Le Prêtre, within which so much heroism has been displayed.

The plain sinks toward the centre like a bowl, where the ground is quite impassable except in the dry weeks of Summer. The pools, variously cut up, terminate in

a series of gullies, along which run stone-laid trails, which, at least until May, constitute the only available roads.

In the rear, and sustaining the first lines, obviously parallel with the route St. Mihiel-Pont à Mousson, which, to a large extent they inclose, extends the forest of the Reine, with its many patches of stagnant water.

Finally, the horizon to the south is obstructed by the cliffs of the Meuse, running from Lérrouville toward Toul, and whence the long-range batteries on the emplacements at Forts Lérrouville and Gironville command the entire sector.

Hence this sector is exceptionally favorable for the trying out of soldiers, because no serious attack against it seems possible in existing conditions.

Here our allies will be able to learn their lessons of experience through their limited daily actions, which are the elements of which the greater are made; they will be able, in this rude school, to put through their successive contingents, and thus, under the very best conditions, prepare their vast collaboration for the common work.

Ever since the American forces in France went into the trenches for training there were indications that part if not all of the Lorraine section of the line would be taken over by our men. The sentimental and moral value of placing the American forces along the Lorraine front is great in the minds of the French people on account of the national aspiration of the French for the recovery of the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. There were also good military reasons why the American forces should be stationed along the Lorraine front, which, until they were placed in their stations there, was described as "a quiet sector of the front." This section of the

French line is the one nearest to Germany, and it was here that Americans were sent for training in October, 1917. [A map of this region is shown on Page 411.]

During the last month the Americans and the Germans engaged in a series of trench raids and skirmishes, with incidental sniping and artillery fire. The German official report of one of these minor affairs gave a further clue to the location of the American troops. It states that some American prisoners were captured north of Xivry, ten miles east of St. Mihiel. In this preliminary warfare the Americans suffered a certain number of casualties, but those reported killed or wounded in actions up to the time when this record closed was under twenty, with ten or twelve reported captured.

The most interesting engagement of the American troops in the period under review was reported Feb. 14. In the region east of Rheims in the Champagne the French troops broke into the German lines between Tahure and the Butte de Mesnil on a front of a mile and to the depth of two-thirds of a mile, and captured 160 prisoners. The American artillery participated in the preparatory bombardment and in the ensuing barrage fire while the operation was being executed, furnishing "very effective support," according to the French official bulletin.

On Feb. 15 it was reported that the Germans were bombarding the American lines with gas shells, making necessary the wearing of gas masks in all the trenches for three hours. So excellent was the anti-gas training of the men that not a case of gas poisoning was reported.

Although progress was steady in making the American Army abroad an efficient fighting force, General Pershing expressed himself dissatisfied in several important respects. Extracts from his reports, published in Washington Feb. 2, contained strong recommendations that Generals, Colonels, and other line officers of high rank be held directly responsible for the training of the officers under them. General Pershing also criticised the lack of military knowledge on several vital points displayed by such officers, presumably of the regular army, on their arrival in France. He said that there was an "almost total failure to give instructions in principles of minor tactics and their practical application to war conditions." He added: "Officers from Colonels down, and including some general officers, are found ignorant of the handling of units in open warfare, including principles of reconnoissance, outpost, advance guard, solution of practical problems, and formation of attack. No training whatever has been given in musketry efficiency as distinguished from individual target practice on the range."

The former German steamships taken over at American ports when war was declared, though they had been disabled by the Germans, were entirely restored by American engineers. It was announced on Jan. 29 that these vessels had an approximate total tonnage of 600,000 and were conveying men and supplies to France. Among these vessels were the *Leviathan*, formerly the *Vaterland*, of 54,000 tonnage, and fifteen others of the largest of the seized ships. It was stated that the *Leviathan* carried 10,000 troops on her first voyage.

President Wilson to the Farmers

President Wilson, in an address to the Farmers' Conference, which met at Urbana, Ill., on Jan. 31, 1918, said:

YOU will not need to be convinced that it was necessary for us as a free people to take part in this war. It had raised

its evil hand against us. The rulers of Germany had sought to exercise their power in such a way as to shut off our economic life so far as our intercourse with Europe was concerned, and to confine our people within the Western Hemisphere, while they accomplished pur-

poses which would have permanently impaired and impeded every process of our national life and have put the fortunes of America at the mercy of the Imperial Government of Germany.

This was no threat. It had become a reality. Their hand of violence had been laid upon our own people and our own property in flagrant violation not only of justice but of the well-recognized and long-standing covenants of international law and treaty. We are fighting, therefore, as truly for the liberty and self-government of the United States as if the war of our own Revolution had to be fought over again, and every man in every business in the United States must know by this time that his whole future fortune lies in the balance. Our national life and our whole economic development will pass under the sinister influences of foreign control if we do not win. We must win, therefore, and we shall win. I need not ask you to pledge your lives and fortunes with those of the rest of the nation to the accomplishment of the great end.

You will realize, as I think statesmen on both sides of the water realize, that the culminating crisis of the struggle has come and that the achievements of this year on the one side or the other must determine the issue. It has turned out that the forces that fight for freedom, the freedom of men all over the world as well as our own, depend upon us in an extraordinary and unexpected degree for sustenance, for the supply of the materials by which men are to live and to fight, and it will be our glory when the war is over that we have supplied these materials, and supplied them abundantly, and it will be all the more glory because in supplying them we have made our supreme effort and sacrifice. * * *

The banking legislation of the last two or three years has given the farmers access to the great lendable capital of the country, and it has become the duty both of the men in charge of the Federal Reserve banking system and of the Farm Loan banking system to see to it that the farmers obtain the credit, both short term and long term, to which they are entitled, not only, but which it is imperatively

necessary should be extended to them if the present tasks of the country are to be adequately performed.

Both by direct purchase of nitrates and by the establishment of plants to produce nitrates, the Government is doing its utmost to assist in the problem of fertilization. The Department of Agriculture and other agencies are actively assisting the farmers to locate, safeguard, and secure at cost an adequate supply of sound seed. The department has \$2,500,000 available for this purpose now, and has asked the Congress for \$6,000,000 more.

The labor problem is one of great difficulty, and some of the best agencies of the nation are addressing themselves to the task of solving it, so far as it is possible to solve it. Farmers have not been exempted from the draft. I know that they would not wish to be. I take it for granted they would not wish to be put in a class by themselves in this respect. But the attention of the War Department has been very seriously centred upon the task of interfering with the labor of the farms as little as possible, and under the new draft regulations I believe that the farmers of the country will find that their supply of labor is very much less seriously drawn upon than it was under the first and initial draft, made before we had had our present full experience in these perplexing matters. The supply of labor in all industries is a matter we are looking to with diligent care. * * *

You remember that it was farmers from whom came the first shots at Lexington that set aflame the Revolution that made America free. I hope and believe that the farmers of America will willingly and conspicuously stand by to win this war also. The toil, the intelligence, the energy, the foresight, the self-sacrifice and devotion of the farmers of America will, I believe, bring to a triumphant conclusion this great last war for the emancipation of men from the control of arbitrary government and the selfishness of class legislation and control, and then, when the end has come, we may look each other in the face and be glad that we are Americans and have had the privilege to play such a part.

The Ukraine and Its Separate Peace

Rise of the New Russian State, Its War With the Bolsheviki, and Its Peace Treaty With Germany

THE Ukrainian People's Republic, a new State carved out of the southwestern corner of the old Russian Empire, signed a treaty of peace with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk on Feb. 9, 1918. It was the first national unit to take that step. The next day the representatives of the Bolshevik Government of Petrograd formally withdrew from the war without signing a treaty, and the armies of the whole Russian front were ordered demobilized. The doors were thrown open for the rich products of Ukrainia to enter Austria and Germany, nullifying the Atlantic blockade to that extent. The remaining German forces on the eastern front were released for use against the Allies in France. The war had entered upon a new phase.

Long before the war the Ukrainian movement had been fomented by Austria through the Austro-German "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine." After the Czar's fall the movement gained new impetus, ostensibly distinct from enemy influence, but constantly suspected by the Provisional Government. The Rada, or Parliament, established at Kiev, was created by the leaders of the secret Austrian Bund, and the peace so easily negotiated was to some extent at least a product of German money and intrigue. The Rada's pro-Teutonic character was one (minor) cause of its conflict with the Bolshevik leaders, which has eventuated in civil war.

The British Government announced that it would not recognize the Ukrainian Treaty. Up to Feb. 15 none of the nations except the Central Powers had taken any formal notice of the new treaty, or announced a recognition of the new State. In consequence of the ceding of the territory of Kholm in Poland to Ukrainia by Austria-Hungary, the Polish Ministry resigned, and it was announced that there was much dissatisfaction among Galician-Polish leaders.

The Ukrainian movement on its purely Russian side is partly a national, partly a land question, and herein lies the main cause of its clash with the Lenine-Trotsky régime. The Great Russians are mainly interested in getting and keeping the farm lands, while the Ukrainians stand for the recognition of their separate nationality and insist that the "self-determination of peoples" must be as fully applied to them as to any other nationality in Europe. They demand home rule, though they desire that their State shall be part of a Federal Russian Republic. The explanation of recent events in the Ukraine is to be found in the struggle between these opposing points of view.

AGREEMENT WITH KERENSKY

Even under the Provisional Government there was increasing friction between Petrograd and the Rada at Kiev. On July 14 the Provisional Government, on the advice of Kerensky, Terestchenko, and Tseretelli, came to terms with the Rada, agreeing that the General Secretariat was to be recognized as the highest administrative power in the Ukraine, but that the future Constitution of the Ukraine was to be decided by the Constituent Assembly. The powers of the General Secretariat were extended over Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, Poltava, and Tchernigov, (except in four districts.)

This agreement led to the resignation of the Cadet members of the Provisional Government, and was the immediate cause of the riots in Petrograd which began on July 16. On the 22d Kerensky became Prime Minister with a coalition Cabinet. On Aug. 8 a group of delegates from the Ukraine arrived in Petrograd to discuss points of difference that were still acute, but they were put off with dilatory tactics and returned home planning further opposition. One of their first moves was a change of tactics. They announced that they had cut loose entirely from the Austro-German "Bund

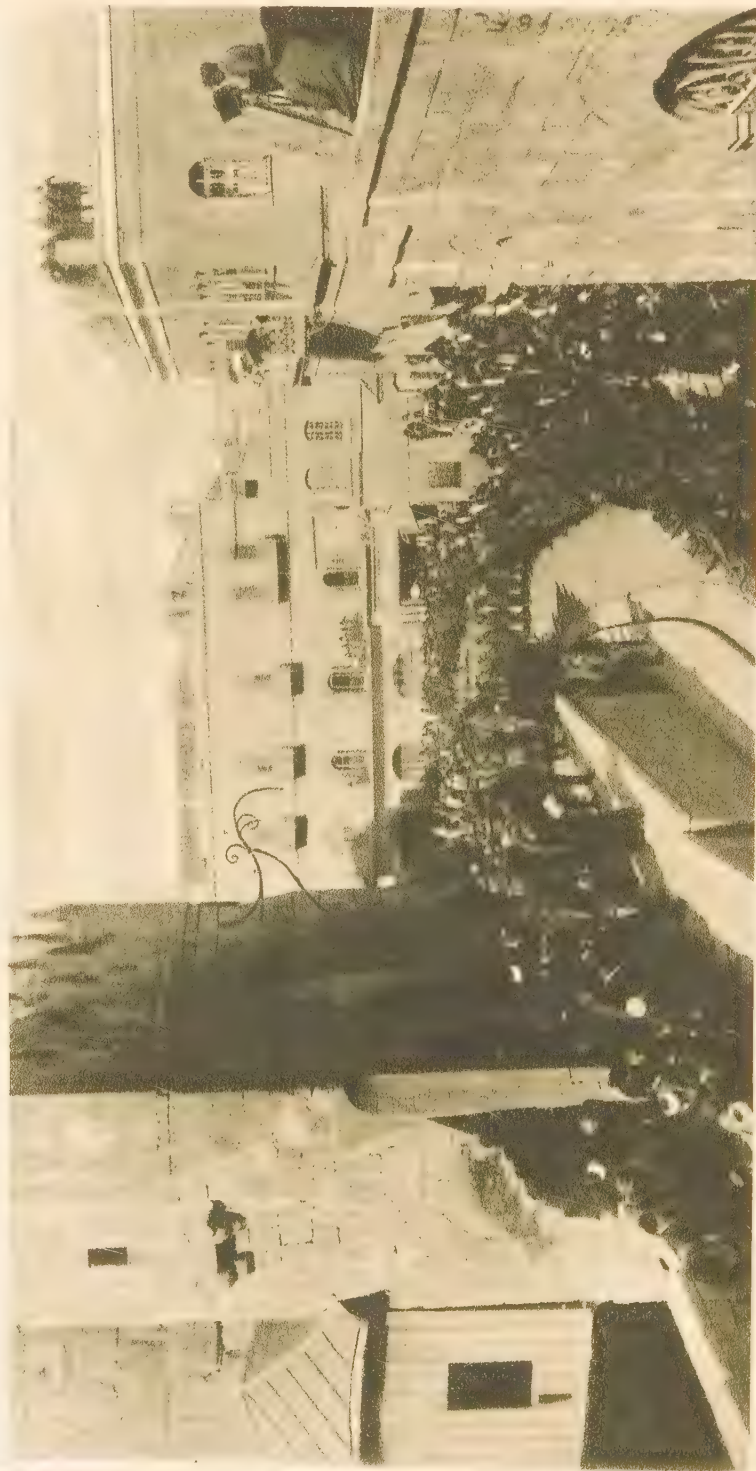
GENERAL ALLENBY ENTERING JERUSALEM



The Commander in Chief of the Palestine expeditionary force entered the Holy City Dec. 11, 1917. He went in by the Jaffa Gate on foot, accompanied by the commanders of the French and Italian detachments.

(British Official Photograph from Underwood & Underwood.)

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF JERUSALEM, DEC. 11, 1917



The historic scene when the proclamation of martial law was read in Arabic, Hebrew, English, French, Italian, Greek, and Russian outside the Tower of David.

(British Official Photograph from Underwood & Underwood.)



THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC IS SHOWN IN THE SHADED PORTION, WITH A DARKER SHADING TO INDICATE THE CORNER OF POLAND TRANSFERRED TO THE NEW STATE

zur Befreiung der Ukraine," and on Aug. 24 all the party leaders denounced the German attempts to sow discord between Russia and Ukrainia. Kovalevsky, leader of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries; Vinnitchenko, President of the General Secretariat and leader of Social Democrats, with Professor Hrushevsky, President of the Rada, all issued official statements intended to clear themselves of charges of complicity with the Germans.

CONFLICT WITH BOLSHEVIKI

A new period in the history of the Ukraine opened with the Bolshevik coup d'état at Petrograd, Nov. 7, 1917. The conflict between the two movements was at once intensified. As explained by a writer in *The New Europe*, the General Secretariat at Kiev is a Socialist coalition, though the Bolsheviks have de-

nounced it as a bourgeois Government. The Bolshevik opposition to it is due chiefly to its nationalism as opposed to the internationalism of Lenine. The Bolsheviks care nothing for constitutional reforms; they are willing to grant complete self-determination to the Ukrainians without a thought for the interests of Russia as a State; what they are not willing to abandon is their campaign for social revolution in the Ukraine. Hence their war on the Kiev Government.

The Rada soon felt itself threatened on two sides. On the one hand Shulgin and other Russian nationalists in Kiev had been in close touch with the Cossack troops, urging them to suppress the Rada as being in revolt against the Kerensky Government; on the other, the Bolsheviks were trying to spread their

subversive doctrines throughout the Ukraine as well as in Northern and Central Russia. The Russian nationalist opposition was soon swept away. Cossack regiments and a body of Czechoslovak volunteers, who had been moved to Kiev to support the Provisional Government against the Bolsheviks, refused to fight and offered to leave Kiev when they learned it was against the Rada that they were being used. The danger from the Bolsheviks was more real. On Nov. 10 the General Secretariat published an appeal to the people to remain calm, promising that it would do everything possible to suppress any Bolshevik movement in Kiev. But the spirit of unrest had spread to Kiev, and for two days there was a general strike, none of the bourgeois papers being permitted to appear. The Rada, however, with the support of the Social Democrat Party, which issued an appeal to the workmen, soon mastered the situation, and on Nov. 20 issued its "Universal," or general, proclamation, transferring the land to the peasants, establishing an eight-hour day and labor control over industry, and fixing the frontiers of the Ukrainian National Republic in federation with the Russian Republic.

TEXT OF THE "UNIVERSAL"

This general proclamation of the Ukrainian National Council of Nov. 20, 1917, is a document of historical importance, as it is the foundation on which the new State is intended to rest. Though it was extended as far as possible in the direction of Bolshevism for the sake of peace with Petrograd, it also to some extent represents bourgeois and Cossack aspirations. The text of the proclamation, as translated from the Nova Rada of Nov. 21, is as follows:

Ukrainian people and all peoples of the Ukraine! An hour of trials and difficulties has come for the land of the Russian Republic. In the north in the capitals (Petrograd and Moscow) a bloody internecine struggle is in progress. A Central Government no longer exists, and anarchy, disorder, and ruin are spreading throughout the State.

Our country also is in danger. Without a strong, united, and popular Government, Ukraina also may fall into the

abyss of civil war, slaughter, and destruction.

People of Ukraina, you, together with the brother peoples of Ukraina, have intrusted us with the task of protecting rights won by struggle, of creating order and of building up a new life in our land. And we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, by your will, for the sake of creating order in our country and for the sake of saving the whole of Russia, announce that henceforth Ukraina becomes the Ukrainian National Republic. Without separating from the Russian Republic, and preserving its unity, we take up our stand firmly on our lands that with our strength we may help the whole of Russia, and that the whole Russian Republic may become a federation of free and equal peoples.

Until the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly meets, the whole power of creating order in our lands, of issuing laws, and of ruling, belongs to us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, and to our Government—the General Secretariat of Ukraina.

Having strength and power in our native land, we shall defend the rights of the revolution, not only in our own lands, but in all Russia as well.

Therefore we announce: To the territory of the National Ukrainian Republic belong the lands where the majority of the population is Ukrainian: Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Tchernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, Tauris, (without the Crimea.) The further delimitation of the frontiers of the Ukrainian National Republic, viz., the addition of part of Kursk, Kholm, Voronez, and the neighboring provinces and districts, where the majority of the population is Ukrainian, is to be settled according to the organized wishes of the peoples.

To all the citizens of these lands we announce: Henceforth in the territory of the Ukrainian National Republic *the existing rights of ownership* to the lands of large proprietors and other lands not worked by the owners which are fit for farming, and also to lands belonging to the royal family, to monasteries, to the Crown and to the Church, *are abolished*. Recognizing that these lands are the property of the whole working people, and must pass to the people without compensation, the Ukrainian Central Rada instructs the General Secretary for Land Questions to work out immediately a law for the administration of these lands by Land Committees, chosen by the people, until the meeting of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

The labor question in the Ukrainian National Republic must immediately be regulated. For the present we announce: In the territory of the National Ukrainian Republic henceforth *an eight hours' day* is ordained in the factories and workshops.

The hour of trial and danger which all Russia and our Ukrainia is now experiencing necessitates the proper regulation of labor, and a fair distribution of food supplies and a better organization of work. Therefore, we instruct the General Secretary for Labor, together with representatives of labor, to establish from today State control over production in Ukrainia, respecting the interests both of Ukrainia and also the whole of Russia. For four years on the front blood has been shed, and the strength of all the peoples of the world has been wasting away. By the wishes and in the name of the Ukrainian Republic we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, firmly insist on the establishment of *peace as soon as possible*. For this end we make resolute efforts to compel, through the Central Government, both allies and enemies to enter immediately upon peace negotiations.

Likewise we shall insist that at the Peace Congress the rights of the Ukrainian people in Russia and outside Russia shall not be infringed in the treaty of peace. But until peace comes, every citizen of the Republic of Ukrainia, together with the citizens of all the peoples of the Russian Republic, must stand firmly in their positions both at the front and in the rear.

Recently the shining conquests of the revolution have been clouded by the re-establishment of the death penalty. We announce: Henceforth in the lands of the Republic of Ukrainia *the death penalty is abolished*. To all who are imprisoned and arrested for political offenses hitherto committed, as well as those already condemned or awaiting sentence, and also those who have not yet been tried, full amnesty is given. A law will immediately be passed to this effect.

The courts in Ukrainia must be just and in accordance with the spirit of the people.

With this aim we order the General Secretary for Judicial Affairs to make every attempt to establish justice and to execute it according to rules understood by the people.

We instruct the General Secretary for Internal Affairs as follows: To make every effort to strengthen and extend the rights of local self-government, which shall be the organs of the highest local administrative authority, and until the establishment of the closest connection with the organs of revolutionary democracy, which are to be the best foundation of a free democratic life. Also in the Ukrainian National Republic *all the liberties won by the Russian revolution are to be guaranteed, namely, freedom of the press, of speech, of religion, of assembly, of union, of strikes, of inviolability of person and of habitation,*

the right and the possibility of using local dialects in dealing with all authorities.

The Ukrainian people, which has fought for many years for its national freedom and now has won it, will firmly protect the freedom of national development of all nationalities existing in Ukrainia. Therefore, we announce that to the Great Russian, Jewish, Polish, and other peoples of Ukrainia we recognize national personal autonomy for the security of their rights and freedom of self-government in questions of their national life, and we instruct our General Secretary for Nationality Questions to draw up in the near future a measure for national personal autonomy.

The food question is the foundation of the power of the State at this difficult and responsible moment. The Ukrainian National Republic must make every effort to save itself both at the front and in those parts of the Russian Republic which need our help.

Citizens! In the name of the National Ukrainian Republic in federal Russia, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, *call upon all to struggle resolutely with all forms of anarchy and disorder*, and to help in the great work of building up new State forms, which will give the great and powerful Russian Republic health, strength, and a new future. The working out of these forms must be carried out at the Ukrainian and all-Russian Constituent Assemblies.

The date for the election of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly is fixed for 9 January, 1918, and the date for its summoning 22 January, 1918.

A law will be immediately published regulating the summoning of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

The Ukraine lays claim territorially not only to Southwestern Russia, but also to large portions of East Galicia, North-eastern Hungary, and Bukowina, all inhabited by Ruthenians—another name for Ukrainians—and the present movement is said to be alive in these Austro-Hungarian provinces. This is due to the policy of the Austrian Government before the war, which favored the Ukrainians of East Galicia in proportion as the old Russian Government persecuted them. The result was that Lemberg became the intellectual centre of the Ukrainians, where refugees from Kiev found a ready welcome.

The four original Ukrainian provinces of Tchernigov, Kiev, Poltava, and Khar-

kov have an area of 80,000 square miles, and a population of 25,000,000. But the new Ukrainian Republic claims additional areas, namely, Volhynia, Podolia, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and parts of Veronezh and Kursk—besides the portion of Poland annexed by the treaty with the Central Powers—which would increase the territory of the republic to about 195,000 square miles, with a population of about 45,000,000.

If the Ukrainians succeed in having their nationality recognized beyond Russia, it will have a meaning for about 4,000,000 Ruthenians, now subjects of Emperor Charles. As it is, numbering in Russia at least 25,000,000, they claim governing rights from Kiev to Odessa, from Odessa to Rostov, and from Rostov to Kharkov, with all the functions of an independent State.

BOLSHEVIST ULTIMATUM

The Ukrainian Rada and the Don Cossacks developed increasing resistance to Lenine and Trotzky, and during the last weeks of 1917 the clashes between the two movements developed into civil war. On Dec. 17 the Bolshevik Government delivered an ultimatum to the Rada, presenting a formal demand that it break with the so-called counter-revolution and with Kaledine and his Don Cossacks. Here is the text of the ultimatum:

The Russian Socialist Government, by the voice of the Soviet of the people's commissaries, once more confirms the independent national rights of all the nationalities that were oppressed by the Czarist-Great Russian bourgeoisie, even to the point of recognizing the right of these nationalities to separate themselves from Russia. Consequently, we, the Soviet of the commissaries of the people, recognize the right of the Ukrainian People's Republic to separate itself entirely from Russia and to enter into pourparlers with the Russian Republic on the subject of the determination of federal or other mutual relations to be established between the two republics.

All that concerns the national rights and the independence of the Ukraine we, the commissaries of the people, freely recognize without any limits or conditions.

As regards the bourgeois Republic of Finland, which is still bourgeois, we will not make a gesture toward restricting its national rights or toward interfering with the independence of the Finnish people.

We will not make a movement against the national independence of any people belonging to the Russian Federation.

Nevertheless, we accuse the Rada of Ukraine of the fact that, under cover of phrases and declarations regarding national independence, it has given itself over to a systematic bourgeois policy, under which neither the Rada nor the Soviets of Ukraina are willing to recognize the action of our Soviet over their country. Among other things, the Rada has refused to call immediately the Soviets of Ukraina in a general assembly, as they demand.

This double-faced policy, which deprives us of the possibility of recognizing the Rada as authorized representative of the laboring masses, (exploited as they are by the Ukrainian Republic,) has latterly reached a point where it has practically annihilated every possibility of accord with us. This attitude in the beginning disorganized the front. Through its manifestos addressed to the Ukrainian troops at the front the Rada destroyed its unity and provoked division at a time when unity was possible only by following the path of systematic accord between the Governments of the two republics. In the second place, the Rada has been guilty of dispersing the troops in the Ukraine that were faithful to the Soviets.

In the third place, the Rada is lending assistance to the plots of Kaledine by taking its stand against the influence of the Soviets and by meddling effectively with the autonomous rights of the Don and Kuban Provinces. By sheltering the counter-revolutionary movement of Kaledine, and by running counter to the will of the great mass of Cossack workmen in allowing the armies favorable to Kaledine to pass through the Ukraine, and at the same time refusing such passage to the armies hostile to that General, the Rada is opening the way to an unheard-of treason against the revolution.

By supporting the worst enemies of the national independence of the peoples of Russia—the Cadets and the partisans of Kaledine—the Rada may oblige us to declare war upon it; and this we would do without any hesitation, even if that institution were formally recognized as representing incontestably the entire population of the independent and bourgeois Republic of the Ukraine.

For the reasons given, the Council of The People's Commissaries, calling to witness the Ukrainian People's Republic, submits to the Rada the following questions:

1. Does the Rada promise to renounce in future all action for the disorganization of the common front?

2. Does the Rada promise to refuse in future to permit the passage over Ukrainian territory of any troops going

into the region of the Don, the Urals, or elsewhere, and never to permit such passage without first having obtained the authorization of the Generalissimo?

3. Does the Rada promise to lend assistance to the armies of the revolution in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces of the Cadets and of Kaledine?

4. Does the Rada promise to put an end to the attempts to crush the armies of the Soviet and of the Red Guard in the Ukraine, and return their arms, immediately and without delay, to those from whom they have been taken?

In case a satisfactory reply has not been received within twenty-four hours, the Soviet of the People's Commissaries will consider the Rada in a state of war with the influence of the Soviet in Russia and in the Ukraine.

THE SOVIET OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIES.

The President of the Soviet,
ULIANOV LENINE.

The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs,
TROTSKY.

CIVIL WAR BEGUN

The Ukrainian Rada at Kiev ignored this ultimatum, and civil war between the two republics was formally begun on Dec. 18. The immediate situation, however, was not greatly changed, as actual hostilities had already been in progress for several weeks. The document of Lenine and Trotsky was only a public announcement of the reasons for the conflict. The real cause may be found in the events in the Crimea and in Odessa.

The Province of Kherson, of which the great wheat exporting city of Odessa is a part, had been incorporated in the Ukrainian Republic, along with four other provinces of South Russia, by a decree of the Rada at Kiev dated Nov. 16, 1917. The Rada had taken over all the powers of the Provisional Government in these provinces at the time that these powers were supposed to pass into the hands of Lenine's commissaries. General Povlavko was then sent to Odessa by the Rada for the purpose of taking over the succession from the Commissary of the Provisional Government, M. Kharita. But the latter refused to give up his powers, and he was supported by the majority of the population of Odessa, who were resolutely hostile to the Ukrainization of the great port. The arrival of Ukrainian battalions, sent by the

Rada to make its decisions respected, provoked bloody street riots. While the partisans of the Provisional Government observed neutrality, the local Bolsheviks armed the Red Guard of Odessa and gave battle to the Ukrainians and their followers, the National Socialists.

At the end of the first week of December an agreement was entered into by the Ukrainians and the Cossacks, both being supporters of the federalist plan and hostile to the Bolsheviks. By the terms of this entente the Cossacks undertook to evacuate Kiev and to transport all their forces to Nevatsherkask, at the same time leaving the Ukrainians with a free hand at Odessa. In exchange the Ukrainians had undertaken to oppose the passage of troops sent against the Cossacks, who were about to create a federal republic of their own.

While Petrograd's declaration of war thus tended to separate the Ukraine entirely from Russia and to create an alliance between the Cossacks and Ukrainians, the existence of Bolshevik elements in the population of both southern States complicated the situation and caused local fighting and anarchy in all the larger cities. The Lenine-Trotsky Government at once sent 6,000 Red Guards from Petrograd to fight the Ukrainians, and on Dec. 25 it was reported that a battle had taken place eighty miles from Kharkov, with a total of 700 casualties in three days' fighting. The Rada ordered the stopping of all shipments of supplies to the regions controlled by the Bolsheviks, and issued a proclamation to the armies on all fronts charging the Petrograd Government with criminal acts and the ruining of Russia's armies.

TARTARS OF THE CRIMEA

In the last days of December the Mohammedan Tartars of the Crimea held a congress in the City of Bashtshissarai and passed a solemn resolution establishing an autonomous "khanate" covering the whole peninsula. A proclamation similar to that of the Ukraine was published. The next day, after taking possession of the palace of the Khan, a great national Tartar feast was organized in the city, in the course of which a delegate from the Ukrainian People's Repub-

lic delivered an address recognizing the Tartars as the sovereign people of the Peninsula of the Crimea.

The Council of the People's Commissaries at Petrograd tried on Jan. 3, 1918, to enter into fresh negotiations with the Rada, sending a formal document signed by Gubunov, the Secretary, suggesting pourparlers at Smolensk or Vitebsk; but, like the ultimatum, this was ignored. This extension of the olive branch, however, accounts for the action of Trotzky in recognizing and admitting the Ukrainian delegates at Brest-Litovsk a week later. Meanwhile on Jan. 9 France, still unaware of the true situation, recognized the new Ukrainian Republic by commissioning General Tabouy, chief of the French mission to the former southwestern front, to act as its representative at Kiev.

AT BREST-LITOVSK

The Ukrainian People's Republic sent a delegation to the second session of the Brest-Litovsk peace conference. The head of the delegation, M. Gobulovitch, read a formal declaration on Jan. 10, signed by Vinnitchenko and Shulgin, notifying the conference of the proclamation of Nov. 20 and pointing out that the armistice had been entered into without previous agreement of the Ukraine. On the question of peace the declaration contained these points:

1. The entire democracy of the Ukrainian State is striving for the termination of the war, for peace throughout the entire world, and a general peace between all the belligerent States.

2. The peace which is to be concluded between all the powers must be democratic and must assure to every people, even the smallest, full and unlimited national self-determination.

3. In order to render possible the real expression of the people's will, proper guarantees must be given.

4. Any annexation that means annexation by force or the surrender of any portion of territory without the consent of its population is therefore inadmissible.

5. Any war indemnities, without regard to the form given them, are from the standpoint of the interests of the working classes also inadmissible.

6. In conformity with regulations to be drawn up at the peace congresses, material assistance must be given to small nations and States which in consequence of

the war have suffered considerable losses or devastations.

7. The Ukrainian Republic, which at present occupies the Ukrainian front on its own territory and is represented in all international affairs by its Government, whose duty is the protection of the Ukrainian people's interests and which acts independently, must, like other powers, be allowed to participate in all peace negotiations, conferences, and congresses.

8. The power of the (Petrograd) Council of Commissioners does not extend to the whole of Russia, and therefore not to the Ukrainian Republic. Any eventual peace resulting from negotiations with the powers waging war against Russia can therefore be binding for the Ukraine only if the terms of this peace are accepted and signed by the Government of the Ukraine Republic.

9. In the name of all Russia only such a Government (and it must be an exclusively Federal Government) can conclude peace as would be recognized by all the republics and regions of Russia possessing a State organism. If, however, such a Government cannot be formed in the near future, then this peace can only be concluded by the united representatives of those republics and regions.

Firmly adhering to the principle of a democratic peace, the Secretariat General is also striving for the speediest possible attainment of this general peace, and attaches great weight to all attempts which can bring its realization nearer. The Secretariat therefore considers it imperative to have its representatives at the conference, while at the same time it hopes that a final solution of the peace question will be reached at an international congress to which the Government of the Ukrainian Republic invites all the belligerents to send delegates.

VINNITCHENKO,

President of the Secretariat.

SHULGIN,

Secretary for International Affairs.

WELCOMED BY GERMANS

Herr von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, moved that the Ukrainian note be placed on the records of the congress as an important historical document, and extended the welcome of the Central Powers to the Ukrainian delegation. He added that hitherto the Petrograd delegation had been assumed to be acting for the whole of Russia; he therefore had to ask the Petrograd representatives what was their attitude on the subject. M. Trotzky replied that in view of his party's principles the Petrograd delegation saw no obstacle to the

participation of the Ukrainian delegation in the peace negotiations. M. Gubulovitch then said he assumed it was settled that the Ukrainian and Russian delegations would form two separate and independent delegations of the same party.

At that time the talk at Brest-Litovsk was still ostensibly of a general peace. Later, when it frankly took the form of a separate peace, Trotzky refused to recognize the Ukrainians, and the latter proceeded to enter into secret negotiations of their own. At a private conference on Jan. 16 a settlement "in principle," according to the German account of the proceedings, was reached of "questions concerning the future political relations between the Central Powers and the Ukraine."

On Jan. 25 the Ukrainian Rada sent word to Petrograd that if the Russian Government did not make peace with Ukraina within twenty-four hours Ukraina would make a separate peace with Germany. By that time the Bolsheviks had organized a rival Rada at Kharkov, and this had sent a delegation to Brest-Litovsk, which Trotzky tried to substitute for the original "bourgeois" delegation from Kiev. The Germans, however, completed their dealings with the representatives of Vinnitchenko and Shulgin, and later signed a separate peace with them.

The Bolsheviks were reported to have captured Odessa on Jan. 26, and Orenburg, capital of the Government of Orenburg, on Jan. 31. Meanwhile, Kishinev, the capital of Bessarabia, was taken on Jan. 27 by the Rumanian troops, which had begun acting in support of the Ukraine. Petrograd at once sent the Rumanian Legation out of Russia by the shortest route and outlawed General Sterbatchev, commander of the Russian forces in Rumania, as an enemy of the people. He was supposed to be working with the Ukrainians and Rumanians against the Bolsheviks and to have frustrated the attempt to arrest the Rumanian royal family at Jassy.

There was a temporary break in the German negotiations on Feb. 3, but on the 5th Dr. von Kühlmann and Count

Czernin left Berlin again for Brest-Litovsk with the published purpose of concluding a separate peace with the Ukraine. Peace between the Central Powers and the Ukraine was signed in the early morning of Feb. 9, 1918. The German official account of the event states that after the long preliminaries of drafting their treaty Dr. von Kühlmann, as President of the conference, opened the final session shortly before 2 o'clock in the morning with this speech:

Gentlemen, none of you will be able to close his eyes to the historical significance of this hour at which the representatives of the four allied powers are met with the representatives of the Ukrainian People's Republic to sign the first peace attained in this world war. This peace, signed with your young State, which has emerged from the storms of the great war, gives special satisfaction to the representatives of the allied delegation. May this peace be the first of a series of blessed conclusions; peace blessed both for the allied powers and for the Ukrainian People's Republic, for the future of which we all cherish the best wishes.

The President of the Ukrainian delegation replied:

We state with joy that from this day peace begins between the Quadruple Alliance and Ukraina. We came here in the hope that we should be able to achieve a general peace and make an end of this fratricidal war. The political position, however, is such that not all of the powers are met here to sign a general peace treaty. Inspired with the most ardent love for our people, and recognizing that this long war has exhausted the cultural national powers of our people, we must now divert all our strength to do our part to bring about a new era and a new birth. We are firmly persuaded that we conclude this peace in the interests of great democratic masses, and that this peace will contribute to the general termination of the great war.

The Berlin account adds that Dr. von Kühlmann then invited the representatives to sign the treaty. At 1:59 he himself, as first signatory, signed a copy of the treaty prepared for Germany, and by 2:30 all the signatures had appeared.

UKRAINIA'S RESOURCES

The treaty of Brest-Litovsk removes all tariff barriers between the Central Powers and the Ukraine, thus making the new republic practically a part of

Austria-Hungary so far as commercial relations are concerned.

Of what immense value the Ukraine, the greatest granary of Europe, is for the Central Empires, in these days, when their supplies are running low, may be judged from the following compilations made in Vienna in 1914:

The annual production of the Ukraine in wheat, rye, and barley alone, in spite of very primitive methods of exploitation, amounts to 150,000,000 quintals (one quintal equals 220.46 pounds) annually, or one-third of Russia's output. Other farm products are just as abundant. The sugar beet production of the Ukraine is five-sixths that of all Russia. Of tobacco the Ukraine produces over 700,000 quintals a year. It possesses the largest and finest orchards and vineyards of Russia. As to stock raising, the Ukraine has 30,000,000 head of cattle, one-third of all European Russia's; sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry are very numerous; in fact, in this matter the Ukraine has 50 per cent. of Russia's supply.

Iron, chiefly in the Government of

Kherson, in the year of revolution, 1905, was turned out to the amount of 31,000,000 quintals, or 60 per cent. of the total output of the entire Russian Empire; in 1915 this percentage was over 69. Of manganese, the Ukraine furnishes one-sixth of the world's production, or 32 per cent. of Russia's production. No mercury is produced in Russia except in the Ukraine, (320,000 kilograms in 1905.) The coal deposits on the Donetz (23,000 square kilometers) produced 130,000,000 quintals of hard coal in 1905, or 75 per cent. of the total production of European and Asiatic Russia; of anthracite coal, 90 per cent. of Russia's output is from the Ukraine.

Referring to the economic agreements contained in the treaty, the Austrian papers indicate that, while exaggerated hopes are not justified, it may be expected that of a two years' harvest, at the least, which could not be exported from Ukrainia, there are still considerable stocks, and that about one million tons will be available. In this connection, however, the papers point out the difficulties of transport.

Manifesto of the Austrian Emperor

Emperor Charles of Austria-Hungary on Feb. 14, 1918, issued the following manifesto regarding the peace with the Ukraine:

To My Peoples: Thanks to God's gracious aid, we have concluded peace with Ukrainia. Our victorious arms and the sincere peace policy which we pursued with indefatigable perseverance have shown the first fruit of a defensive war waged for our preservation.

In common with my hard-trying peoples, I trust that after the first conclusion of peace, which is so gratifying an event for us, a general peace will soon be granted suffering humanity.

Under the impression of this peace with Ukrainia, our glance turns with full sympathy to that aspiring young people in whose heart first among our opponents the feeling of neighborly love has become operative, and which, after bravery exhibited in numerous battles, also possessed sufficient resoluteness to give expression by deed before the whole world to its better conviction.

It thus has been the first to leave the camp of our enemies in order, in the interest of the speediest possible attainment of a new and great common aim, to unite its efforts with our strength.

Having from the first moment I mounted the throne of my exalted forefathers felt myself one with my peoples in the rocklike resolve to fight out the struggle forced upon us until an honorable peace was reached, I feel myself so much the more one with them in this hour in which the first step has now been taken for the realization of this aim. With admiration for and affectionate recognition of the almost superhuman endurance and incomparable self-sacrifice of my heroic troops, as well as of those at home who daily show no less self-sacrifice, I look forward with full confidence to the near and happier future.

May the Almighty bless us further with strength and endurance, that, not only for ourselves and our faithful allies, but also for entire humanity, we may attain a final peace!

The Ukrainian Peace Treaty

Official Summary of Its Terms

GERMAN official dispatches state that the treaty signed on Feb. 9, 1918, is entitled "A Treaty of Peace Between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on One Part, and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the Other." The preamble states that the Ukrainian people, having in the course of the present world war declared itself to be independent and expressed a wish to restore peace between itself and the powers at war, desires "to take the first step toward a lasting world's peace, honorable to all parties, which shall not only put an end to the horrors of war, but also lead to the restoration of friendly relations of the peoples in political, legal, economic, and intellectual realms."

The names of all the plenipotentiaries engaged in the negotiations are then set forth, and they are declared to have reached an agreement on the following points:

Article I.—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other declare that the state of war between them is at an end. The contracting parties are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another.

Article II.—Between Austria-Hungary on the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other hand, as far as these two powers border one another, those frontiers will exist which existed before the outbreak of the present war between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Russia. Further north the frontier of the republic beginning at Tarnograd will in general follow the line of Bilgercy to Sroezberzszyn, Krasnostau, Pugasze, Radzyn, Meshiretschel, Sarnaki, Selnik, Wysekelitowsk, Kamiet-slitowsk, Prushany, and Wydozowskyesee. This will be fixed in detail by a mixed commission according to ethnographical conditions and with a regard to the desires of the population. Should the Ukrainian People's Republic yet have common frontiers with another of the powers of the Quadruple Alliance, special agreements will be made thereon.

Article III.—The evacuation of occupied territories will begin immediately after the ratification of the present treaty. The manner of carrying out the evacuation and transfer of the territories

will be determined by the plenipotentiaries of the interested parties.

Article IV.—The diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties will be entered upon immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty. The widest possible admittance of the respective parties to Consuls is to be reserved for a special agreement.

No War Costs or Indemnities

Article V.—The contracting parties mutually renounce the reimbursement of their war costs—that is to say, the State expenditure for carrying on the war, as well as indemnification for damages—that is to say, those damages suffered by them and their subjects in the war, as through military measures, including all requisitions made in the enemy's countries.

Article VI.—The respective prisoners of war will be permitted to return home, and, as far as they do not desire, with the approval of the State concerned, to remain in its territories or proceed to another country. The regulation of the questions connected herewith will follow by means of separate treaties provided for in Article VIII.

Article VII.—The contracting parties undertake mutually and without delay to enter into economic relations and organize an exchange for goods on the basis of the following prescriptions:

1. Until the 31st day of July of the current year reciprocal exchange of the more important surplus supplies of agricultural and industrial products will be carried out as follows for the purpose of covering current requirements. The quantities and sorts of products to be exchanged will be settled by a joint commission, to sit immediately upon the signature of the peace treaty. Prices will be regulated by the joint commission. Payments will be made in gold on the basis of 1,000 German imperial gold marks as the equivalent of 462 gold rubles of the former Russian Empire, or 1,000 Austro-Hungarian gold kroner as the equivalent of 393 rubles 78 kopeks of the former Russian Empire. The exchange of goods fixed by the joint commission aforementioned, which commission will consist of equal numbers of representatives of both parties, will take place through State central bureaus. The exchange of those products which are not fixed by the aforementioned commission will take place by the way of free trade, according to the stipulation of a provisional commercial treaty.

2. So far as it is not otherwise provided, the economic relations between the

contracting parties shall continue provisionally, and in any case until the conclusion of a final commercial treaty. But until the termination of a period of at least six months after the conclusion of peace between the Central Powers on the one part and the European States at war with the Central Powers, as well as the United States and Japan on the other part, certain prescriptions are laid down as a basis of relations.

As regards economic relations between Germany and Ukraina the text of the treaty prescribes what parts of the Russo-German commercial and shipping treaties of 1894 and 1904 shall be put into force. The contracting parties further agree to maintain the general Russian customs tariff of Jan. 13, 1903.

Imports to be Duty Free

The treaty also provides (Section 3) which parts of the Austro-Hungarian-Russian commercial and shipping treaty of Feb. 5, 1906, shall be maintained, and adds:

"All parties agree that all articles transported across the territory of either party shall be free of duty. Trade-mark agreements are resumed, and the contracting parties agree to support each other in restoring railway tariffs. Economic relations between Bulgaria and Turkey and Ukraina are to be settled according to the most favored nation definition until definite commercial treaties are concluded.

"If the period provided for in the first paragraph of Section 2 should not occur before June 30, 1919, each of the two contracting parties is free from June 30, 1919, to give six months' notice to terminate the prescriptions contained in the above-mentioned section."

4. (a) The Ukrainian People's Republic will make no claim to preferential treatment which Germany grants Austria-Hungary or another country bound to her by a customs alliance, which directly borders on Germany, or indirectly through another country bound to her or Austria-Hungary by a customs alliance, or which Germany grants to her own colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates, or to countries bound to her by a customs alliance. Germany will make no claim to preferential treatment which the Ukrainian People's Republic may grant to another country bound to her by a customs alliance, which directly borders on Ukraina, or indirectly through another country bound to her by a customs alliance, or to the colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates of one of the countries bound to her by a customs alliance.

(b) In economic intercourse between the treaty customs territory of both States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on

the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other, the Ukrainian People's Republic will make no claim to preferential treatment, which Austria-Hungary grants to Germany or another country bound to her by a customs alliance which directly borders on Austria-Hungary, or indirectly through another country bound to her or Germany by a customs alliance. Colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates are in this respect placed on a similar footing. Austria-Hungary will make no claim to preferential treatment which the Ukrainian People's Republic grants to another country bound to her by a customs alliance which directly borders on Ukraina, or indirectly borders through another country bound to her by a customs alliance, or to colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates of one of the countries bound to her by a customs alliance.

5. (a) So far as commodities which originally came from Germany or Ukraina are stored in neutral States, though the obligation rests upon Germany and Ukraina that they shall not be exported either directly or indirectly to the territories of the other contracting party, such restrictions regarding their disposal shall be abolished so far as the contracting parties are concerned. The two contracting parties, therefore, undertake immediately to notify the Governments of neutral States of the above-mentioned abolition of this restriction.

(b) So far as commodities which originally came from Austria-Hungary or Ukraina are stored in neutral States, although the obligation rests upon Austria-Hungary and Ukraina that they shall neither directly nor indirectly be exported to the territories of the other contracting party, such restriction respecting their disposal will be abolished so far as the contracting parties are concerned. Both contracting parties, therefore, undertake immediately to notify the Governments of neutral States of the above-mentioned abolition of these restrictions.

Question of War Prisoners

Article VIII.—Restoration of public and private legal relations, the exchange of prisoners of war and interned civilians, the question of amnesty and the question of the treatment of merchantmen in enemy hands will be regulated in separate treaties with the Ukrainian People's Republic, to form an essential part of the present peace treaty, which, so far as practicable, will take effect simultaneously therewith.

Article IX.—The agreements made in this peace treaty form an indivisible whole.

Article X.—For the interpretation of this treaty the German and Ukrainian texts are authoritative in regard to rela-

tions between Germany and Ukraina, the German, Hungarian, and Ukrainian texts for relations between Austro-Hungary and Ukraina, the Bulgarian and Ukrainian texts for relations between Bulgaria and Ukraina, the Turkish and Ukrainian texts for relations between Turkey and Ukraina.

The concluding part of the treaty provides:

"The present peace treaty will be ratified. Ratified documents shall be exchanged as soon as possible. So far as there are no provisions to the contrary, the peace treaty shall come into force on ratification."

The supplementary treaties provided for in Article VIII. also were signed. They cover the following points:

Restoration of consular relations.

Restoration of State treaties.

Restoration of civil law.

Indemnification for civil damages caused by laws of war or by acts contrary to international law.

Exchange of war prisoners and interned civilians.

Care of burial grounds of those fallen in enemy territory.

Provision for the return to their homes of persons affected by the treaty.

Treatment of merchant vessels in enemy hands.

The Brest-Litovsk dispatch stated that the text of the supplementary agreements must be withheld for the present to avoid overcrowding the telegraph wires.

The Republic of Finland

Finnish Separatism Since the Revolution

By Abraham Yarmolinsky

ONE of the first acts of the Provisional Government set up by the triumphant Russian revolution was to restore the Constitution of the Grand Duchy of Finland. This Constitution, granted to the Finns by Alexander II. in 1863, was in agreement with the rights and privileges, which Alexander I. solemnly pledged himself and his successors to maintain, for the purpose of giving a political existence to the autonomous grand duchy he had formed from the Swedish province of Finland, annexed in 1809, and the province of Vyborg, conquered by Peter the Great.

Throughout the last century the Russian rulers respected Finland's liberties, and, shielded from external interference, Suomi, the land of lakes and granite cliffs, became the seat of a remarkable national culture, highly progressive and keenly conscious of itself. The last Russian autocrat put an end to this political idyl. Under Nicholas II. the omnipotent bureaucracy opened a ruthless campaign against the ancient Finnish autonomy, a campaign in which the Government was partly supported by the Liberals. In 1899 the Constitution of Finland was suspended and the country put at the mercy of a Governor General whose

brutality was equaled only by his stupidity.

During the upheaval of 1905 the Government restored to the Finns their autonomy, and, furthermore, granted them universal suffrage, including the vote for women. No sooner, however, did reaction set in than the bureaucracy returned to its policy of trampling under foot the Constitution of Finland. The Finns particularly resented the law of 1910, which was clearly intended to serve as a weapon of Russification, and which was the negation of the very essence of Finland's autonomy.

The war did not relieve the situation. On the contrary, it increased the Russificatory zeal of Finland's oppressors to such a degree that many a patriotic Finn was driven by the love for his country to embrace the cause of Russia's enemies.

The restoration manifesto, issued March 21, 1917, abrogated all the laws and imperial edicts contrary to the Finnish Constitution, and amnestied all Finns who were imprisoned or exiled for religious or political offenses. It also declared the intention of the Provisional Government to convoke the Diet with the least possible delay, and to draft a series

of bills enlarging the Finnish Constitution, especially as regards the jurisdiction of the Diet. The document ends thus:

By this act we solemnly confirm to the Finnish people the integrity, based on its Constitution, of its internal independence and the rights of its national culture and languages. We express our firm assurance that Russia and Finland will henceforth be bound by respect for law for the sake of the mutual friendship and prosperity of the two free peoples.

AN UNBRIDGEABLE GULF

It was expected in Petrograd that this manifesto would do away with the animosities and misunderstandings accumulated in the years of persecution, and pave the way for cordiality and good-will between the two countries. This expectation failed to materialize. It soon became clear that the Finns were given to skepticism regarding the Russian promises, and that, not content with the mere restoration of their Constitution, they were ready to change it in the sense of an almost complete separation from Russia. The white-hot enthusiasm of the first months of the revolution did not weld together the Finn and the Russian. Too wide a distance, both ethnically and culturally, divided them, and there were no common historical memories to unite them. Finland loathed its union with Russia and made no pretense of concealing its feelings.

According to the Finnish Constitution, the supreme Governmental authority was vested in the person of the Emperor of Russia, who was also Grand Duke of Finland, and who constituted the link between the two countries. No bill passed by the Diet could become a law without the confirmation of the Emperor-Grand Duke. Since the monarchy no longer existed, the question arose as to who was to inherit the supreme authority in Finland. In the early stage of the Finnish separatist movement the conflict was centred chiefly around this question. The Finnish leaders argued that the grand ducal prerogatives had automatically passed to the Finnish Senate, i e., Cabinet of Ministers. That such a solution of the problem would be little short of secession, the separatists were aware.

In the course of a discussion of this matter, which took place late in April, Senator Oscar Tokoi, the leading spirit and spokesman of the movement, remarked that "the history of our people" bears eloquent witness to the fact that "the Finnish Nation is sufficiently de-



SKETCH MAP OF FINLAND.

veloped to become an independent people, free to settle its own affairs." The Provisional Government, on the contrary, held that the rights formerly vested in the Grand Duke of Finland now belonged to itself, as the sole depositary of the sovereign authority of the Russian people, and that the future relations between the two countries were to be determined not by a one-sided act of the Finnish Diet, but by a mutual agreement, whose terms could be fixed only by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILIATION

The Diet opened on April 4, the date fixed by the Provisional Government in a special edict. Although it had a Socialist—that is, a separatist—majority, it refrained for some time from challenging the Russian Government and reluctantly submitted to its authority. The conciliatory spirit was still strong in Finland. Speaking in the Diet on June 13, Tokoi reiterated that the interests of free Russia can not and must not contradict those of Finland, and that it is not the intention of the latter

to take advantage of the difficulties which beset the Provisional Government. He noted with satisfaction that the two peoples had achieved mutual understanding, and protested his faith in the sincerity of the purpose of Russian democracy. "We do not conceal," he added, however, "that the final goal of the Finns is an independent Finland, in keeping with the position we are entitled to occupy among the civilized nations."

The course of the Russian revolution was not of such a nature as to counteract the separatist tendencies throughout the country. Finnish separatism was gaining impetus in proportion as the general economic disintegration penetrated into Finland and as it became evident that revolutionary Russia was not able to evolve a strong Government capable of safeguarding the acquisitions of the revolution. It was safer for the Finns, their leaders apparently thought, to have the independence of Finland safeguarded by an international guarantee than to rely upon the protectorate of a country which in the sinuous and uncertain course of its history might revert to a barbarous régime and then again trample under foot the Finnish liberties.

INSIST ON SEPARATION

The Socialists led the movement. On June 22 the Congress of the Finnish Social Democrats demanded the separation of Finland from Russia and the formation of an independent republic. The following excerpt from an appeal issued by the Finnish Socialists to their comrades throughout the world elucidates the stand taken by the Finnish Socialistic Party:

Russian capitalism is not willing to renounce its power in Finland. * * * Russian supreme authority in relation to Finland signifies nothing less than political guardianship and oppression of the Finnish people. * * * The ruling bourgeoisie will sooner or later renew its exploitation of Finland. We appeal to the Socialist parties of the world, and particularly to our brother parties in Russia, and ask them to help us win and secure the independence of Finland. * * * The Finnish question is an international question. The Russian bourgeoisie cannot sufficiently guarantee the integrity of Finland's liberty.

The conflict between the Diet and the Provisional Government, like the Ukrainian movement, reached a critical stage in July. In the second week of this month it transpired that new constitutional laws were being voted by the Diet. This new Constitution, which was drafted in such strict secrecy that the Finnish Governor General had no knowledge of it, abolished practically all connections between Russia and Finland, except, in Tokoi's words, "the last vague bonds with Russia, which consist of a common policy in respect to defense and foreign affairs." Petrograd was seized with indignation, and a delegation, headed by Tscheidze, was immediately sent to Helsingfors to negotiate with the Diet.

DECREE OF AUTONOMY

Nevertheless, on July 19 the Diet passed the Autonomy bill by a vote of 136 to 55, and rejected the motion to submit the bill to the Provisional Government for confirmation by 104 to 86. The main provisions of the new law were as follows:

1. The Diet of Finland alone decides, confirms, and executes all Finnish laws, including those relating to home affairs, taxation, and customs. The Diet also makes the final decision regarding all other affairs which the Emperor-Grand Duke decided according to the law hitherto in force. The provisions of this law do not relate to matters of foreign policy, military legislation, and military administration.

2. The Diet meets for regular sessions without special summons and decides when they are to be closed. Until Finland's new form of government is decided upon, the Diet exercises the right of deciding upon new elections and the dissolution of the Diet.

3. The Diet controls the executive power of Finland. The supreme executive power is exercised by the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate, whose members are nominated and dismissed by the Diet.

The new Constitution made no mention of the Russian connection and apparently did not recognize the institution of Governor Generalship. It was a formal denial of Russia's suzerain rights in Finland. The Provisional Government persevered in the view that, as Tscheidze expressed it, "Finnish independence means independence established by

Russo-Finnish agreement, with the sanction of the Constitutional Assembly."

Russia's reply to the Finnish challenge came on Aug. 3, in the form of a decree ordering the dissolution of the Diet and setting Nov. 1, 1917, for the opening of a Diet elected anew. The edict was accompanied by a manifesto which declared the autonomy law unconstitutional, and reiterated that the rights of the former Grand Dukes, an essential element of the Finnish Constitution, were now vested in the Provisional Government.

RUSSIA THREATENS FORCE

Governor General Stakhovich issued a proclamation to the citizens of Helsingfors, setting forth that in calling for new elections the Government was appealing directly to the Finnish people over the heads of their present representatives, with whom it could not come to an agreement, and that the Provisional Government thus hoped to avoid the necessity of resorting to force. In the Diet Stakhovich explained that the date of the new elections had been fixed so that the opening of the Diet should coincide with the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, it being the belief of the Government that the two bodies, acting simultaneously, would be best fitted to determine the future Russo-Finnish relations. He added that, should the Diet refuse to obey, he would be compelled to use force, according to express instructions from Petrograd.

The Diet realized that the Provisional Government was resolved to enforce its will, and yielded. An armed insurrection is the last thing one should expect of the Finns. What they are most practiced in is the fine art of passive resistance. All through the months which followed the dissolution of the Diet the Finns made a fair show of their skill in this art. True to the watchword of independent Finland, they systematically refused to share the enormous financial burden of the nominally suzerain State, and persisted in their hostility toward the Russian troops stationed in the country. As for the Provisional Government, it did not hesitate to show the Finns its teeth on several occasions. Thus early in September it suppressed a number of

Finnish papers. Yet both in the Premiership of Prince Lvoff and in that of Kerensky, it pursued, upon the whole, a policy of compromises and concessions.

UNDER LENINE'S REGIME

The new Diet, the second since the revolution, opened at the appointed date. It had been in session for several days when the Bolsheviki seized the reins of power. The November revolution, or Bolshevik coup-d'état, swept away the obstacles which stood in the way of Finland's independence. Governor General Nekrasov, Stakhovich's successor and a former member of what the Bolsheviki termed "the bourgeois Government," left Finland immediately after Kerensky's downfall, and the new Government appointed no one to replace him.

The Russian authority was now represented solely by soldiers and sailors, scattered all over the country. Thus the bonds between Russia and Finland were de facto severed. Moreover, the Government of the Soviets recognized in principle the right of the Russian peoples to secede, without waiting for the decision of the Constituent Assembly. A manifesto issued by the People's Commissaries, i. e., the Bolshevik Ministers, on Nov. 23, confirms the right to freedom and self-determination on the part of the various nationalities which go to make Russia, and states expressly that "this right of the Russian peoples to their self-determination is to be extended even as far as separation and the forming of independent States." Finland was now free to act.

FINLAND INDEPENDENT

The independence of Finland was proclaimed on the 7th day of December, 1917. On that day the union between Russia and Finland, which had lasted since 1809, came to an end. Two days later the President of the Finnish Senate issued a proclamation, declaring that the Finnish Diet had assumed sovereign power and had appointed the Senate as the supreme executive authority. Thereupon, the document continued, the President of the Senate had submitted to the Diet a bill instituting Finland an independent republic. The proclamation

pointed out that no legal Russian authority existed in Finland, and that the state of anarchy in Russia forced the Finnish people to sever all relations of dependence with that country. It further stated that Finland was acting on the strength of the Allies' recognition of the right of all peoples to political self-determination.

By the end of the year the work of organizing Finland's State machinery was virtually completed, and negotiations for international recognition were opened. The first power to recognize the new republic was Sweden, to which Finland appealed in the name of a common historical past of upward of a thousand years. Sweden's example was followed by France, Norway, Denmark, and Germany. On Jan. 9 the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets unani- mously accepted the recognition of Finnish independence. The crimson banner with the yellow lion of Finland surrounded by nine white roses, which was hoisted during the March revolution, is now the national flag of a full-fledged, internationally recognized State.

FIGHTING THE BOLSHEVISTS

The Republic of Finland was born under the sinister sign of civil strife. It appears that the latest phase of the Russian upheaval, in which the revolution has assumed the character of a war of the poor against the rich, has called forth a responsive echo among the Finnish masses. Finland is a fertile soil for the propaganda of class war. The trouble started in November, when the Socialists declared a general strike in order to force the Diet, in which they were in the minority, to vote in favor of the immediate adoption of the Independence bill.

Later, in January, they repeated, on a smaller scale, the Petrograd revolution of Nov. 8 and set up a Government of their own, on the pattern of the one which sits in the Smolny Institute. It was during the November strike that the extremists organized the Red Guard of Workers, the army of the coming social revolution.

The movement originated spontaneously, but it is highly probable that the Petrograd Government gladly seized the opportunity of directing and supporting social revolution in Finland. At any rate, it is certain that the Russian soldiers and sailors took a large part in the conflict. The very arms for the Finnish Red Guard were secured from the Russian garrisons. At the date of this writing (middle of February) the Government troops, aided by the White Guard, which was organized by the propertied classes, seem to be masters of the situation.

The desire of the Finnish people to take their fate into their own hands is easily understood and in many respects legitimate. It is permissible, however, to question the wisdom of breaking off with the country on which Finland is largely dependent industrially and commercially. For Russia the secession of Finland constitutes no direct economic detriment, though eventually it will cause an enormous financial loss resulting from the necessity of abandoning Petrograd as the capital of Russia. A frontier city—and Petrograd is one, for there is only a score of miles between it and the nearest Finnish centre across the Neva estuary—is hardly fit to be the capital of a country. But what is this loss in comparison with the disasters which the maimed and broken Russian colossus is now facing?



Russia's Withdrawal From the War

Record of Events Leading Up to the Bolshevik Government's Formal Desertion of the Allies

THE Ukrainian People's Republic, as represented by the anti-Bolshevik Rada at Kiev, signed a formal peace treaty with the Central Powers on Feb. 9. 1918. Russia, as represented by the Bolshevik Government at Petrograd, formally withdrew from the war the next day, Feb. 10, though refusing to sign a treaty of peace. Both events, though separate, took place at Brest-Litovsk, where negotiations had been in progress for many weeks.

The official announcement of the ending of Russia's part in the war, as made by the Bolshevik Government, follows:

The peace negotiations are at an end. The German capitalists, bankers, and landlords, supported by the silent co-operation of the English and French bourgeoisie, submitted to our comrades, members of the peace delegations at Brest-Litovsk, conditions such as could not be subscribed to by the Russian revolution.

The Governments of Germany and Austria possess countries and peoples vanquished by force of arms. To this authority the Russian people, workmen and peasants, could not give its acquiescence. We could not sign a peace which would bring with it sadness, oppression, and suffering to millions of workmen and peasants.

But we also can not, will not, and must not continue a war begun by Czars and capitalists in alliance with Czars and capitalists. We will not and we must not continue to be at war with the Germans and Austrians—workmen and peasants like ourselves.

We are not signing a peace of landlords and capitalists. Let the German and Austrian soldiers know who are placing them in the field of battle and let them know for what they are struggling. Let them know also that we refuse to fight against them.

Our delegation, fully conscious of its responsibility before the Russian people and the oppressed workers and peasants of other countries, declared on Feb. 10, in the name of the Council of the People's Commissaries of the Government of the Federal Russian Republic to the Governments of the peoples involved in the war with us and of the neutral countries, that

it refused to sign an annexationist treaty. Russia, for its part, declares the present war with Germany and Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria at an end.

Simultaneously, the Russian troops received an order for complete demobilization on all fronts.

The signatures of Leon Trotzky and other members of the delegation are appended.

In connection with this statement an order was also issued that necessary steps be taken for declaring to the troops that the war with Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria was regarded from that moment as being at an end, as follows:

No military operations must again take place. The beginning of a general demobilization on all fronts is decreed. I order the issue of instructions on the front for the withdrawal of the troops from the first lines and for their concentration in the rear, and, further, for their dispatch to the interior of Russia, in accordance with the general plan for demobilization. For the defense of the frontier some detachments of younger soldiers must be left.

I beg our soldier comrades to remain calm and await with patience the moment of the return of each detachment to its home in its turn. I beg that no effort be spared to bring into the stores all artillery and other military equipment which cost milliards of the people's money.

Remember that only systematic demobilization can be carried out in the shortest time, and that systematic demobilization alone can prevent interference with the sending of food supplies to those detachments which remain for a certain period on the front.

The first news of the conclusion of peace between the Ukraine and the Central Powers and the capitulation of the Bolsheviks to the German demands came from Berlin on Feb. 10 and was confirmed the next day from Vienna, but no news came from Petrograd or Brest-Litovsk for six days preceding these announcements. The news of peace on the eastern front created great enthu-

siasm throughout Germany and Austria, and cities everywhere in both countries were beflagged. The German Emperor, in replying to an address of congratulation by the Burgomaster of Hamburg on the conclusion of peace with the Ukraine, said:

We ought to bring peace to the world. We shall seek in every way to do it. Such an end was achieved yesterday in a friendly manner with an enemy which, beaten by our armies, perceives no reason for fighting longer, extends a hand to us, and receives our hand. We clasp hands. But he who will not accept peace, but on the contrary declines, pouring out the blood of his own and of our people, must be forced to have peace. We desire to live in friendship with neighboring peoples, but the victory German arms must first be recognized. Our troops under the great Hindenburg will continue to win it. Then peace will come.

After the situation came to be fully understood, however, the leading German newspapers indicated by their comment that the feeling in Germany was not one of unmixed confidence; some doubt lingered as to whether the Bolsheviks would, after all, be able to establish peace. The Berliner Tageblatt's comment was:

We have peace with Russia because there is no Russian Army, but it is a peace devoid of any solid basis and without agreement. The quadruple alliance must now, as heretofore, strive after a definite settlement in eastern affairs, which will facilitate the establishment of peaceful and neighborly relations with the Russian people.

The Lokal-Anzeiger declared that premature rejoicing with the representatives of greater Russia had never been warranted, nor was it then, in view of the latest manifestations of Maximalist diplomacy. Other journals expressed similar views.

It was officially announced that Great Britain would not recognize the Ukraine peace treaty.

M. Kameneff, one of the Russian peace delegates, announced at Stockholm that Russia's action had been decided upon previously by the Soviet Congress. He added: "By our decision we have not given a finger to the Germans. We have not signed anything. We have not recog-

nized the German principles. Thus, we have a free hand to set forth anew our principles at a general peace conference."

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The withdrawal of Russia from further participation in the war was a natural sequel to what had occurred after the forcible dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, which had attempted to meet in Petrograd on Jan. 18. In the February issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE the forcible dispersing of the Assembly was recorded, with the decree of Lenine giving his reasons for this step. The real cause, however, was the Assembly's rejection—by a vote of 237 to 146—of a declaration submitted by the Central Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, as follows:

The Constituent Assembly resolves that Russia be declared a republic of Soviets. The central and provincial power appertains to these Soviets. The Republic of Soviets is formed on the basis of a free alliance of free nations under the Constitution of a confederation of national Soviet republics.

Then followed a long series of provisions. Article II. declared abrogated the right of private proprietorship of land, which was declared to be the property of the State. In the same article the principle of obligatory work for all was laid down, and the arming of the working classes, the disarming of the leisure classes, the organization of the Red Socialists, and the arming of workmen and peasants were announced. Article III. approved the policy of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates for a democratic peace and approved the decree repudiating all Russian loans. Article IV. said:

There having been an election on the electoral registers, drawn up before the people had begun to organize a social society, the Constituent Assembly considers that it can in no way oppose the power of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Government. At the moment of the decisive struggle of the people against those who have exploited them, the latter can find no place in the governing body. The power must lie exclusively in the hands of the working classes and their representatives, the Soviets.

Immediately after the dissolution of the Assembly the Executive Committee

of the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates issued a proclamation declaring that the revolution created the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council as the only organization able to direct the struggle of the exploited working classes for complete political and economical liberation. During the first period of the revolution the Workmen's and Soldiers' Congress had perceived the illusion of an understanding with the bourgeoisie and its deceptive parliamentary organization, and had realized that the liberation of the oppressed classes was impossible without a rupture with the bourgeoisie. The decree continues:

Therefore, the revolution of November arose, giving all authority to the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The Constituent Assembly, being elected from the old election lists, was the expression of the old régime, when authority belonged to the bourgeoisie. The people who voted for the Social Revolutionists were unable to distinguish those of the Right, who were partisans of the bourgeoisie, from those of the Left, who were partisans of socialism. Therefore, the Constituent Assembly necessarily became the authority of the bourgeois republic, setting itself against the revolution of November and the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.

The revolution of November, the decree continues, had shown the workers that the old bourgeois parliamentarianism had had its day and was incompatible with the tasks before socialism, and that only such institutions as the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils were able to overcome the opposition of the rich classes and create a new Socialist State. The decree adds:

Every refusal to recognize the authority of the republican Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils and to place in the hands of the Constituent Assembly and the bourgeoisie the liberty which had been won would be a step backward and toward the bankruptcy of the Workmen's and Peasants' revolution.

The Constituent Assembly opened on Jan. 18, and for known reasons gave a majority to the Social Revolutionists of the Right—the party of Kerensky, Tchernoff, and Avksentieff. It is comprehensible that this faction refused to debate the just and clear program of the Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and to recognize a declaration of rights of the exploited working classes,

as well as the revolution of November and the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.

This, the decree says, made a breach in the Assembly and the departure of the Bolsheviki and Social Revolutionists of the Left inevitable. The Social Revolutionists of the Right, it says, were fighting openly against the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils and supporting the exploiters of labor, and if this party only remained it might play the rôle of leading a bourgeois counter-revolution. The decree concludes: "The Central Executive Committee therefore orders the Constituent Assembly dissolved."

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

After this act it was clear that Russia would no longer be in a position to refuse the German terms of peace, notwithstanding the frequent declarations of Trotzky and his associates that unless Germany would first evacuate the occupied territory of Russia hostilities would be resumed. The proceedings at Brest-Litovsk were temporarily adjourned after the dissolution of the Assembly, apparently with the parties no nearer an agreement than at first. The Russian delegates returned to Petrograd to consult, and the German and Austrian Foreign Ministers proceeded to Berlin, where important conferences were held.

Meanwhile serious strikes had broken out throughout Germany and Austria-Hungary, and it was thought by some observers that the leaven of Bolshevism had permeated the Central Empires and that the long-predicted revolution had begun. This view, however, soon proved groundless, as the strikers were subdued by stern military measures; in some instances where the strikers refused to disperse they were fired upon by the soldiery. Proclamations were issued by commanders of military districts threatening the strikers with arrest for treason unless they returned to work; one Reichstag Deputy—Dittmann—was arrested and sent to prison for abetting the strike.

The third congress of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of all Russia met on Jan. 23 to act on the report

from Brest-Litovsk. There were 625 members present, mostly workmen or soldiers, with a sprinkling of sailors and several women. Lenin, Trotsky, and Marie Spiridonova (leader of the left wing of the Social Revolutionaries who had been defeated for Chairman of the Constituent Assembly) were elected Honorary Presidents.

THE BOLSHEVIST VERSION

This congress issued the following version of what had occurred at Brest-Litovsk in the final session preceding the adjournment to Jan. 29:

Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, addressing the conference, declared that "the position of the Austro-Germans is now absolutely clear." Continuing, the Foreign Minister said:

"Germany and Austria seek to cut off more than 150,000 square versts from the former Polish Kingdom of Lithuania, also the area populated by the Ukrainians and White Russians, and, further, they want to cut into territory of the Letts and separate the islands populated by the Estonians from the same peoples on the mainland. Within this territory Germany and Austria wish to retain their reign of military occupation, not only after the conclusion of peace with Russia, but after the conclusion of a general peace. At the same time the Central Powers refuse not only to give any explanation regarding the terms of evacuation, but also refuse to obligate themselves regarding the evacuation.

"The internal life of these provinces lies, therefore, for an indefinite period in the hands of these powers. Under such conditions any indefinite guarantees regarding the expression of the will of the Poles, Letts, and Lithuanians is only of an illusory character. Practically it means that the Governments of Austria and Germany take into their own hands the destiny of these nations."

Trotsky declared that he was glad now that the Central Powers were speaking frankly, stating that General Hoffmann's conditions proved that the real aims were builded on a level quite different from that of the principles recognized on Dec. 25, and that real or lasting peace was only possible on the actual principle of self-definition.

"It is clear," Trotsky declared, "that the decision could have been reached long ago regarding peace aims if the Central Powers had not stated their aims differently from those expressed by General Hoffmann."

Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, German

Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replied to Trotsky, declaring in principle that General Hoffmann's aims were the same as those advanced at Christmas. Throughout the negotiations, he said, the Germans had kept in view the ethnological boundaries, but also the actual boundaries of the old Russian Empire. The Central Powers intended to permit free self-definition, and he scoffed at the theory that the presence of troops would prevent this. Regarding evacuation, Dr. von Kühlmann said that it must be taken up with the newly born self-defined Governments.

"If General Hoffmann expresses the terms more strongly," said Dr. Kühlmann, "it is because a soldier always expresses stronger language than diplomats. But it must not be deduced from this that there is any dissension between us regarding the principles, which are one whole and well thought out."

Dr. Kühlmann consented to Trotsky's request for a postponement of the conference, declaring, however, that it would be much pleasanter if they could finish the negotiations at once, as the former recess brought about many misunderstandings.

GENERAL HOFFMANN'S THREAT

It was announced on Jan. 24 that the Russian delegates to the peace conference had unanimously decided to reject the German terms. They stated, referring to the action of General Hoffmann of the German delegation, that, when they asked Germany's final terms, the General replied by opening a map and pointing out the following line, which they insisted should constitute the future frontier of Russia: From the shores of the Gulf of Finland to the east of the Moon Sound Islands, to Valk, to the west of Minsk, to Brest-Litovsk. This completely eliminates Courland and all the Baltic provinces.

The Russians asked the terms of the Central Powers in regard to the territory south of Brest-Litovsk. General Hoffmann replied that was a question which they would discuss only with Ukraine. M. Kameneff asked: "Supposing we do not agree to such conditions. What are you going to do?"

General Hoffmann's answer was: "Within a week, then, we would occupy Reval." The Russians then asked for a recess, which was granted reluctantly.

Although the Russian delegates were given a recess, the discussions between

the Ukrainians and the Central Powers continued uninterruptedly.

HISTORIC SOVIET MEETING

The Assembly of Soviets at Petrograd did not receive the report of the peace negotiations until the third day of its session. On the evening of Jan. 27 Trotzky made his report.

The session opened with the announcement that Spiridonova would speak from the Peasants. All the guests' seats throughout the building had been given to members of the Peasants' Assembly, so that Trotzky, when he finally made his report, spoke not to the Soldiers and Workers only, but also to the Peasants' Assembly, which, in spite of the prognostications of the anti-Bolsheviks, had an overwhelming Bolshevik majority, and supported the action of the Soviets in sweeping away the Constituent Assembly.

After Zinoviev had welcomed the Peasants there was singing of the "Internationale." Then a moment's pause, and Trotzky was at the tribune, and when the roars of applause had ended, he began quietly and clearly his exposition of the history, method, aims, and results of the peace negotiations. He pointed out that the Allies had two and a half months in which they could have come in. He pointed out that Kerensky's repeated efforts to move the Allies toward peace had proved absolutely fruitless. The object of the conference was to make the actual obstacles to peace clear, not only for the peoples of the hostile countries, but also for the Russian people.

He pointed out how the Germans, by presenting an ultimatum in the form of a refusal to continue the discussions anywhere but at Brest-Litovsk, hoped to make the Russians break on an excuse which would cloud the issue for the German working classes. He touched on the weak point of the Russian side, namely, the delegation from the Ukrainian Rada. "We asked them, like ourselves, to hold no unpublished conversations with the enemy," he explained. "They said they would consult Kiev before answering. That answer we have never received in spite of repeated requests."

TROTZKY'S EXPLANATION

He read a telegram showing that Albert Thomas (former French Minister of Munitions) even then believed that the patriotic Rada was going to save Russia from making a separate peace, when, as a matter of fact, the Rada was concluding a separate peace itself. Then, after mentioning three distinct tendencies in Germany, he said that the main point on which the discussions hung was the refusal of Germany to name a date for the removal of troops. He sketched the line which the Germans intended to show to be the new frontiers, and said it was so planned as to make further German aggression easy.

"The whole system of the German argument was based on the assumption that the Russian Government would understand, but be silent and grateful to the Germans for saving their faces by giving a mock democratic character to their peace," he said.

Then came the decisive moment. Trotzky threw his head back and stood a figure of incomparable energy as he said: "The bourgeois Governments can sign any kind of peace. The Government of the Soviets cannot."

In that whole vast assembly there was but a handful of men who disagreed. Trotzky continued, saying that it was to the interests of all other Governments that a non-democratic peace should be signed. He pointed to Rumania, where Rumanian troops, he said, isolated and starved, had fired on Russian troops and, for the sake of preventing a revolution, were prepared to seize Bessarabia, thus making possible compensation elsewhere with a view to a non-democratic peace. He announced the action which the Soviet Government had decided to take against Rumania, and went on: "Yes, we have plenty of enemies. Either we shall be destroyed or the power of the bourgeoisie throughout Europe will be destroyed. We have left the imperialistic war and shall never return to it." With regard to further steps he asked to be allowed free action. In any case, he would not sign a non-democratic peace.

The Soviet Assembly indorsed the at-

titude of the Peace Commissioners and also passed resolutions:

1. Making valid the transfer of land.
2. The giving of control to the workmen.
3. The establishment of a soldiers' and workmen's republic, and, ultimately, the federation of soldiers' and workmen's republics.
4. The nationalization of banks and the repudiation of national debts.

Zalkind, assistant to the Foreign Minister, Trotzky, in explanation of the last measure said to The Associated Press:

This measure has been passed in principle and it has become a law, but its enforcement is in the hands of the National Commissaries. If they find it expedient, necessary, or desirable they have the right to refuse to pay the debts.

It was later announced that the Soviet, realizing that Germany would not accede to the demand for evacuation of the occupied provinces, decided to make no peace treaty; it also decided upon demobilization of the Russian Army and upon the method of withdrawing from the war as announced on Feb. 12.

VON KUEHLMANN'S COMMENTS

During the period between the ending of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk and the resumption of negotiations the German Foreign Minister, Dr. von Kühlmann, was in Berlin. In one of his addresses before the Reichstag Main Committee, Jan. 26, he said:

A representative body of Lithuania has really been honorably set up, and the representatives of the Lithuanian people of all classes can strive toward the realization of possibilities. It has been suggested that we should wait until the end of the war before extension of this to other existing representative bodies. We work under difficult circumstances in the country in question, as the war still continues. We will, if peace is reached with Russia, do what can be done in conjunction with the military necessities, with a view to bringing about this extension during the war.

Herr Trotzky twice declared in open discussion that our Government has no other basis than force. The Bolsheviks maintain themselves by brutal force; their arguments are cannon and machine guns. Differences of opinion are settled by their getting rid of their opponents in a radical and satisfactory manner. The Bolsheviks preach beautifully, but practice otherwise.

They have solemnly recognized the Finnish Republic. They never disputed the

right of that republic to receive diplomatic representatives, but when it came to the act of sending representatives there, they created the greatest difficulties. When we have news from Finland we will know that the soldiery in exercising there a tyranny worse than existed in the times of the Czar.

I may point to the proceedings of the Bolsheviks against the legal Assembly, announced with so much pomp. The main fact in that case was that two cruisers anchored in front of the Tauride Palace and turned their guns on its windows. As this argument was not sufficient, the delegates were simply chased out with bayonets.

The statements of the Bolsheviks show that these gentlemen are indulging in another policy than that of concluding an open and honorable peace with the Bourgeois Governments of the Central Powers, which are hated like poison.

"CONVERSATIONS" WITH POLAND

Dr. Kühlmann said that "conversations" with Poland had been carried on by Germany and Austria for months with zeal, but were not yet ripe for communication. He continued:

What Count Czernin said of Poland we can say of the other border peoples who will form the object of our discussion. We have precisely the same confidence in the attractive force of the great free German State for these peoples. German policy never will resort to petty police pressure or any similar methods, which in the long run would only have the contrary effect.

Regarding Turkey and Bulgaria, the Foreign Secretary said:

These peoples, at an hour of weighty import, trusting Germany's star, joined our side, and they shall never get the impression from the peace negotiations that the German word is not binding on every German to the end.

Dr. Kühlmann concluded by declaring that the German Government earnestly desired a wise and honorable peace.

The final sessions were resumed at Brest-Litovsk on Jan. 29, but no details of what occurred were given out except the brief announcement on Feb. 10 that a peace treaty had been made with the Ukraine and that the Bolsheviks had capitulated to the German demands without signing a treaty.

A decree was issued Feb. 3 on the authority of the Soviets, signed by the Premier and other members of the Gov-

ernment, separating the Church and State, eliminating church income from the State and confiscating all church realty, furnishings, and paraphernalia. The decree stipulates that religious societies may continue to use the property exclusively for religious services, although the title is vested in the State.

Religious freedom is guaranteed so long as religious societies do not interfere with social order, limit the rights of individuals or hinder the republic. No religious scruples are to exempt persons from their duties as citizens. The religious oath is canceled and replaced by promise.

Marriage ceremonies and birth registrations are to be performed by the civil authorities. Religious teaching is abolished in State schools and in private schools with a similar curriculum.

No State assistance will be given to any church society or religious agent. No religious society will be permitted to own any property, but will merely be permitted to borrow it from the State for church services.

The Rev. Dr. Tikhon, Patriarch of all Russia and Metropolitan of Moscow, bitterly attacked the decree, declaring those responsible for it anathema, and threatened them with excommunication.

The Dissolution of the Russian Armies

Report of General Denikine

The fact that the Russian armies were refusing to fight first became fully known to the world through the disaster of July 21, 1917, when the Russians in Galicia were driven back to Tarnopol. On the 28th General Denikine, commander in that sector, was called before a war council held at Mohileff and made a frank report to the revolutionary authorities on the reasons for the catastrophe. The chief passages of this report, which have now reached the United States through the Paris Temps, are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The report is the most striking revelation of conditions at that crucial period thus far forthcoming in official and authoritative form.

IT is with profound emotion and a consciousness of my heavy responsibility that I have written this report.

I ask your indulgence. I was wont to speak frankly and fearlessly in the presence of the autocratic Czar, and my words will be of the same kind in the presence of the revolutionary autocracy.

When called to the command I found the troops in a state of complete disorganization. This fact seemed all the more strange because neither the accounts that had reached the headquarters of the General Staff nor my own observations had led me to expect so desolating a situation. It is easy to explain this fact: As long as the soldiers merely had to maintain a passive attitude they gave way to no important excesses. But when the moment arrived for them to do their duty, when they were ordered to prepare for attack, then the animal instinct spoke and the veil was lifted.

There were as many as ten divisions that did not take their positions for departure, as ordered. An enormous turmoil arose among the officers of all ranks, the committees, the agitators. There were endless requests, conversations, persuasions. To take even the least decisive measure it was necessary before all to diminish the number of troops in revolt. Almost a whole month passed in this way. Only a part of the divisions obeyed the order to go into battle. In particular, the 2d Corps, from the Caucasus, and the 160th Infantry Division revolted. Many detachments lost not only their former appearance, but even all human semblance. I shall never forget the hour I passed in the 703d Regiment.

In certain regiments there were from eight to ten distilleries of alcohol! Drunkenness, gambling, assault and battery, pillage, sometimes murder. * * *

I decided to send the 2d Caucasian Corps to the rear, with the exception of the 51st Infantry Division, and to reorganize it as well as the 160th, thus depriving myself from the outset of a force of about 130,000 bayonets. In the sector with the Caucasian Infantry Corps were placed the 28th and 29th Infantry Divisions, considered the best on the front. The 29th moved into position as ordered, but the next day almost two and a half regiments returned to the rear. The 28th Division wished to deploy a regiment into the vacant position, but the regiment decided without appeal not to occupy it.

PREMIER KERENSKY'S VISIT

Everything possible was done to influence them. The Commander in Chief [Brusiloff] himself came, and after discussions with the committees and delegates of the two corps went away with the impression that the soldiers were good, but that the officers were frightened, and had lost their heads. It was not the truth. The officers in this incredibly painful situation had done all that they could.

The Commander in Chief is not aware that the meeting of the 1st Siberian Corps, which welcomed his address with enthusiasm, was prolonged after his departure. Other orators came, who demanded that the soldiers should not listen to "the old bourgeois," (pardon me, but that is the word used,) and loaded his name with gross insults. These speeches were saluted with frantic applause.

The Minister of War, M. Kerensky, in the course of a tour of inspection, made an inspiring appeal to glory, and received a triumphal welcome from the 28th Infantry Division; but on his return he met the deputation from one of two regiments in this division which had taken a resolution, a half hour after the orator's departure, not to attack. Still more touching was the spectacle of the 28th Infantry Division, which burst into the wildest enthusiasm at the moment when the red flag was returned to the commander of the regiment from Poti, who received it kneeling. By the mouths of three orators and by repeated cries the men of the regiment vowed that they

would die for their country. On the first day of the attack, without even going into their trenches, this regiment made a half-turn and went six or seven miles to the rear of the battle line.

CAUSES OF THE DEMORALIZATION

Among the factors which should have sustained the morale of the troops, but which in reality led them into complete demoralization, were the political commissaries and the soldiers' committees. Perhaps there were among the commissaries a few "black swans," who, without meddling in what did not concern them, were really of some use. But the very institution, from the fact that it involves two powers, that it creates friction, that it is an unsolicited and baneful interference, cannot fail to be a cause of decomposition in the army.

The committees are another cause of demoralization. I do not deny the remarkable work of many which are doing their duty with all their might. Many of their members especially were precious for their superb example of heroic death. But I affirm that their usefulness has not compensated, save in a minor degree, for the enormous evil caused by the committees to army discipline by reason of their oligarchy, of their division of power, their hostile interference in war affairs, and the discredit they throw on authority. I could give hundreds of examples of their work of disorganization and weakening of authority, but I will limit myself to the most characteristic:

On June 8 a committee at the front decided not to attack; then it changed and pronounced for an attack. On June 1 the committee of the 2d Army decided not to attack, and on June 20 changed its decision. The Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates at Minsk, by a vote of 123 to 79, refused to authorize an attack. All the committees of the 169th Infantry Division voted for lack of confidence in the Provisional Government and a belief that they considered an attack on the enemy to be "treason to the revolution." The campaign against authority expressed itself in a whole series of dismissals of commanding officers, acts in which, in the

majority of cases, the committees took part. At the very beginning of the military operations a corps commander, a chief of the General Staff, and the head of a division intrusted with an important attack had to abandon their commands. In this manner about sixty officers, from commanders of army corps to heads of regiments, were deposed.

It is difficult to estimate all the evil done by the committees. There is no longer any firm discipline. If a consolidating decision is made by a majority vote it amounts to nothing. The Bolsheviks, hiding behind their privilege as members of the committee, are everywhere sowing trouble and revolt. In brief—oligarchy and prolixity! In place of support for authority, discredit. The military leader, hampered, elevated, then cast down, discredited on all sides, is expected, nevertheless, to be powerful and to conduct the troops vigorously to battle.

FAILURE OF THE OFFENSIVE

Such was the material preparation that preceded the operations. The deployment was not finished, but the pressure on the southwest front made immediate succor necessary. The enemy had already deprived my front of three or four divisions. I decided to attack with the remaining troops who seemed faithful to their duty.

For three days the artillery thundered against the enemy trenches, tore them up frightfully, inflicted heavy losses on the Germans, and pounded out a road for our infantry. Almost all the first zone was carried. Our chain of troops reached the enemy batteries. The breach seemed about to be enlarged: it was the long expected victory at last.

[General Denikine here tells in detail, with the aid of the report of the General Staff, how lack of discipline and the disorderly conduct of the troops caused the Russians to lose the benefits of a well-led attack which promised brilliant results. He continues:]

After this reverse the dwindling of man power increased, and at nightfall took on enormous proportions. The soldiers, weary, unnerved, unaccustomed to the roar of cannon after months of rest, of inaction, of fraternization, of meetings, abandoned the trenches en masse, throwing away their rifles and machine

guns, and flowed in a torrent toward the rear. The cowardice and indiscipline of some reached such a pitch that several of our Generals asked that no more artillery be fired, for fear that the noise of our own cannon would cause a panic among our soldiers.

[General Denikine goes on to relate the failure of another offensive operation, as described by the commandant of the 1st Siberian Corps. After carrying three fortified lines, in which the Russians established themselves "at the price of insignificant losses," the success was completely annulled because many soldiers refused to pass the night in the conquered positions. The General adds:]

Such was the result of this offensive. Never before had I had the good fortune to fight with such numerical superiority in bayonets and materials. Never had the outlook been so bright. On thirteen miles of front I had 184 batteries, against 29 enemy batteries; 900 guns against 300. The batteries that were to go into the attack were 138, against 17. All this was reduced to dust.

From the tone of all the reports of the Generals one might conclude that the mental condition of the troops immediately after the operation defied analysis. Three days later I called together the army commanders and asked these questions: "Will our armies be able to resist a serious German attack, with enemy reserves?" Answer: "No." "Can our armies sustain an organized attack of the Germans if the enemy forces remain the same as now?" Two commanders answered in vague, conditional terms; the head of the 10th Army categorically. The general verdict was: "We no longer have any infantry." I will make the statement stronger, and say: "We no longer have any army, and it is necessary to create one at any price."

Under Paragraph 6 of the "Declaration of the Soldier's Rights," it is prescribed that all printed matter, without exception, shall be forwarded to the person addressed. This deluges the whole army with incendiary Bolshevik literature, and upon this literature the spirit of the army is fed. It is evident that official funds, the funds of the people and of the Military Bureau at Moscow, have been invested in this vicious propaganda sent to the front.

From March 24 to May 1 there arrived 7,972 copies of the Pravda, 2,000 copies of the Soldatskaia Pravda, 30,375 copies of the Sozial Demokrate, &c. From May 1 to June 11 there arrived 61,525 copies of the Soldatskaia Pravda, 32,711 of the Sozial Demokrate, 6,999 of the Pravda. These papers were spread through the companies by individual soldiers.

Under Paragraph 14 no one is to be punished without trial. Certainly this right belongs to the private soldiers alone, for the officers continue to be denied it. What has happened? The high military tribunal, paralyzed by democratization, proposes to limit its activities to the most important cases, such as treason. The officers have lost all disciplinary authority. The disciplinary tribunals have not been elected, either through indifference or through boycott. In short, justice has been excluded from the army. All these legislative measures have annihilated authority and discipline, brought contempt upon the officers, deprived them of all confidence, all consideration.

The officers' corps: it is very painful to me to speak of this, and I will be brief. Sokoloff, plunging into military life, has said: "I could not have imagined what martyrs your officers are; I bow before them." Yes; in the darkest hours of the Czarist epoch the satellites and police did not employ, for those they deemed criminal, the tortures, the jeers

inflicted today by the sombre mass, guided by the revolutionary rabble, upon officers who are giving their lives for their country.

They are insulted at every turn, they are struck, yes, struck. But they do not complain; they are moved by shame, mortal shame. And more than one in private sheds tears over his misfortune. It is not strange that to escape such a situation many officers seek death on the battlefield. What epic calm and tragic resonance vibrate through this passage from an account of the battle: "In vain did the officers, marching in advance, try to rally their men. At that moment a white flag appears on Redoubt 3. Then fifteen officers, with a little group of soldiers, marched forward alone. Their fate is unknown. They were not seen again."—(Report of the 38th Army Corps.)

Peace to the ashes of those heroes, and may their blood be upon the heads of those who caused their death, whether voluntarily or involuntarily! The army is in ruins. Heroic measures are necessary.

[General Denikine ended by proposing a plan of military reorganization. It was summarily discarded, for events were moving rapidly in the other direction. Kerensky was losing his hold on the masses, who were even then bent on abandoning the war and negotiating a separate peace. When General Dukhonine, the new Commander in Chief, refused to open such negotiations in November he was deposed and murdered.]

The Falling Market in War Aims

By George Bernard Shaw

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

[Mr. Shaw's personal opinions of the war situation at the beginning of 1918 are here stated with more than his usual whimsicality of humor, and are presented to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE readers for their literary interest—without editorial indorsement.]

THE bidding for peace took a long time to start; but now that it has started, it is bewilderingly brisk. It seems only yesterday that to have any war aims at all was denounced

as the blackest pro-German treason. Victory, smashing, triumphant victory without any ulterior object whatever except "the crushing of Prussian militarism," (the same thing in other words,) was the whole aspiration of the pugnacious patriot. To give Germany a knockout blow was admissible; but to take anything from her, or want anything from her, or compromise the purity of our position as the ministers of God's

wrath against her, was flat corruption. "Get on with the war," we said, rather superfluously, as the war was getting on with us quite as fast as we could keep up with it, and a little faster occasionally in the Atlantic. "What for?" asked a few impossible people. "Never mind: get on with the war," we said. And really we were justified by the facts, because the rulers of Germany showed no sign of troubling themselves about our aims, or caring whether we had any or not. They did not think our aims mattered, because they did not intend to let us achieve them. And it suited them very well that we should keep declaring that we were out to crush them. That was precisely what they had been telling the German people, to convince them that they must fight us to the bitter end in simple self-preservation; and they were only too glad to have our own word to support them.

GERMANY'S PACIFIC ROLE

At this point it occurred to some intelligent Teuton that the moral position of Germany could be considerably improved if Germany left to us the task of declaring that we were out for blood and iron and conquest, and took the pacifist position herself. The Russian revolution had, in fact, created a situation in which it was extremely important to all the belligerents that they should appear in the character of grievously molested Quakers, reluctantly forced to defend their countries against imperialist aggression. We did not notice this as soon as the Germans did: we were too busy bawling "Get on with the war." Consequently, though the tug-of-war on the western front went on as fiercely as ever, in the moral tug-of-war that goes on between the Governments in their appeals to the conscience of civilization, the Germans suddenly let go the rope; and we sat down with a crash. "Why this shocking slaughter?" they said. "We desire peace. We have always desired peace. Let dogs delight to bark and bite; but let us behave as the trustees of civilization. We propose the status quo ante, peace on earth and good-will toward men. We have taken Belgium: we will make Belgium a present of herself. We have an-

nexed the top of France: we will return it to her as a Christmas gift. Western Europe and Africa shall be as they were: the rest can be arranged. If another shot is fired it shall not be our fault."

GERMANY'S PROFESSIONS

We were morally dished. Nobody saw it apparently except Lord Lansdowne; and his desperate attempt to capture the ground we should have been the first to occupy was spoilt by our stupidity. For of all stupid ways of receiving it that were possible the very stupidest was to raise a shriek that we must not dream of peace now because we were beaten. Yet for several days after Lord Lansdowne's letter appeared, it was rank treason, dastardly pacificism, unblushing Boloism, treacherous pro-Germanism, to suggest that the British Army had ever suffered anything but disastrous, disgraceful defeat, or that the irresistible Hun's magnificent sweep to a faultlessly organized victory had been marred by a single reverse. Jellicoe, ci devant Nelsonic victor of the Jutland Trafalgar, was suddenly banished to the obscurity of the House of Lords for losing that battle. Well might Haig, in his château somewhere in France, ask himself desperately whether any commander could struggle against such patriotism, and pray for a Government of pacifists, of pro-Germans, of Quakers, even of certified lunatics as less dangerous than uncertified ones. German military stock went up with a bound; there was an unmistakable heartening of the German public, orchestrated by a crescendo in the German militarist music. "We do not ask you to take the defeat of the Allies on our biased authority," said the Pan-Germans: "they tell you so themselves. Read the London papers." And the German people did read them in "Sidelights on England," and believed them. They naturally wanted to believe them; and they could hardly be expected to know that a London patriot is a hysterical creature who is not only unable to keep his head, but cannot be restrained from kicking it around the streets under the impression that it is the Kaiser's head.

The news from the front was not one-sided enough to restore order. Haig had

made one of his lion springs and torn Passchendaele out of Hindenburg's claws before Hindenburg knew where he was. Hindenburg, growling that two could play at that game, had dashed at La Vacquerie, and covered six miles in less than two hours, driving before him naked men, making Parthian slings of their bath towels. The two Generals held on grimly to their prey, glaring at one another and panting, but were obliged to confess that honors were easy. In Italy the Government had played the fool with the labor question.

Meanwhile our Government had also played the fool, not only over labor, but over the Russian revolution. From the moment that revolution broke out there was an inevitable diversion in the energies of our Foreign Office, which at once classed the war with Germany as an affair of secondary importance, and set itself, as a matter of good form, to ignore the Petrograd rabble, and convince the relics of the Benckendorff circle of our unalterable devotion to the Czardom. It could hardly do less without losing its position in Western society. Meanwhile the distrust of labor by our own Government led to the Henderson incident. Mr. Henderson, who had been all but disarmed by appeals to his patriotism and loyalty, and by the pretense of admitting him to the Cabinet, had his eyes opened by a gross personal discourtesy; and in that moment labor found a leader, and Mr. Henderson saved his soul alive. "Very good, gentlemen," he said: "you refuse to admit that this war concerns the working class. The working class will now state the aims of England in this war, not from Petrograd or Stockholm, but from London; and you shall take your turn on the mat outside the door while labor is deciding what you shall do." It was a big bounce; but Mr. Henderson pulled it off. He delivered the war program of labor. The Prime Minister had to take it from his hand like a lamb. The French and Italian papers complimented him on his sensible submission. President Wilson patted him on the head and said "Good boy," making it clear that he, too, has not an item to add to the labor program. And

we are all trying to pretend that we said so all along.

LABOR'S GAGE OF BATTLE

But the missed point to be illuminated now is that most of this has been accomplished under an illusion. That illusion is that the war aims of the Labor Party are not war aims but peace terms. When it was known that Mr. Henderson was going simply to shove the Cabinet aside and take the war question into his own hands, the patriots changed their shriek of defeat into an even wilder one of immediate peace, which they always seem to believe can be made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, or any other member of the Independent Labor Party, by lifting a finger. Now, if they wanted to defeat Mr. Henderson, there was one way of doing it, (if it could have been done at all after the way he had been insulted in his representative capacity;) and that way was to insist on what was the simple fact: namely, that his war aims meant from two to thirty years more fighting, as they involved not only an old-fashioned victory of British over German militarism, but a European victory of democracy over oligarchy and autocracy, and of socialism over competitive capitalism. But when your patriot's neck gets into a noose, he can always be depended on to draw it tighter by his terrified struggles. All the patriots bawled at the top of their voices that the labor war aims meant peace by negotiation, a German peace, an inconclusive peace, a dishonorable peace, all sorts of adjectives but ever the same substantive: peace, peace, peace. And thereby they got Mr. Henderson out of his great difficulty, which was, how to pass a statement of war aims through a labor conference which was longing for peace. The effect of their misjudged but effective help was one of the funniest political farces of the time. When Mr. Stephen Walsh, a very formidable opponent, with a heavy card vote in his pocket, moved that the question be adjourned for a month, he was smashed by a single phrase from Mr. Robert Smillie: "You want another month of slaughter." After that, Mr. Walsh had not a dog's chance.

Mr. Ben Turner rose and said that he did not like the war aims, because there was too little of the Bible in them; but they made for peace, and he was for peace now, this instant. Almost his next sentence began "Our German friends." Mr. Turner came down on him with a trenchant repetition of his chivalrous Christian phrase, and steamrolled him amid thunderous plaudits. The war aims went through triumphantly, as peace terms. They have spread a hope of peace over our Christmas.

THE CHALLENGE

I am sorry to have to break the spell; but they are not peace terms. They are the gage of battle thrown at the feet of every Government in Europe, not excepting our own Foreign Office. In spite of the climb down that has occurred, they do not approach any terms that we could dictate to the Germans except as victors. The Labor Party itself climbed down from its position of August last by substituting a plebiscite for French conquest in the case of Alsace-Lorraine. Mr. Lloyd George, in swallowing the revised version, climbed down from the internationalization of Constantinople to leaving the Turk in possession of it. Mr. Wilson, who, in his reply to the Pope, had declared that if Germany did not democratize her Constitution the United States would smash her, climbed down with the words, "Neither do we presume to suggest to Germany any alteration or modification of her institutions."

These concessions seem so significant, and any sort of definite war aims must seem so clear and reasonable in contrast with the crude ravings they replace, that we are for the moment cheated into believing that the Germans must think them as moderate as they seem to us. Let us not deceive ourselves. Take three items from the labor war aims by way of sample.

1. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, decayed as it is, may appear a mere make-weight in Camberwell; it will be a matter of fighting *jusqu'au bout* in Constantinople.

2. Alsace-Lorraine is the very trophy of victory in the war between France and Germany, and the suggestion of a plebiscite does not altar that situation in the least; for what Frenchman with an ounce

of fight left in him would consent to such a plebiscite being taken until the German Army had evacuated the territory and left the inhabitants free to vote? It is hard enough for a Frenchman to consent even to a voluntary evacuation of the north of France; all the pugnacity and pride in him must cry out, "We shall not accept your offer to evacuate; you shall go as you came, fighting every inch of the way, or running."

3. The proposal of a league of nations protectorate for the African colonies does not touch those colonies which the Union of South Africa has taken; and we dare not ask General Smuts to give them back to Germany.

I could add to this list of fighting points; but these are enough. The Germans have replied that the terms are the terms dictated by a victor and that we are not victorious yet. And they are quite right. The sins of which this war is the punishment are not yet expiated either in Germany or here; and there is nothing for it but to set our teeth, tighten our belts, and go through with it.

Nevertheless, there are incalculable factors in the case. One is the revolt of the human conscience against war. When everything that can be said for war has been said a thousand times; when to the wretched plea that the distribution of our wealth was so bad, the condition of our people so poor, and our public sloth and carelessness so disastrous that an iron scourge was needed to drive us to do better, we add the less disgraceful claim that pride, honor, courage, and defiance of death flame up in war into a refiner's fire, yet nothing can conceal the blasting folly, the abominable wickedness, the cruelty and slavery with which war wreaks life's vengeance on those who will respond to no gentler or holier stimulus. In the midst of our stale paraphrases of the heroics of Henry V. our eye lights on some name of youthful promise in the roll of honor, and sees suddenly through the splendid mask of victory to the grinning skull beneath. It is this incalculable factor that makes the Russian revolution so formidable.

WAR AGAINST THRONE

Yet here again I must sorrowfully dispel the illusion that the Russian revolution makes for peace. Our patriots, always seizing the wrong end of the stick,

are in full cry against "a separate peace" by Russia. What they would dread if they had any grasp of the situation is a separate war by Russia: a fight to a finish not only with the German throne, but with all thrones; a war that will go on when the rest of the belligerents want to stop; a war that may develop into a blaze of civil wars in England, France, and Italy, with the Foreign Offices and Courts and capitalists fighting to restore the Czar, and the "proletarians of all lands" fighting to reproduce the Russian revolution in their own country. What has happened so far is a very old thing: the world has many times before seen the Kings of the earth rise up and the rulers take counsel together. But when peoples with new Bibles and new Jewish prophets do the same, there will be no more use for the middle-class ignorance that deals with such a danger by a refusal of passports to those who alone understand it. There is a war to be averted ten times more terrible than that war which we are told to get on with by fools who imagine that we have any choice in the matter, and

flick their little whips at the earth to make it go around the sun. Which of us would not stop the war tomorrow if he could? Which of us can?

For my own part I am a *Jusqu'aboutist*. I do not want this war to be compromised as long as it will be possible for any of the belligerent powers afterward to pretend that if it had only gone on for another year it would have won. If we win there will be such a surge of exultation throughout the country that every counsel of moderation or prudence will be swept away as irresistibly as Bismarck and the Socialists were swept away in 1871, when they asked their countrymen to spare Alsace-Lorraine. The same thing will happen in Germany if the Central Empires win. It is our business to see that they do not win. It is their business to see that we do not win. When both sides become convinced that neither of them can both win and survive the effort, then it will be time to talk of peace.

Until then, I shall not join the ranks of those kindly people who cry peace when there is no peace.

The Supreme War Council

Summary of the Third Session

The third session of the Allies' Supreme War Council was held at Versailles in the last days of January and the first days of February, 1918. The official statement of the proceedings, issued Feb. 3, follows:

MEETINGS of the third session of the Supreme War Council, held at Versailles, Jan. 30 and 31, Feb. 1 and 2:

In addition to the members of the Supreme War Council itself, namely, MM. Clemenceau and Pichon for France, Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Milner for Great Britain, Professor Orlando and Baron Sonnino for Italy, and the military representatives of the Supreme War Council, Generals Weygand, Wilson, Cadorna, and Bliss, there were also present for the greater part of the purely military discussions the French and British Chiefs of General Staff, Generals Foch and Rob-

ertson; the Italian Minister of War, General Alfieri, and the Commander in Chief of the western front, Pétain, Haig, and Pershing. A. H. Frazier, First Secretary of the United States Embassy at Paris, was present during the political discussions.

The decisions taken by the Supreme War Council in pursuance of this contingent embrace not only a general military policy to be carried out by the Allies in all the principal theatres of the war, but, more particularly, a closer and more effective co-ordination, under the council, of all the efforts of the powers engaged in the struggle against the Central Empires.

The functions of the council itself were enlarged and the principles of unity of policy and action initiated at Rapallo in November last received still further

concrete and practical development. On all these questions a complete agreement was arrived at after the fullest discussion with regard to both the policy to be pursued and to the measures for its execution.

Under the circumstances the Supreme War Council decided that the only immediate task before them lay in the prosecution of the war with the utmost vigor and the closest and most effective co-operation of the military effort of the Allies until such time as the pressure of that effort shall have brought about in the enemy Governments and peoples a change of temper which would justify the hope of the conclusion of peace on terms which would not involve the abandonment, in the face of an aggressive and unrepentent militarism, of all the principles of freedom, justice, and respect for the law of nations which the Allies are resolved to vindicate.

The Supreme War Council gave the most careful consideration to the recent utterances of the German Chancellor and the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, but was unable to find in them any real approximation to the moderate conditions laid down by all the allied Governments. This conviction was only deepened by the impression made by the contrast between the professed idealistic aims with which the Central Powers entered upon the present negotiations at Brest-Litovsk and their now openly disclosed plans of conquest and spoliation.

The Allies are united in heart and will, not by any hidden designs, but by their open resolve to defend civilization against an unscrupulous and brutal attempt at domination. This unanimity is confirmed by a unanimity no less complete both as regards the military policy to be pursued and as regards measures needed for its execution which will enable them to meet the violence of the enemy's onset with firm and quiet confidence, with the utmost energy, and with the knowledge that neither their strength nor their steadfastness can be shaken.

The splendid soldiers of our free democracies have won their place in history by their immeasurable valor and their

magnificent heroism, and the no less noble endurance with which our civilian populations are bearing their daily burden of trial and suffering testify to the strength of those principles of freedom which will crown the military success of the Allies with the glory of a great moral triumph.

NO GENERALISSIMO APPOINTED

The impression had gained some support that the War Council would appoint a Generalissimo, and it was rumored that General Foch would be placed in supreme command. Andrew Bonar Law, in the House of Commons Feb. 5, in reply to an inquiry, announced that no Generalissimo had been appointed.

It was announced at Washington the same day that "for the present no assent to any policy or declaration involving considerations other than those purely military will be given by any American representative sitting with the council until it has first been submitted to this Government and received its approval."

Commenting on the recent session of the Supreme War Council at Versailles, the Cologne Volkszeitung said:

A wild war fanfare is Versailles' only reply to the moderate statements of Count von Hertling and Count Czernin, which were inspired by the most sincere desire for peace.

The Rhenish Westphalian Gazette said:

The workingmen of the Central Powers will be unable to avoid recognizing that the guilt for the continuance of the bloody struggle lies solely on our enemies.

The Cologne Gazette commented:

The Versailles declaration is the political bankruptcy of the Entente. While the Central Powers are building a new world with strong hands, the Entente persists in stark negation.

The Frankfurter Zeitung said:

The Entente has declared war anew. Peace by understanding can only be reached when a mind which speaks from Lord Lansdowne's words has gained the upper hand over the voice from Versailles. The Entente still is dominated by men professing to believe in a military victory for the Entente, and nothing remains but that we shall draw the conclusion from this fact. Germany does not fear another year or two of war, but the Entente must be punished for prolonging the world agony, when it is plain to everybody that peace is possible.

Strengthening the War Department

The Attack in Congress, Secretary Baker's Defense, and the New Plan of Reorganization

Popular criticism of defects in the conduct of our war preparations assumed definite form on Jan. 19, 1918, in the New York speech of Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, (a Democrat,) in which he charged that the War Department had "fallen down." This was followed by the introduction of bills in Congress aiming at drastic changes in the exercise of power in military affairs. President Wilson rallied to the support of his Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, and issued a rather severe reply to Senator Chamberlain. The latter, however, returned to the attack on Jan. 24 in the Senate, while the Senate Committee on Military Affairs began a series of hearings on the subject. Secretary Baker asked to be heard before this committee, and on Jan. 28 he furnished the climax of the inquiry, speaking four hours and a half in defense of his department. He answered Mr. Chamberlain's criticisms, explained many supposed shortcomings, gave information not previously made public, and ended with a summary of the War Department's work since the beginning of the war. This portion of his speech is here given practically in full. The other side of the case is represented under subheads that follow this article.

Secretary Baker's Summary of Work Done

NOW, gentlemen, about the plan of the war. It will be remembered that this war broke out in August, 1914. We went into it in April, 1917, so that for more than two and one-half years the war had been going on. It was not as though war had broken out between the United States and some country, each of them prior to that time having been at peace with one another and with everybody else, so that an immediate plan should be made in the United States for conducting war against its adversary; but we were coming into a war which had been going on for two and one-half years, in which the greatest military experts, all the inventive genius, all the industrial capacity of those great countries in the world, had for two and one-half years been solving the problem of what kind of war it was to be and where it was to be waged.

It was not a thing for us to decide where our theatre of war should be. The theatre of war was France. It was not for us to decide our line of communications. Our line of communications was across 3,000 miles of ocean—one end of it infested with submarines. It was not for us to decide whether we would have the

manoeuvring of large bodies of troops in the open. There lay the antagonists on opposite sides of No Man's Land in the trenches at a death grapple with one another. Our antagonist was on the other side of that line, and our problem was and is to get over there and get him.

It was not the problem of doing it our way and letting everybody else take care of himself. In the first place, we were going to fight in France, not on our own soil and not on our adversary's soil, and therefore at the very beginning it was obvious that the thing we had to do was not to map out an ideal plan of campaign, not to have the War College, with its speculative studies of Napoleon and everybody else, map out the theoretically best way to get at some other country, but it was the problem of studying the then existing situation and bringing the financial, the industrial, and the military strength of the United States into co-operation with that of Great Britain and France in the most immediate and effective way.

PROBLEM WITHOUT A PRECEDENT

That problem could not be decided here. I fancy in this audience there are men who have been in the trenches. The

altogether unprecedented character of that problem is the thing which every returning visitor tells us cannot be described in words, cannot be put down in reports; it is a thing so different from anything else that ever went on in the world, so vast in its desolation, so extraordinary in its uniqueness that it must be seen and studied on the ground in order to be comprehended at all.

It is easily imagined that we might have perfected an army over here and carried it across the ocean and found it wholly unadapted to its task, and it might well have been that the army that we sent over was just one thing that they did not need and that some other thing which we might have supplied would have been the thing essential to their success.

AID OF ALLIES' EXPERTS

So that from the very beginning it was not a question of abstract speculation here, but a question of study there to find out where our shoulder to the wheel could be put. They realized that. And so Great Britain sent over to us Mr. Balfour and General Bridges and a staff of experts. They came over here, and you saw Mr. Balfour in the House of Congress and at the White House and in public meetings at one place and another, but the group of experts whom they brought over with them you did not see much of, and yet they distributed themselves through the War Department, and their ordnance experts sat down with General Crozier, their supply experts with General Sharpe and his assistants, their strategists sat down with the Army War College, and all over this city there were these confidential groups exchanging information, telling how the thing was over there, what we could do, what they advised us to do, what experience they had had in developing this, that, and the other implement or supply, how certain plans which one might naturally have evolved out of the past experience of the world had been tried there and found not to work at all.

They were exchanging information, giving us all that they thought was helpful. And then came Joffre, with his wonderful reputation and his great and charming personality, and he made a great figure here and we welcomed him.

It was a tremendous inspiration to see the hero of the Marne. But with him came his unobserved staff of fifteen or twenty or twenty-five young men, the most brilliant men in the French Army—strategists, mechanical experts, experts in arms, experts in supplies, experts in industry and manufacture—and they told us not merely the formal and military problems, but they brought over with them men who were in from the beginning in their reorganizations of their industries, in their mobilization of their industrial plants, and we sat down with them in little groups until finally we collated and collected and extracted all the information which they could give us from their respective countries. And every country which has been brought into the war has sent us that sort of staff of experts, and it has been necessary to compare notes, and, with this as a basis, to form such an idea as might be formed of what was the thing for us to do over there.

But that was not enough. They admitted that it was impossible to draw that picture. They could describe to us and bring the specifications and drawings for a piece of artillery, but they could not tell us why the British theory of the use of artillery was by the British preferred to that of the French. They could not picture to us a barrage of heavy howitzers as compared to a barrage of 75-millimeter guns. They could not picture to us the association of airplanes, balloons and mobile aircraft, with artillery uses. They could tell us about it, but even while they told us the story grew old.

LIKENED TO MOVING PICTURE

The one thing they told us from the very beginning to the end was that this war, of all others, was not a static thing; that our adversary was a versatile and agile adversary; that every day he revamped and changed his weapons of attack and his methods of defense; that the stories they were telling us were true when they left England and France, but an entirely different thing was probably taking place there now, and they told us of large supplies of weapons of one kind and another which they had developed in France and England, and which even before they got them in sufficient quantity

NIKOLAI LENINE



Prime Minister of the Russian Government set up by the Bolsheviks
in Petrograd.

SOME OF THE BOLSHEVIST LEADERS



ENSIGN ABRAM KRYLENKO

Commander in Chief of the revolutionary armies.

(© Underwood & Underwood.)



M. JOFFEE

President of the Russian peace delegation at Brest-Litovsk.

(© Underwood & Underwood.)



MAXIM LITVINOFF

Appointed by the Bolshevist Cabinet as Ambassador in England.

(Central News Photo.)



ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY

Minister of Public Welfare in the Bolshevist Cabinet.

manufactured to take them from the industrial plants to the front were superseded by new ideas and had to be thrown into the scrapheap.

They said to us: This is a moving picture; it is something that nobody can paint and give you an idea of. It is not a static thing.

Therefore it became necessary for us to have eyes there in instant and immediate communication with us, and we sent over to France General Pershing, and we sent with him not merely a division of troops—to that I shall refer in a moment—but we sent with him perhaps I can safely say the major part of the trained, expert personnel of the army. You know the size of the official corps of the regular army in this country when the war broke out. It was a pitiful handful of trained men, and yet it was necessary to divide them up and send over to France officers of the highest quality, so that they would be at the front and in the workshops and in the factories and in the War Offices and in the armies, where consultations would take place immediately back of the front, so that they could see the thing with their own eyes and send us back the details by cable every day of the changing character of this war.

PERSHING'S STAFF OF EXPERTS

General Pershing's staff of experts and officers over there runs into the thousands, and they are busy every minute, and every day that the sun rises I get cablegrams from General Pershing from ten to sixteen and twenty pages long, filled with measurements and formulas and changes of a millimeter in size, great, long specifications of changes in details of things which were agreed upon last week and changed this week, and need to be changed again next week, so that what we are doing at this end is attempting by using the eyes of the army there to keep up to what they want us to do. * * *

So that if one gets the idea that this is the sort of war we used to have, or if he gets the idea that this is a static thing, it is an entirely erroneous idea, and when you remember that we had to divide this little handful of officers that we had and send so large a part of them to France, and then think of those who remained at

home, you will realize, I am sure, that those who remained here had the double duty, insufficient for either aspect of it, in numbers—and they still have this double duty—they had to go forward with manufacturers, work out industry and industrial relations; they had to see about supplies of raw materials and manufacture finished product, and make from day to day alterations and changes that had to be made, and they had to be ingenious with suggestions, to see whether they could devise on this side something which had not been thought of over there.

They had been hospitable to suggestions which came from the other side; they had to confer with the foreign officers who were here, who were constantly changed so that men fresh from the front could be here to advise with us, and, in addition to that, every one of them had to be a university professor, going out of the life of the community and selecting men who had mercantile experience and knowledge and training, but not military mechanical experience and knowledge and training, and adding to his original equipment the scientific training, that finishing touch which made him equipped for use as a military scientist.

SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS OF ARMY

As a consequence, this little group which stayed here has built the great special departments of the army. The Ordnance Department, starting, I think, with 93 or 96 officers, has now, as I recall the figures, something like 3,000 officers. They have had to be trained; they have had to be specialized, and that has had to go on contemporaneously with this tremendous response to the changing conditions on the other side in the meantime. When we started in this war, I think it was commonly thought throughout the country that our contribution at the outset might well be financial and industrial. The industries of this country were largely devoted at that time—the appropriate industries and many converted industries were largely devoted—to the manufacture of war materials for our allies.

As I suggested this morning, when we went into that market we found it largely occupied, so that our problem was not going to a shoe factory and saying, "Make

shoes for us," but it was going to a factory which never made shoes, because all the shoe factories were busy making shoes for people from whom we could not take them, and saying, "Learn how to make shoes in order that you may make them for us."

Now, of course, that is not true of shoes, but it is true of machine guns, it is true of other arms, it is true of ammunition, it is true of forging capacity, which was the greatest defect in the country, and all this time we had not merely not to disturb the program of allied manufacture in this country, but we had not to cut off the supplies of raw material to our allies, and we had not to disturb the industry of this country to such an extent that products upon which they depended for the success of their military operations would be interfered with, both agricultural and commercial and industrial products. * * *

OUR FORCES IN FRANCE

I tell no secret, but it is perfectly well known to everybody in this group that we have far exceeded what in August, 1917, was regarded as a program so ideal that the editor of a magazine refers to it as a thing which we ought to have strained every nerve in a vain but hopeless effort to accomplish. * * * Now, instead of having 50,000 or 100,000 men in France in 1917, we have many more than that in France, and, instead of having a half million men whom we could ship to France if we could find any way to do it in 1918, we will have more than a half million men in France early in 1918, and we have available to be shipped to France if the transportation facilities are available to us—and the prospect is not unpromising—one and a half million who in 1918 can be shipped to France. * * *

I am saying this now because you have asked me why I have held back these facts until now. I am saying to you that you could not get from Great Britain at this minute—I do not know whether I could get—the number of soldiers Great Britain has in France or at home. I could get an approximation. I could get whatever information might be deemed helpful to the immediate military objective to be accomplished, but I could not

get from Great Britain or France, either one, the actual number of troops they have at the front.

It may be that that precaution is unnecessary, and yet that is the precaution which military men have observed, and I have no further point to make in the matter of the number of troops there than to show, as I was showing when I read that extract, that our original intention was to make our military effort in 1918; and in August of 1917 a zealous advocate of immediate military activity laid down as the maximum obtainable program a thing which has since been multifold exceeded.

GENERAL JOFFRE'S INFLUENCE

Why did we decide to send some troops to France in 1917? It is no secret. When Marshal Joffre came to this country from France, when the British Mission came from France, they told us of a situation which we had not up to that time fully appreciated. There had been in France, recently conducted before that, an unsuccessful major offensive. The French people had suffered—oh, suffered in a way that not only our language is not adapted to describe, but our imagination cannot conceive. The war is in their country. The wolf has not only been at their door, but he had been gnawing for two years and a half at their vitals, and when this unsuccessful offensive in France had gone on there was a spirit, not of surrender but of fate, about the French people, and this mighty military engine which they had seen prepared to overcome them for forty years was at them, and their attitude was that no matter whether every Frenchman died in his tracks, as he was willing to do, or not, it was an irresistible thing, and so they said to us: "Frankly, it will cheer us; it will cheer our people, if you send over some of your troops."

We did send some troops. At that place we had a choice. We could have sent over, as Great Britain, our regular army, and in a very short preparation have put it into action, and suffered exactly what Great Britain suffered with her "contemptible little army," as it was called by its adversaries. Our army would have given as good an account of itself as the

British Army did, but it would have been destroyed like the British Army, and there would have been no nucleus on which to build this new army that was to come over a little later, and it was deemed wiser to send over a regular division, but not to send over our whole regular army at that time.

Then what happened was that that regular division went over, and the people of France kissed the hems of their garments as they marched up the streets of Paris; the old veterans, wounded in this war, legless or armless, stumping along on crutches, perhaps, as they went up the streets of Paris with their arms around the necks of the American soldiers. Not a single man in that division was unaccompanied by a veteran. America had gone to France, and the French people rose with a sense of gratitude and hopefulness that had never been in them before.

Of course they welcomed the British, but their need was not so great when the British went. Of course they welcomed the British, but there were ties between them and us which had not been between them and the British, and so when our troops went there was an instant and spontaneous rise in the morale of the French, but an equally instant and spontaneous insistence that these soldiers who came from America should continue to come in an unbroken stream.

OUR AID IN OTHER LINES

And so we made the election. We decided not to send the regular army as a whole, but to send regular divisions and National Guard divisions, selected according to the state of their preparation, and keep back here some part of our trained force in order that it might inoculate with its spirit and its training these raw levies which we were training. One after another these divisions have gone over until in France there is a fighting army, an army trained in the essentials and in the beginnings of military discipline and practice, and trained, seasoned fighters in this kind of a war on the actual battlefields where it is taking place.

Early in this war, when Joffre was here and when Balfour was here, they

said to us, "It may take you some time to get over to us a great fighting army, but you are a great industrial country. Our man power is fully engaged in our industries and in our military enterprises. Send over artisans, special engineering regiments, and troops of a technical character," and although it was not contemplated at the outset and only a phrase in the emergency military legislation shows that the thing was thought of as a possibility, yet in a very short time we had organized engineering regiments of railroad men and sent them over there and were rebuilding behind the lines of the British and French the railroads which were being carried forward with their advance, reconstructing their broken engines and cars, and building new railroads, back of both the French and British lines. Those regiments were of such quality that at the Cambrai assault, carried on by General Byng, when the Germans made their counterattack, our engineer regiments threw down their picks and shovels and carried their rifles into the battle and distinguished themselves by gallant action in the war itself.

Very early in this war, Great Britain, through Balfour and his assistants, and Joffre, said to us: "Send us nurses and doctors." Why, before we were scarcely in the war American units organized in advance and anticipation by the Red Cross, which was taken over into the service of the United States through the Surgeon General's office, were on the battlefield, and there are tens of thousands of men in England and in France now who bless for the mission of mercy the first Americans who appeared in France.

Our surgeons have set up hospitals immediately behind the lines. They have been made military in every sense of the word. They have not been especially fortunate in escaping attack from the air, and our early losses in this war were the losses of Red Cross nurses and doctors and orderlies and attendants in hospitals and ambulance drivers, who were sent over to assist our allies in these necessary services, thus not only rendering assistance, but acquiring skill and knowledge of the circumstances and surround-

ings, so that when our own troops came in large numbers they could render like services to our own forces.

PREPARATIONS ABROAD FOR TROOPS

But that was not enough. It was suggested that further groups of mechanics might be needed. Nay, we began to see that we were going to be over there in large force, and the question that then had to be answered was How will we maintain an army in France? Special studies had to be made of that problem, and this is what they showed.

They showed that the railroads and the facilities of France during this war had been kept in an excellent condition—far better than was supposed possible under the conditions. And yet they showed that those railroads were used to the maximum to take care of the needs of the French and the British themselves, and that when our army became a great army it would be necessary for us to build back of our own line an independent line of communication.

In other words, France was a white sheet of paper so far as we were concerned, and on that we had not only to write an army, but we had to write the means of maintaining that army. From the first time when a careful and scientific study of the opportunities of France to help us was made—from that hour until this we have been building in France facilities, instruments, agencies, just as many as we have here in the United States, and more—many of them of the same character. For instance, the French had naturally reserved the best ports in France for their own supply. The Channel ports have been reserved for the British. When we came in it was necessary for us to have independent ports of entry in order that there might not be confusion and a mixture of our supplies going through these ports of disembarkation with those of other nations.

We were given several ports. As you perhaps recall, the ports of France are tidal ports—ports with deep water and tidal basins at high tides, with insufficient water for landing at the docks when the tide is out.

As a consequence, the construction of docks and wharves for tidal basins in

ports of that kind is very much more difficult than where you have a deep-sea harbor, and all you need to do is to erect a pile wharf. We have had to build docks, we have had to fabricate in this country and send over dock-handling machinery; we have had to send from this country even the piles to build the docks. We have had to have cranes manufactured in this country and sent over to be erected on those docks. We have had to erect over there warehouses at the ports of disembarkation in order that these vast accumulations of stores and supplies which go over can be properly housed and cared for, until they can be distributed into the interior.

REBUILDING 600-MILE RAILROAD

We have had to take over, and are in process of rebuilding and amplifying a railroad 600 miles long, in order to carry our products from our ports of disembarkation to our general bases of operation. And all of that, gentlemen, has to be done, not only studied out, as a necessary thing to do, but when so studied out and reported here, the manufacture of those things has to be carried out in this country, and the things shipped over there—nails, cross-ties, spikes, fishplates, engines, cars, buildings. We have had to build ordnance depots and repair shops and great magazines of supply in the interior.

All of that problem has been carrying forward step by step the plans for a single ordnance repair shop, which I saw some time ago. It covered acres and acres of ground, designed over here, the iron work fabricated over here, disassembled, put in ships and carried abroad to be reassembled over there.

We have had to build barracks over there for our soldiers, and in the meantime to billet them around in the French villages. Building barracks over there and building them here is a very different thing, gentlemen.

HUGE TASKS IN FRANCE

When we summoned the lumber industry of this country to produce the lumber to build our own cantonments it came in a great and steady stream from all over the country; but when we talk about building barracks in France it means

this: It means to organize, as we have organized, regiments of foresters, and sending them over into the forests of France which they have assigned to us for our use, cutting down the trees, setting up sawmills, making the lumber of various sizes, transporting it to the places where it is to be used, and then finally using it.

We have had to go back to the planting of the corn in France, in order that we might some time make a harvest. Our operations began in the forests of France, not in the lumber yards, as they did in this country.

That great staff under General Pershing's direction, containing so many men from the American Army, enriched by captains of industry and masters of technical performances in this country; all of these large industrial operations under general direction, such as the railroads and dock buildings, under a former Vice President and now a Vice President, perhaps, of the Pennsylvania Railroad—Atterbury—and men of that quality and extensive as those which are carried on those are the men who are carrying forward these operations, which are quite as expensive as those which are carried on over here, and of far greater difficulty, because it means getting material by cable as to sizes and specifications, having it fabricated here and sent across through those infested 3,000 miles of ocean, and then set up on that side.

HOSPITALS IN FRANCE

In addition to that, on the other side, it has been necessary for us to build hospitals, and that is where the major need for hospitals may be. It has been necessary for the Surgeon General's staff to be divided in this fashion and to select supplies and procure materials and to send over staffs of trained persons to supervise the construction of those hospitals and to man them and equip them. All of that has gone on contemporaneously with the work which has been done in this country; and then in order that another element may be added to this kaleidoscopic character which this war necessarily has, I call your attention to a thing which you already know. This war had a more or less set character until the Russian situation changed, as

it has changed. In the last few months, when we had gotten more or less used to the situation created by the uncertainty as to Russia, there came the great Italian defeat, which called for even greater changes in our plans in many ways.

So that what might have been a perfectly acceptable plan as to major operations prior to the change in the Russian situation, or prior to the change in the Italian situation, had to be restudied instantly, and for that reason, among others, there is now organized, as you know in France, pursuant to the suggestion of Mr. Lloyd George, the Rapallo Conference, or the Supreme War Council, and the United States is represented on that by the Chief of Staff of the American Army, and the major international arrangements in regard to the military are working out there, while General Pershing and his staff of experts are working out these other questions.

That is a picture of what has been going on over there, gentlemen.

AN ARMY OF 1,500,000 MEN

On this side much of that has had to be done, and, in addition to it, all the things we have done; and I ask you to remember among the achievements on this side is the building of this army, not of 50,000 or 100,000 or 500,000, but of substantially 1,500,000 men.

And now, let me be frank with you, and let your judgment be frank with me about this. Has any army in history ever, since the beginning of time, been so raised and cared for as this army has? Can the picture be duplicated? We have raised this army, taking the regular army and the National Guard, raising it to war strength and supplementing it by the operation of a draft, and there are Senators in this room who said to me with grief when we proposed that that form of raising the soldiers be had—they shook their heads and said: "Mr. Secretary, it can't be done. It is too sudden to address to the American people that mode of selecting soldiers." And yet, has any great enterprise within the knowledge of any man in this room ever been carried out with more unflinching justice, with more intelligent legislation and commendation to the good

sense and patriotism of the American people, and has any great and revolutionary change in our mode of practice ever been accepted so splendidly as the operation of the selective service system?

We have got those young men in camp, and they are surrounded, from the day they left home until the day they come back to it, if in God's providence they can come back, with more agencies for their protection and comfort and health and happiness, physical, spiritual, and mental, than any army that ever went out on a field.

They are classified by a system, so that men who have mechanical instincts and training will be given mechanical opportunities in the army. The "round" man is not sought to be put into the "square" place. The American people has subscribed liberally for the purpose. The Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Training Camp Activities Committee, the Training Camp Athletic Committee, have all been brought in—and the Red Cross—have all been brought into line with the soldiers; and by virtue of activities started in the War Department the communities which surround these camps have been instantly got away from the notion which used to prevail of a certain alienation between a civilian and soldier group, and these soldier boys in these camps have been adopted into the homes and hearts of the people among whom they live. No such relation has ever existed between an army and a civilian population as exists with regard to this.

INTEMPERANCE CHECKED

And then, with your aid, the army has been able to practically stamp out intemperance and vice among the soldiers by the establishment of zones, by the establishment of patrol systems of one kind and another. By the training of these young officers in these training camps— young men of experience and fine feeling and all that—we have got into this great army the idea that it can be a strong and effective military army and still be free from things which have hitherto weakened and sapped the vitality and virility of armies.

I have gone from camp to camp among these cantonments, and my first question almost invariably is to the camp commander: "What about your disciplinary problem?"

Old men in the army, men whose lives have been spent in it from their boyhood and who have been all over the continental United States and through its insular possessions, wherever our armies have been, who know the life of the soldier and the camp and the post, all say with one accord and no exception that they have never seen anything like this; that the disciplinary problems of the army are reduced to a negligible quantity, and instead of the melancholy and pathetic parade through the Secretary of War's office of court-martial after court-martial of men who have fallen down and yielded to temptation under the unusual circumstances which used to obtain, I have an infrequent case now of court-martial by reason of such weaknesses.

GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEW

I happen to have a copy of a confidential instruction issued by the German Government in June, 1917, to the German press as to what course they should take in dealing with American matters, and it says:

While the news about American war preparations, such as the organizing and outfitting of an army of 1,000,000 men strong to reinforce the French-English front, is looked upon in that form as bluff, the spreading of which may unfavorably affect the opinion of the German people, yet the fact must not be overlooked, on the other hand, that the United States, with the support of its capacity for material and industrial management, is arming itself for war with great energy and tenacity.

Your committee will have full opportunity and will doubtless go into these things. If you will deal with the hospital situation, the Medical Corps, the Signal Corps, you will hear of the wonderful work done by the Engineering Department of the army; but when it is all told, Mr. Chairman, it will be a story which I am sure your committee will be glad to report to the Senate of the United States as being a tremendous response to a tremendous responsibility, and when you have this investigation I know that

the American people will feel, as I think they have a right to feel, that we are in this war to win it; that we are in it to hit, and hit hard; that we are in it to co-ordinate our strength with that of our associates; that the problem is not one of individual star playing, but of team play with these veterans and experienced persons under actual battle conditions; that more has been done, perhaps, than the country expected—more than the wisest in the country thought was possible to do.

WILL FIGHT LIKE VETERANS

In so far as I am personally concerned, I know what is ahead of us. I know what the American feeling about this war is. Everybody is impatient to do as much as we can. There will be no division of counsel; there will be all the criticism there ought to be upon shortcomings and failures; there will be,

so far as the War Department is concerned, a continuing effort at self-improvement and hospitality toward every suggestion for improvement that can come from the outside. But the net result is going to be that a united and confident American people, believing in themselves and in their institutions, are going to show, and that at no late date, on European battlefields, in the face of veterans with whom they are proud to associate, that, veterans though they be, they cannot excel us in achievement; and when the victory is won over there, Mr. Chairman, the credit which will come to American enterprise and to American determination and to American courage will be an honor to us, as the tenacity of purpose and splendid achievements of the British and French have already shed great lustre on the names of those great peoples.

Senator Chamberlain's Charges

Replies by Secretary Baker

THE foregoing speech, as stated, was the culmination of the first serious political criticism of the Administration's conduct of the war. The movement had taken concrete form on Jan. 19, 1918, in the New York speech of Senator George E. Chamberlain of Oregon, in which he had declared that the military establishment of America had "fallen down." The next day the Senate Military Committee, of which he was Chairman, introduced two bills, one to create a Minister of Munitions, the other to create a War Cabinet of three, which should have power to control war operations independently of the Secretaries of War and the Navy.

President Wilson replied sharply to Senator Chamberlain in a statement quoted in these pages a month ago, and declared that he would exert his full power to defeat the measures in question. On Jan. 24 Senator Chamberlain repeated his attack in a three-hour speech in the Senate, charging that the United States troops were without ordnance and were insufficiently supplied with rifles; that

the cantonments were suffering from a shortage of clothing and were without adequate hospital facilities, and that many of the deaths from illness could have been avoided. He read several pathetic letters to substantiate the latter point.

Surgeon General Gorgas appeared the next day before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and in the course of a long hearing confirmed some of the deficiencies from which the men in the camps were suffering. The cantonments had not all been ready when the men were sent to them, and the Government in its haste to send men to France, said General Gorgas, had sent many to their death through overcrowding in the cantonments and inadequate hospital facilities. Hospitals were not built as promptly as the cantonment buildings. The navy, which was to bring home the sick and wounded from France, still had only three hospital ships.

Secretary Baker on Jan. 25 replied to one phase of the storm of criticism by appointing Edward R. Stettinius, a member

of J. P. Morgan & Co., as Surveyor General of all army purchases. At the same time he made a formal request to be heard before the Senate committee, and on the 28th talked for four hours and a half in defense of his department. While not denying that there had been delays, mistakes, shortcomings, and false starts, Mr. Baker said that where these had appeared they had not been repeated, and the remedy had been applied as promptly as possible.

To Senator Chamberlain's charges regarding hospital neglect Secretary Baker replied at great length, seeking to show that the initial shortcomings of the cantonment hospital service were inevitable in the circumstances. He stated that in an army of more than a million men there had been only eighty reports of abuses to soldiers in hospitals.

DECISION AS TO RIFLES

One of the first questions the War Department had to decide after the declaration of hostilities was that of rifles and their calibre. The British were using one kind of rifle, the French another, while the Americans had admittedly the best rifle thus far developed—the Springfield—using a rimless cartridge different from both the British and the French. There were about 600,000 of these rifles in stock, and about 100,000 Krag's.

On the last day of May a conference at the War Office decided on the course to be adopted. There were present at that conference General Crozier, the Chief of Ordnance; General Scott, the Chief of Staff; General Bliss, the Assistant Chief of Staff; General Kuhn, the Chief of the Army War College, and one or two other officers associated with the War College, the Ordnance Department, experts on the subject of rifles, and General Pershing.

At the beginning of the war the British Government had been in the act of changing to the American model with rimless cartridges, but the sudden emergency had compelled it to continue with its old Enfield rifle. This fact, Mr. Baker said, had modified our own course. After considering every aspect of the case, the War Office conference had de-

cided to use our own Springfield rifle and procure a modification of the Enfield which would allow it to be chambered for American ammunition, in order to get the advantage of the large and organized manufacturing facilities already built up in this country for the making of Enfield rifles. The decision made that night, said Mr. Baker, had the unanimous concurrence of every person in the conference, including General Pershing.

As to machine guns, the Secretary said that his course had been guided by the experience of France, which had obtained the best results from the light Chauchat guns and the Hotchkiss machine guns, and which had limited the Lewis gun to use in aircraft. As our troops had to fight beside the French, it was better for them to have the same weapons. Mr. Baker added that the French Government was able to supply machine guns to our troops during 1918 as fast as the men could be sent to France. Meanwhile our own manufacturers are instructed to push forward preparations for making machine guns in quantity as soon as possible.

REGARDING HEAVY ORDNANCE

The heavy ordnance for our troops this year, Mr. Baker said, would be furnished by France and England. Though General Crozier had urged Congress continuously ever since 1906 to provide for the manufacture of cannon, nothing had been done, and at best no large order could be filled in less than a year. France, through M. Tardieu, in a conference with General Crozier on July 14, 1917, had entered into a willing agreement to furnish ordnance for our troops at the front. The weapons furnished would be the 75-millimeter field guns and the 155-millimeter rapid-fire howitzers. Mr. Baker stated that this plan had two advantages: it saved valuable ocean tonnage, and it helped France by keeping her skilled workmen employed. Great Britain in like manner was equipped to furnish munitions, and General Bliss, after the visit of the House mission to Paris, had telegraphed in December:

The representatives of Great Britain and France state that their production of ar-

tillery—field, medium, and heavy—is now established on so large a scale that they are able to equip completely all American divisions as they arrive in France during the year 1918 with the best make of British and French guns and howitzers. With a view, therefore, to expedite and facilitate the equipment of the American armies in France, and, second, to securing the maximum ultimate development of the munitions supply with the minimum strain upon available tonnage, the representatives of Great Britain and France propose that the field, medium, and heavy artillery be supplied during 1918, and as long after as may be found convenient, from British and French gun factories.

Mr. Baker stated that the British or-

ders for ammunition in the United States in the first three years of the war aggregated \$1,308,000,000. On the other hand, the United States ordered 63,000,000 shells in Great Britain from May to December, 1917, costing a billion dollars, while orders for cannon brought our total to \$1,500,000,000 in seven months.

The statement that early in 1918 we would have 500,000 men on the fighting front in France, with 1,000,000 more ready to go whenever ships were ready to take them, will be found in the portion of Secretary Baker's speech which is printed verbatim in the preceding pages.

The Administration's Shortcomings

Attack by Senator Hitchcock

SENATOR GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK (Dem.) of Nebraska attacked the Administration on Feb. 4, 1918, on the ground that it had failed to co-ordinate the war activities of the nation. His speech in the Senate was three hours long, and was the first in the fight for the passage of the two bills to create a Director of Munitions and a War Cabinet. In the course of his argument for these bills Mr. Hitchcock summarized the Government's shortcomings in the conduct of the war as follows:

"Nine months after we entered the war and three months after our men were gathered in cantonments we found in the dead of Winter tens of thousands of men without overcoats, tens of thousands lacking woolen breeches, tens of thousands without woolen blouses, and other serious shortages. We found most of the machine-gun companies unable to drill two months after they were formed because they had no machine guns. Even in December we found 1,200 still kept in storage for some foolish and inexplicable reasons, while each camp had only been supplied with eighty machine guns.

"We found hundreds of thousands of men drilling with wooden sticks for weeks and months because of mistakes and delays in ordering rifles last Spring. We found men sent to France without opportunity for rifle or machine-gun practice.

We found a distressing amount of sickness in most camps and an unnecessary mortality, due to lack of clothing and to overcrowding. The overcrowding we found due to a failure to provide an adequate number of tents. We found camp hospitals without drainage, plumbing, or heat, and sick men without nurses.

"We found that we must depend on overworked and overstrained France for machine guns for ground use until nearly the end of this year, and that not over one-tenth of the new Browning machine guns on which we are to rely can be delivered before August. We found that the first heavy artillery of American make cannot be received till July, and not much before 1919 can we expect to use in France American heavy artillery in any great quantity. What we get before this Fall we must buy from England.

"We found that we are only now, nine months after entering the war, just beginning work on two great powder plants, to cost \$60,000,000, although it was evident last Summer that we must have a million pounds a day more powder than America can now manufacture. We cannot get powder from these plants before next August.

"We found that, though the Medical Department asked for hospital ships last July, they have not yet been ordered, though sick and wounded men are now

already beginning to come home, and it will take three months to equip the ships.

"I do not deny that we also found much that was creditable and satisfactory. The task undertaken was a huge one, and much of the work has been ably done. Personally, I know that some of the War Department officials who have been most severely criticised have worked desperately hard. This comment covers the Secretary of War himself, who has had a burden of detail which has kept him at his office all day and far into the night most of the time. These considerations lead me to hold a defective organization responsible for the shortcomings to a greater degree than any individual or group of individuals."

Senator Hitchcock contended that a high-class business man as Director of Munitions was needed to cut red tape and bring order out of disorder. A West Point education, he said, made good soldiers, but did not fit men to buy for the army. He cited specific errors in the ordering of army supplies.

"TRANSPORTATION A WRECK"

During his argument for a War Cabinet Mr. Hitchcock recited the shortcomings of the railroads and the delays of the Shipping Board:

"It is not too much to say that the great transportation system of the United States has broken down. It is a gigantic wreck today; even travel has become difficult. Freight shipments are demoralized to such an extent as the country has never known anything of.

"Anticipating trouble of this sort, Congress authorized the control of shipments, and the granting of priority of shipments became one of the functions of Government. How was it exercised? It was so exercised that on some of the most important roads priority orders for shipments were given to 80 per cent. of the freight, and instead of having facilitated important shipments priority orders became the cause of the utmost confusion. Every department of Government, apparently, from the smallest Quartermaster's clerk up to the highest official, was permitted to blue-tag Government shipments and give them priority, regardless of whether there was

any hurry for their transportation or not. There was no one to co-ordinate, no one to differentiate, no one to select, and the great mass of Government shipments was permitted to clog the channels of transportation. Anchors for ships not yet built were rushed to their places of destination months before they could possibly be used. Hundreds of carloads of piles for construction work were rushed across the country and allowed to remain upon the cars for weeks, because the time had not yet come to use them. There was no supreme power, apparently, to limit the enormous and dangerous control of priority shipments, and the whole transportation system of the country was thrown into confusion.

"Take the matter of contracts for production. Obviously, in contracting for production of supplies for Europe, some sort of regard should have been had for the capacity of our ships to take them. Yet various bureaus have rushed production in factories to an enormous extent until there are now piled up on the docks of a few great harbors 2,000,000 tons or more of freight awaiting shipment, and every day adds to the mass and makes the confusion more confounded. Here again there has been no power to co-ordinate between production and transportation across the Atlantic. Now we must begin to curtail production.

THE FUEL FAMINE

"Take the matter of the Fuel Administration. Congress authorized the control of the fuel of the country, and an attempt was made to control prices, supply, and distribution, but it has apparently been made without any successful effort to co-ordinate the work with other functions of the Government.

"Today we have a fuel famine in the country, not because we lack productive mines, but because they have not been permitted to operate. Lack of knowledge, lack of transportation, and lack of harmony between the Fuel Administration and other functions of the Government are the causes of the breakdown. * * * The Fuel Administration, like the Food Administration, the War Industries Board, the Raw Materials Board, the Priority of Shipments Board, the Shipping Board, the Aircraft Production

Board, and all of the other boards, was running an independent course. Its activities were not focused with the other activities at any point. Its decisions were reached and its orders were made practically as though the others did not exist.

SHIPPING BOARD DELAYS

"Take the Shipping Board. That was on authority of law created nearly a year and a half ago, in the Fall of 1916, months before we got into the war. It has been running as an independent branch of the Government, co-ordinating with nothing else whatever. For months it was more than a dismal failure—it was a farce, and almost a crime.

"Even since it got into more vigorous operation it has been enormously handicapped and embarrassed because there has been little or no co-ordination of its energies and operations with the energies and operations of other branches. It has needed materials, it has needed labor, and every effort should have been made to get the materials and get the labor supply in priority over every other activity of Government.

"It is a matter of common report, however, that enormous delays have occurred in our shipyards because of their failure to receive materials as well as because labor has been diverted in other directions. I have been told on what I deem reliable authority that 1,000 carloads of ship plates, made for the Shipping Board, loaded upon cars at the place of manufacture, were lost in the congestion of freight for a month at a time while the shipyards waited anxiously for their arrival.

"Production of war materials for Europe has been rushed to completion in factories by labor which should have been employed in building ships, and would have been if we had a War Cabinet to survey the whole field and balance production and transportation. Now we have the products filling every warehouse, sidetrack, and dock without the ships to carry them.

"The present condition of our shipbuilding is nothing less than shocking.

The present supply of shipping is worse than alarming. I am afraid to go too deeply into figures, for one might be charged with giving information of value to the enemy were one to tell the truth about the present supply of shipping.

"All who are informed as to the present supply of our shipping were thunderstruck at the statements of Secretary Baker before the Military Affairs Committee. His sanguine predictions as to our ability to ship men to Europe and to supply them when there are exaggerations of the wildest sort.

NO HOUSES FOR WORKMEN

"Another feature of the ship construction program is discouraging, and that is the failure of anybody to provide housing facilities for men who are necessary to build the ships. When the plans were made to construct hundreds of ships at high speed at various places along the coast, enormous contracts were let for the purpose and plans made on a vast scale. The Shipping Board in the past seemed to feel that all it had to do was to let the contracts or order the ships' construction. Now it has awakened to the fact that the plans cannot be carried out without the expenditure of millions of dollars in providing housing accommodations for the tens of thousands of men that are to be drawn together at the shipyards. This means more delay."

Senator Wadsworth of New York, a Republican, spoke in the same vein on Feb. 5, declaring that America was groping instead of progressing under an effective, co-ordinated war plan. The following day Secretary Baker was again called before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs for several hours of cross-examination. On Feb. 7 Representative Carter Glass of Virginia defended the Administration in a long speech in the House, counterattacking Senator Chamberlain's charges as foolish and harmful, and ascribing the shortcomings of the hour to the nation's former policy of unpreparedness, for which the present critics were as responsible as any one else.

Reorganization of the War Department

AS a result of the agitation for greater efficiency, a thoroughgoing reorganization of the War Department was outlined in an order issued by Secretary Baker on Feb. 10, 1918, directing the Chief of the General Staff to establish five divisions of the General Staff as follows:

1. An Executive Division under an executive assistant to the Chief of Staff.
2. A War Plans Division under a Director.
3. A Purchase and Supply Division under a Director.
4. A Storage and Traffic Division under a Director.
5. An Army Operations Division under a Director.

The Directors of all divisions were to be assistants to the Chief of Staff. Chiefs of all bureaus, corps, and other agencies of the military establishment were instructed to communicate directly with the heads of the staff divisions upon matters as to which the latter have control, and the division heads were authorized to act for the Secretary of War and Chief of Staff in such matters.

Secretary Baker's order emphasized the authority of the Chief of Staff, who, with the War Council, is the immediate adviser of the Secretary in all questions relating to the military establishment. "The planning of the army program in its entirety," the order said, "the constant development thereof in its larger aspects, and the relation of this program to the General Staff and the entire army will be the duty of the Chief of Staff and the War Council."

The duties of the Director of the Purchase and Supply Division were set forth in great detail and appear to have been so defined as to meet the complaints made by members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, who directed their criticisms very largely against the army purchasing system as supervised by the Council of National Defense. The scope of the Purchase and Supply Division was defined as follows:

This division shall have cognizance of and supervision over supplies required for the use of the army, under an officer designated as the Director of Purchases and

Supplies, who shall be an assistant to the Chief of Staff. The duties of this division shall include the following matter:

1. The supervision and direction of all purchase, procurement, and production activities of the several bureaus, corps, and other agencies of the War Department.
2. The co-ordination and correlation of the purchase and the procurement activities of the several bureaus, corps, and other agencies of the War Department.
3. The representing of the army in all arrangements for co-ordinating the purchase and procurement activities of the several bureaus, corps, and agencies of the War Department with other agencies of the Government and with the Allies.
4. The determination of purchasing and manufacturing priorities between the several bureaus, corps, and other agencies within the War Department and in relation to other agencies of the Government, and also the determination of preference to be afforded to contractors for supplies in the matter of shortage of fuel, power, and raw materials.
5. The supervision and co-ordination of all appropriations, estimates, and requirements and other financial matters relating to the purchase of munitions and all other supplies.
6. There shall be in the Purchase and Supply Division the office of Surveyor General of Supplies under an officer or a civilian.

It shall be the duty of the Surveyor General of Supplies to provide that all arrangements for the purchase, procurement, and production of all munitions and other supplies for the use of the army shall be so correlated and otherwise scheduled as most effectually to forward the army program and most advantageously utilize the industrial resources of the country.

A preliminary step to the reorganization of the army purchasing system was the appointment on Jan. 25 of Edward R. Stettinius, a member of J. P. Morgan & Co., as Surveyor General of all army purchases. For nearly two years prior to April 1, 1917, Mr. Stettinius had spent \$100,000,000 a month as head of the export department of his banking house, and he was virtually the purchasing agent of the Allies in this country. At the start of the war the Allies were unprepared to purchase the materials they required from this country, and there grew up a band of prof-

iteers who made enormous profits, until the Allies decided to centre their buying in London, and the Morgan firm was named fiscal agent of the Entente in America. The Morgan business had no department peculiarly fitted to handle the enormous purchasing task. Mr. Morgan, in search of a man to organize and direct this important branch of his business, selected Mr. Stettinius, then President of the Diamond Match Company. A year later he became a partner in J. P. Morgan & Co. When the United States entered the war the opinion was expressed both by Mr. Morgan and the Washington authorities that the American Government should do the purchasing for the Allies here. When this arrangement was put into effect Mr. Stettinius turned to other branches of the Morgan business.

Mr. Stettinius is a native of St. Louis, a college graduate, and, before becoming prominent in the match business, was a stockholder. He is 52 years old.

Major Gen. Peyton C. March, it was

announced on Feb. 6, was appointed Acting Chief of the General Staff, while General Bliss, Chief of Staff, then in France, was to continue on furlough as American military representative on the Interallied War Council. General March, at the time of his appointment, was Chief of Artillery under General Pershing in France. During the absence abroad of both Bliss and March, Major Gen. John Biddle was Acting Chief, and on General March's return to Washington became Assistant Chief of Staff to General March.

General March was born in Pennsylvania on Dec. 27, 1864, graduated from Lafayette College, where his father was a professor, and after serving as an artillery officer for fifteen years was appointed to the General Staff. He saw service on the Mexican border before returning to Washington in the Spring of 1917 to receive his orders to proceed to France as Chief of Artillery for the expeditionary forces.

What America Has Done for France

Statement by André Tardieu

French High Commissioner to the United States

Captain Tardieu, whose genius has arranged the complicated economic relations between France and the United States since our entry into the war, delivered the principal address on Feb. 6, 1918, at a dinner given in New York by the Alliance Française to celebrate the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the signing of the treaty of alliance between France and the young American Republic in 1778. The celebration, which was only one of 188 held by branches of the Alliance Française in the United States and Canada, was attended by Ambassador Jusserand and other officials of the French Diplomatic Service, as well as by officers of the French and American Armies. In the course of his speech Captain Tardieu gave this interesting summary of facts:

WHAT we have suffered you know. Nearly 20,000 square kilometers of our country, the richest and the most productive, are in the hands of the enemy. Our population, diminished by the invasion of our northern territory, amounts only to 35,000,000 inhabitants. A little over 1,000,000 have been killed in battle, nearly 1,000,000 have been maimed and definitely invalidated out of the war. Would you care to know the present strength of the French Army? Listen:

Officers and soldiers mobilized on Jan.

1, 1918, not including the native troops from the colonies and the workmen in the factories, amount to 4,725,000 men, of whom nearly 3,000,000 are in the army zone.

That is the number; do you wish to judge of their quality? The extent of the western front is 755 kilometers. Belgians hold 25, English 165, French 565. We hold, therefore, three-quarters of it. We have in front of us eighty German divisions; that means two-thirds of the German first-line troops and more than

half of the German reserve divisions. The Germans do not intrust to any one of their divisions a front larger than six kilometers; ours often hold nine kilometers each.

Americans who leave for France, these figures tell you what you will find over there: a country which has terribly suffered, but hardened to war and made greater by its sufferings; a country where our men in the line, thanks to the prodigious intensity of our mobilization, are more numerous than in 1914, a country which is neither unnerved, exhausted, nor bled white, a country which wants to vanquish and has the intent to vanquish.

Some more figures, if you please! What about our guns? We have in the line 15,000 guns of every calibre, and every day more than 300,000 shells are turned out by our factories. To get those guns, to produce those shells, we created an industry which did not exist before the war, and which has enabled us not only to arm ourselves, but also to arm our allies.

Without speaking of what we manufacture for you, and that is several hundred guns a month, we have during the last three years given to our allies in Europe 1,350,000 rifles, 15,000 automatic rifles, 10,000 machine guns, 800,000,000 cartridges, 2,500 guns, and 4,750 airplanes.

And the day when faithful Italy found herself in peril—a peril which is now averted—within a few hours we brought to her front the troops which prove the unbreakable brotherhood of our alliance.

Gentlemen, that is France, such as you must know her, you whose children are already fighting on her soil. Such is France, who for three years has awaited you, certain that you would come. You have come. How are you standing now? What have you done to prepare the immense effort which is imposed upon you? That is the second question which I would like to consider tonight.

This question, you know, I am in a good position to answer, as I have co-operated for nearly ten months, hour by hour, with every part of your war organization. This question I am answering at once with one sentence, with one word. What you have done is magnificent, worthy of your allies, worthy of yourselves.

To take a right view of the work you have achieved one must trace back the last few years. What was at that time the American gospel? No war risks; no mixing in European conflicts; no compulsory military service; a very small army; a minimum of Federal legislation, leaving to local communities and to the individual a maximum of liberty. Within a few months, within a few weeks, war, which German imperialism imposed upon you, as it had imposed it upon us three years ago, compelled you to modify your ideas, your laws, your ethics, and to arm yourselves for the battle.

First, the American Army. To recruit it, in spite of the reluctance caused by a century-old tradition, you did not recoil before the radical measure of draft. In less than a month the decision was taken. With the co-operation of a national discipline which never gave way, the draft has been enforced on the whole territory without any trouble. No event of wider import has ever taken place since the beginning of war.

In April, 1917, you had 9,524 officers and 202,510 men. You have now 110,000 officers and 1,500,000 men, and the number of your men in France at the present moment is notably in excess of the establishment of your army nine months ago.

To equip this army with guns and airplanes, you called upon your allies for the supply of your immediate needs, and you started simultaneously a program of American manufacturing. Some people, in Europe as well as here, have been wondering why you should not, in that respect, have done everything by yourselves. This criticism shows that those people do not know firstly what time means in war, and secondly, how infinitely complicated is the industrial war organization which from the very start is required by an extensive production of ordnance and aviation.

As regards aviation, the results already obtained in the United States are, in my opinion, above all expectations. Within six months you have brought out the Liberty motor, which, if not of higher value than the best existing types, is equal to them, and once standardized will be manufactured in large quantities; by

the thousands. On the other hand, my technical experts declare that the organization of your aviation schools is excellent in general, and that almost everywhere your pilots are now ready, after a final training, to start their work on the battle front.

As regards ordnance, the adoption without any modification of our various types of guns would certainly have saved some time to the benefit of the American production, and some delays may be the consequence of the improvements you are looking for, always, and rightly at that, aiming at better results. But as we have agreed, it was understood that you should supply and transport to France the necessary raw materials; we will, under such conditions, be able, in France, to deliver to you before July 1 enough guns thoroughly to equip twenty of your divisions. The situation, therefore, is completely safe in that respect.

Let us consider the financial help. The Allies have received from you in ten months \$4,236,000,000. To grant them this help without interfering with your own needs Congress has authorized expenses to the amount of \$22,000,000,000.

American aid to the Allies has taken still other forms. I wish to mention the methodical and sustained action of the Food Administration, the Railroad Administration, the Shipping Board, the Fuel Administration, the War Trade Board. I am in daily touch with all these

boards. I know the difficulties that they have to contend with. I know the results that they achieve.

During the month of December last the High Commission called the attention of the Shipping Board to a crisis affecting very seriously our supply in gasoline and oil for the first two months of 1918. To-day the measures taken by the board allow me to state that this imminent peril is absolutely overcome for those two months.

Last Jan. 17, when arriving in New York I found thirty-seven ships unable to sail for France on account of lack of coal. On Jan. 18 the restriction orders for coal were issued by the Fuel Administration, and when I left New York on the 22d all our ships had coal.

More recently I have found myself obliged, together with my allied colleagues, to draw the attention of Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Hoover to the insufficient arrivals of cereals in the American ports. I am convinced that the measures which were immediately studied and decided upon unanimously will bring for the next month a decisive improvement. Their execution has already begun.

Judging things as a whole, I declare without any restriction and without any reserve that by its war policy the United States Government has well earned the praise of its allies and of civilization, for which we are fighting together.

The Coal Crisis and "Heatless Days"

America's First War Emergency

SHORTAGE of coal, or rather shortage of facilities to transport coal, was the cause of the first serious economic crisis which the United States had to face after its entry into the war. Coal production for 1917 showed a considerable increase over 1916, but the shortage of cars and the general condition of congestion at terminals continued to make it increasingly difficult to move coal from the sources of production to the centres of consumption. Drastic measures became necessary, and finally Dr. H. A. Garfield, Fuel Administrator, with

the approval and support of President Wilson, ordered a general close-down of industry throughout the United States east of the Mississippi for five consecutive days and the limitation of the working week to five days during the nine weeks following.

The origins of the trouble were complicated by war conditions and conflicting interests. In May, 1917, a committee on coal production, with Francis Peabody as Chairman, was appointed by the Council of Defense.

Late in June it summoned to a confer-

ence 400 coal operators. The operators were met by Secretaries Lane and Daniels, by ex-Governor Fort of the Federal Trade Commission, and Assistant Attorney General Williams, who addressed the operators in substantially identical terms. The price of coal had been steadily rising until it had reached \$5.50 or \$6 a ton. The coal operators' committee finally fixed the price (at the mine) by agreement among the operators at \$3 a ton east of Pittsburgh and \$2.75 to the west.

Then, on July 1, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, in his capacity as Chairman of the National Council of Defense, repudiated the agreement, despite the approval of other members of the Government, on the ground that the price was exorbitant and oppressive. There was, in consequence, no regulated price for coal, and for nearly two months the operators continued to get the same prices as before, until at last, on Aug. 21, President Wilson, at the suggestion of Federal Trade Commissioner W. B. Colver, fixed the price at \$2.50 a ton. During this period, between July 1 and Aug. 21, many consumers delayed buying, and orders for many millions of tons throughout the country were canceled. The result was that there was no movement of coal during the three Summer months when the railroads formerly made a differential rate. Deliveries by the railroads in large quantities thus were begun three months later. It was this delay which largely helped to cause the crisis.

Dr. Garfield, who was appointed Fuel Administrator late in August, was continuously the target of criticism by the coal operators, partly because of his ruling that no men of actual experience in the coal business should serve on any of the coal administration committees of the several States, but mainly because there was a definite opposition of interests between the Government and the operators. Late in September Dr. Garfield fixed the price of coal at \$2 a ton, which was still the basic price when the coal crisis came.

The extent to which the railroads contributed to create conditions making for the industrial close-down was variously

estimated. According to Federal Trade Commissioner Colver, the railroads alone were to blame for the plight in which the country found itself in January, 1918. They had, he said, refused to render the full measure of car service of which they were capable, and had done so deliberately to make it appear that their demands for greater financial returns were justified. Similar views were expressed by miners' leaders among the 1,500 delegates to the biennial convention at Indianapolis on Jan. 16 of the United Mine Workers of America. John P. White, ex-President of the Miners' Union, and now Labor Adviser to the National Fuel Administration, said that it was not a question of production, but of transportation. There were miles and miles of loaded coal cars that were not moving. Frank T. Hayes, President of the Miners' Union, said that if the miners had been provided with an adequate car supply during 1917 there never would have been an industry nor a domestic consumer suffering from the deplorable condition with which 1918 opened.

The principle adopted by the Fuel Administration to relieve the situation was that of conservation. Dr. Garfield on Jan. 8 announced that industries classed as "not absolutely necessary to the conduct of the war" must curtail their use of coal by at least 50,000,000 tons during 1918 in order to assure ample supplies for the war activities and domestic consumption and relieve congestion on the transportation lines.

Without waiting for directors of industry to initiate measures of conservation, the Government was obliged to deal with the situation, which, in the middle of January, was becoming increasingly acute. A period of the severest weather on record had intervened to make the coal trouble still worse. Nevertheless, there was much adverse criticism when Dr. Garfield issued an order closing down all factories throughout the United States east of the Mississippi River for five days, Jan. 18 to 22, inclusive, and on nine subsequent Mondays beginning Jan. 28. The only factories exempted from this order were those engaged in the production of foodstuffs.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, P. C., M. P.



Who left the British War Cabinet to take up the leadership of the
reorganized British Labor Party.

(Photo P. S. Rogers.)

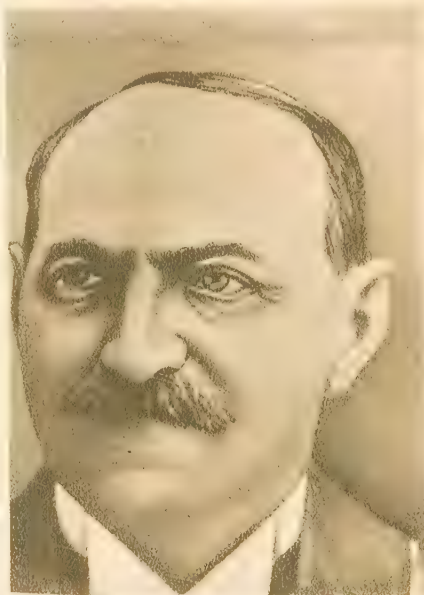
GERMAN INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS



WILHELM DITTMAN

Reichstag deputy sent to jail for
aiding strikers.

(Press Illus. Photo.)



HUGO HAASE

Leader of the Independent Social-
ists in the Reichstag.

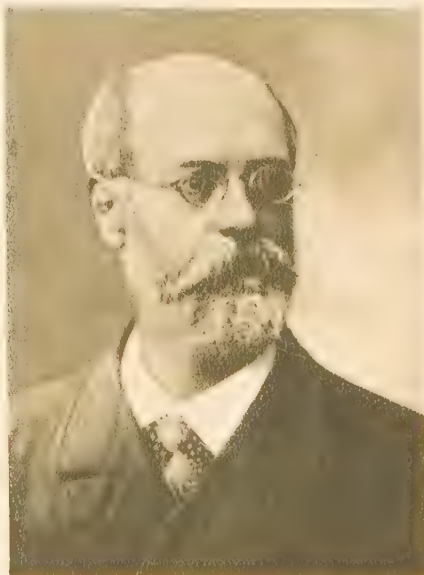
(Bain Photo.)



GEORG LEDEBOUR

Advocate of a German democratic
republic.

(Press Illus. Photo.)



KARL KAUTSKY

Editor of the "Vorwärts" (Forward)
Newspaper.

(Press Illus. Photo.)

This action, admittedly more drastic than any adopted by any of the nations at war, was decided upon after a series of conferences between Government officials at which the situation was carefully canvassed. The facts were laid in detail before President Wilson, who approved of Dr. Garfield's order. The only concession to the war industries, including the steel mills, was the promise of a sufficient supply of coal to keep their plants from "going cold."

The majority of business establishments and offices were forced to suspend work on the "heatless" Mondays, though some "carried on" at the expense of great discomfort. Many buildings were also without light. Theatres and other places of amusement, cafés, and saloons were prohibited from using fuel for heating purposes. But as Monday became virtually a holiday, theatres and places of amusement were permitted to open on that day and to close down Tuesday instead. Even cigar stores were closed. Only stores for the sale of food and drugs remained open. The streets of the large cities were more deserted than on Sundays.

The greatest hardship was suffered by the working class. Several million men and women were rendered idle, and in the great majority of cases they lost their wages. From their point of view the close-down was equivalent to a lockout, while from that of the public it was as if a general strike had been declared. The paralysis of trade and industry evoked many protests from employers and workers alike, but, after the first shock of surprise, there was soon a general disposition to accept the close-down as necessary to the execution of the war plans. The national standpoint was outlined by a statement issued by President Wilson on Jan. 18:

I was, of course, consulted by Mr. Garfield before the fuel order of yesterday was issued, and fully agreed with him that it was necessary, much as I regretted the necessity.

This war calls for many sacrifices, and sacrifices of the sort called for by this order are infinitely less than sacrifices of life which might otherwise be involved. It is absolutely necessary to get the ships away, it is absolutely necessary to relieve

the congestion at the ports and upon the railways, it is absolutely necessary to move great quantities of food, and it is absolutely necessary that our people should be warmed in their homes, if nowhere else, and halfway measures would not have accomplished the desired ends.

If action such as this had not been taken, we should have limped along from day to day with a slowly improving condition of affairs with regard to the shipment of food and of coal, but without such immediate relief as had become absolutely necessary because of the congestions of traffic which have been piling up for the last few months.

I have every confidence that the result of action of this sort will justify it and that the people of the country will loyally and patriotically respond to necessities of this kind as they have to every other sacrifice involved in the war. We are upon a war footing, and I am confident that the people of the United States are willing to observe the same sort of discipline that might be involved in the actual conflict itself.

In the result many thousands of tons of coal were saved on each of the "heatless days," and it was found possible to issue a list of exempt industries, and subsequently extend this list. The congestion of freight was gradually relieved, though not rapidly enough to ease the situation to the extent required. Accordingly, another temporary check was put on industry in the Eastern United States on Jan. 23 when Mr. McAdoo, as Director General of Railroads, ordered an official embargo on all new shipments of freight except fuel, food, and a few war necessities on the Pennsylvania lines east of Pittsburgh, the Baltimore & Ohio lines east of the Ohio River, and the Philadelphia & Reading system. The effect of the embargo order was to stop the loading of all freight except under the exempted classes on any of the cars of these lines. Industries not essential to the war were permitted to continue production to the capacity of their coal supply and storage warehouses, but were unable to send it out upon the railroads to add to the congestion.

A further development of the Fuel Administration's control of the supply of coal was the institution of a zone system in the East. J. D. A. Morrow, who had recently been General Secretary of the National Coal Association, representing

the bituminous operators, and previously Assistant Secretary of the Federal Trade Commission and Commissioner of the Pittsburgh Coal Producers' Association, was appointed by Dr. Garfield to head a new division of the Fuel Administration to take exclusive charge of all movements of coal from producer to consumer. The purpose of the new division was to decentralize partially apportionment and distribution. The zone system was another attempt to relieve freight congestion throughout the East, which was still serious enough to make it necessary to maintain the embargo on

general merchandise and intensify efforts to move coal and food.

This, the first serious breakdown in the economic organization of the United States since entering the war, tended to increase the powers of the Central Government and to impress upon American business men, accustomed to individual initiative, the prime necessity of co-ordination.

At this stage, therefore, a new phase opened in the work of making the nation's industrial mobilization more efficient along the lines laid down in the President's statement quoted above.

The Volunteer's Mother

By SARAH BENTON DUNN

[This poem, which first appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES of July 3, 1917, has comforted and inspired so many mothers of soldiers that it deserves a permanent nook in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

He was so beautiful—my baby son!
His sun-kissed curls clung close around his head,
His deep blue eyes looked trustingly in mine.
I did my best to keep his beauty fair
And fresh and clean and dainty, for I knew
I never could be satisfied with less.

He was so strong and well, my little son!
I gave my days and nights to keep him so—
Called in fresh air and sunlight to my aid,
Good food and play, all healthful things of life.
I wanted physical perfection, for
I never could be satisfied with less.

He was so bright and clever, my big son!
I sent him to the very best of schools,
Denying self that he might know no lack
Of opportunity to do his best,
Or feel no door of progress closed to him.
I never could be satisfied with less.

And yet—but now—my well-beloved son,
For your perfection can I pay the price?
Or would I have you play the coward's part,
With selfish, shriveled soul too small to dwell
Within so fair a frame? Is that my choice?
I sought the best! Shall I be satisfied with less?

Nay, I would have you honorable, my son—
Just, loyal, brave, and truthful, scorning fear
And lies and meanness—ready to defend
Your home, your mother, and your country's flag.
He's gone! Dear God! With bleeding heart I know
I still could not be satisfied with less!



Case of United States Against Germany

Senator Owen's Resolution

SENATOR OWEN, United States Senator from Oklahoma, introduced in the Senate on Jan. 31, 1918, a concurrent resolution committing the United States Congress to the support of the nation's war aims as stated by President Wilson in his address of Jan. 8. Mr. Owen's summary of the reasons for the entrance of the United States into the war, as set forth in the resolution, is a compact recital. It is printed in full herewith:

Resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring,) The United States declared a state of war existing between the Imperial Government of Germany and the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria and the United States because of their repeated willful violations of the rights of the people of the United States under the acknowledged principles of international law; the sinking of unarmed merchant vessels and of hospital and Red Cross ships; the destruction of the lives of unoffending American citizens on their lawful business on the high seas on many occasions; filling the United States with spies and secret agents; conspiring the wholesale destruction of American industries by arson, by explosions, and murder; systematically promoting sedition and treason among our citizens, and the criminal violation of our laws by the German and Austrian aliens residing in the United States; endeavoring to incite the hostility and aversion of other nations against the United States, and to persuade Mexico and Japan to make war upon the United States, and many other wrongful acts contrary to the laws of nations and in violation of justice and of humanity; and for the further reason that it had finally become known to the United States from indisputable evidence that the military masters of Germany and Austria had deliberately and secretly conspired to bring about an elaborately prepared offensive war by which and through which they intended, first, to dominate Europe, nation by nation, and then to dominate the other unprepared nations of the earth and establish a military world dominion.

For many years past the governing powers of Germany and Austria have by worldwide intrigue carried on a systematic attempt to disorganize public opinion in the United States and in the other nations of the world for the purpose of breaking down the powers of resistance of other na-

tions against the conspiracy for world dominion by exciting nation against nation and internal disorders among the nations that might oppose this sinister design.

The United States has not forgotten that the military rulers of Germany and Austria deliberately prevented international agreements at the various Hague Conventions for arbitration of international differences, abatement of armaments, and world peace.

A War of Spoliation

The United States recognizes this war as an offensive war of the completely prepared German and Austrian military autocracies against the unsuspecting and inadequately prepared democracies of the world in pursuance of the policy laid down in the first and second articles of the secret treaty of Verona of Nov. 22, 1822, in which the autocratic rulers of Prussia and Austria solemnly pledged their powers to each other to overthrow all "representative" Governments on earth, the consummation of which design the Prussian and Austrian autocratic group has steadily and secretly kept in view, and that this war had for its objects the premeditated slaughter and robbery of the innocent peoples of other nations for the sordid and base purposes of annexation, indemnity, robbery, and commercial profit by military force and terrorism and ultimate world dominion.

The United States finally recognized the unavoidable necessity of meeting the forces of this military conspiracy on the battlefields of Europe in order to prevent the military rulers of Germany and Austria from succeeding in the first step of mastering Europe as a means of mastering and robbing America.

The United States cannot be deceived by those military leaders of Germany and Austria who now, before their own people, pretend to be waging a war of defense and to desire an honorable peace, but whose every act has clearly demonstrated to the whole world that they deliberately planned and are still persisting in this unspeakably brutal war, with their sinister purposes unchanged, and which they are still attempting to carry out by terrorism, intrigue, and systematic falsehood and deceit at home and abroad.

The United States cannot confide in any statement or promise emanating from such a perfidious source until the German and Austrian people in fact and in sober truth

can control the conduct of their agents and compel them to observe the rules of morality and good faith.

The United States did not enter this war for material advantage or for any selfish purpose, or to gratify either malice or ambition.

Our Peace Terms

The United States will not approve of forcible annexations or mere punitive indemnities, even on the misguided people of Austria or of Germany, but demands the complete evacuation of all territory invaded during the present war by the German and Austrian troops, and the restoration and indemnity of Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro.

The United States believes that righting the wrong done to the French people by the Prussian Government in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine will remove long-pending grievances due to previous military aggression and will promote future world peace.

The United States believes that a readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognized lines of nationality; that an independent Polish State should be established over territory indisputably occupied by Polish people; that the peoples of Austria-Hungary, of the Balkans, and of the Ottoman Empire should have the right of autonomous development.

The United States will favor recognizing and protecting by an international alliance the territorial integrity of all nations, great and small; the maintenance of the right of unembarrassed self-determination of all nations, and the right of such nations to manage their own affairs by internal self-government; and safeguarding the rights of backward peoples by international agreement.

The United States will favor extending international credits for the restoration of all places made waste by war.

The United States will insist that the oceans and high seas and international waterways and canals shall be open on equal terms to the citizens of all nations; that all nations shall have the untaxed right of access to the sea of their goods in bond, through any intervening territory to the seaports of other nations, with equal access to shipping facilities.

The United States will favor the removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of equal trade conditions among all the nations of the world consenting to peace and associating themselves for its maintenance, without interfering with the right of any nation to govern its own imports and exports.

The United States will insist that adequate guarantees shall be given and taken to the end that national armaments on

land and sea should be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety.

Germany and Russia

The unbounded ambition and deceit of the Prussian military autocrats are again exposed in shameless nakedness before the German and Austrian people, their allies, and the world at large in their present demands of annexation of adjacent Russian territory and other demands contemplating the domination of the Russian and Polish people in flat violation of their own Reichstag's recent pledges against annexation and indemnity.

The United States feels for the Russian people the liveliest sympathy in their great losses in life and property at the hands of the German and Austrian autocrats, as well as their magnificent and glorious struggles in behalf of freedom and democratic world peace.

Having passed through many severe tests and trials in establishing popular government in America, the people of the United States, through their own directly elected representatives, desire to extend to the Russian people the cordial hand of fellowship in their new-found freedom and to assure their democratic brothers in Russia that we earnestly desire to render them, so far as possible, every assistance they may need and which they themselves desire.

The United States will favor an open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the claims of the Governments whose titles are to be determined.

The United States recognizes that a general association of civilized nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to nations, great and small alike, and of maintaining world peace, and believes that under such a system dissatisfied peoples now held under subjection to dominating nations for strategical purposes could be safely given their liberty and autonomy, as the rights of the dominant nation would be made safe by the general association of nations and the subject nation would cease to be a coveted asset against future war.

Punishing Aggression

The United States believes that under such general association of nations it should be a violation of international law and the highest international crime for any nation, on any alleged ground, to invade by military power the territorial limits of another nation, and that the penalty for such invasions should be the immedi-

ate international blockade of the invading and offending nation, an embargo on all mail, express, and freight to and from such nation, and the suppression of such invasion by the combined forces of the general association of nations organized for the protection of world peace.

The United States believes that all future international treaties should be made in the open, where all the world may know of the proceedings in the framing of such treaties, and that secret diplomacy and international intrigue should end.

The United States desires to be on friendly terms, political, commercial, and social, with the people of every nation, including those now under the control of the German and Austrian military autocracies, and to restore as speedily as possible these friendly relations with the German and Austrian people as soon as they organize a Government responsible to the will of the people of Germany and Austria and whenever they shall themselves demonstrate a willingness to deal with the other nations of the world on a basis of equality, justice, and humanity and are willing to abandon the atrocious and detestable doctrine of making war for annexation, indemnity, and profit.

The United States entered this war to protect the rights of its own citizens to life and liberty, to protect its own future,

to make the world safe from the future menace of military despotism, dynastic ambitions, or competing armaments, to establish permanent world peace on a basis of international justice, righteousness, and humanity, and, in co-operation with the self-governing belligerent nations, will maintain these principles, whatever the cost, with firmness and resolution until these ends are fully accomplished.

This resolution was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. On the same day Senator Borah of Idaho introduced a resolution in which the Congress of the United States pledged itself to the support of the independence of small nations, and gave assurances that they should be represented at the Peace Conference, also pledging the United States to a league of peace after the war. This resolution, likewise, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Lewis of Illinois, the Democratic whip, two weeks previously had introduced a resolution approving in detail the fourteen propositions set forth in the President's address. This was referred to the same committee.

A German Exposure of the Hohenzollern Plot Herr Thyssen's Revelations

SENATOR OWEN in the course of his remarks introducing the resolution printed above put into the record a pamphlet written by a German capitalist, August Thyssen, who has violently attacked the Hohenzollern dynasty for precipitating the war. Herr Thyssen is one of the chief iron, coal, and steel magnates of Central Germany. He is 78 years of age. Thyssen possessed until the beginning of the war huge mines, ironworks, docks, and even harbors, in British India, in other English colonial dependencies, as well as in France and in Russia, all of which have been sequestered by the Governments of these three powers as property belonging to the German foe. He has vast docks and shipbuilding works at Vlaardingen, near Rotterdam. He controls the Vulcan Iron and Steamship Building Company of Germany. Herr Thyssen's pamphlet is as follows:

I am writing this pamphlet because I want to open the eyes of Germans, especially of the business community, to facts. When the Hohenzollerns wanted to get the support of the commercial class for their war plans, they put their ideas before us as a business proposition. A large number of business and commercial men were asked to support the Hohenzollern war policy on the ground that it would pay them to do so. Let me frankly confess that I am one of those who were led to agree to support the Hohenzollern war plan when this appeal was made to the leading business men of Germany in 1912-13. I was led to do so, however, against my better judgment.

In 1912 the Hohenzollerns saw that the war had become a necessity to the preservation of the military system, upon which their power depends. In that year the Hohenzollerns might have directed, if they had desired, the foreign affairs of our country so that peace would have been assured in Europe for at least fifty years. But prolonged peace would have resulted certainly in the breakup of our military system, and with the breakup of our military system the power of the

Hohenzollerns would come to an end. The Emperor and his family, as I said, clearly understood this, and they, therefore, in 1912, decided to embark on a great war of conquest.

But to do this they had to get the commercial community to support them in their aims. They did this by holding out to them hopes of great personal gain as a result of the war. In the light of events that have taken place since August, 1914, these promises now appear supremely ridiculous, but most of us at the time were led to believe that they would probably be realized.

Promises of Vast Conquest

I was personally promised a free grant of 30,000 acres in Australia and a loan from the Deutsch Bank of £150,000, at 3 per cent., to enable me to develop my business in Australia. Several other firms were promised special trading facilities in India, which was to be conquered by Germany, be it noted, by the end of 1915. A syndicate was formed for the exploitation of Canada. This syndicate consisted of the heads of twelve great firms; the working capital was fixed at £20,000,000, half of which was to be found by the German Government.

There were, I have heard, promises made of a more personal character. For example, the "conquest of England" was to be made the occasion of bestowing upon certain favored and wealthy men some of the most desirable residences in England, but of this I have no actual proof.

Every trade and interest was appealed to. Huge indemnities were, of course, to be levied on the conquered nations, and the fortunate German manufacturers were, by this means, practically to be relieved of taxation for years after the war.

These promises were not vaguely given. They were made definitely by Bethmann Hollweg on behalf of the Emperor to gatherings of business men, and in many cases to individuals. I have mentioned the promise of a grant of 30,000 acres in Australia that was made to me. Promises of a similar kind were made to at least eighty other persons at special interviews with the Chancellor, and all particulars of these promises were entered in a book at the Trades Department.

But not only were these promises made by the Chancellor; they were confirmed by the Emperor, who, on three occasions, addressed large private gatherings of business men in Berlin, Munich, and Cassel in 1912 and 1913. I was at one of these gatherings. The Emperor's speech was one of the most flowery orations I have listened to, and so profuse were the promises he made that were even half of what he promised to be fulfilled, most of the

commercial men in Germany would become rich beyond the dreams of avarice.

The Emperor was particularly enthusiastic over the coming German conquest of India. "India," he said, "is occupied by the British. It is in a way governed by the British, but it is by no means completely governed by them. We shall not merely occupy India. We shall conquer it, and the vast revenues that the British allow to be taken by Indian Princes will, after our conquest, flow in a golden stream into the Fatherland. In all the richest lands of the earth the German flag will fly over every other flag."

Finally the Emperor concluded:

"I am making you no promises that cannot be redeemed, and they shall be redeemed if you are now prepared to make the sacrifices which are necessary to secure the position that our country must and shall occupy in the world. He who refuses to help is a traitor to the Fatherland; he who helps willingly and generously will have his rich reward."

All sounded, I admit, tempting and alluring, and though there were some who viewed rather dubiously the prospect of Germany being able to conquer the world in a year, the majority of business and commercial men agreed to support the Hohenzollern war plans. Most of them have since wished they had never paid any attention to them.

According to the promises of the Hohenzollern, victory was to have been achieved in December, 1915, and the promises made to myself and other commercial men in Germany when our money for the Kaiser's war chest was wanted were to have been then redeemed.

Charges Imperial Blackmail

But this is what has happened in reality: In December of 1916 the Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, began to have interviews once more with business men. The purpose of these interviews was to get more money from them. Guarantees were asked from seventy-five business men in Germany, including myself, that they would undertake to subscribe £200,000,000 to the next war loan. I was personally asked to guarantee a subscription of £200,000. I declined to give this guarantee; so did some others. I was then favored with a private interview with Bethmann Hollweg's private secretary, who told me that if I declined to give the guarantee and subsequently the money I would lose a contract I had with the War Office. But not only that—I was threatened with the practical ruin of my business if I did not give the guarantee.

I described this demand as blackmail of the worst sort and refused to guar-

antee a mark to the war loan. Two months later I lost my contract, and the greater part of my business has been taken over at a figure that means confiscation. Moreover, I am not to get paid until after the war, but am to receive 4 per cent. on the purchase price. Every man who declined to promise a subscription to the amount he was asked has been treated in the same manner.

The majority of men, however, preferred to pay rather than to be ruined, and so the Hohenzollerns in the main got their way. But, apart from the blackmailing of men who refused to pay any more money into the Hohenzollern war chest, let us see how the Hohenzollerns' promises are working out. A circular was sent out last March to a large number of business men by the Foreign Trade Department which contained the following suggestion:

Preparing for the Reckoning

"It will be wise for employers who have foreign trade interests to employ agents in foreign countries who can pass themselves off as being of French or English birth. German agents and travelers will probably for some time after the war have difficulty in doing business not only in enemy countries but in neutral countries. There will undoubtedly be a personal prejudice against Germans that would probably make it difficult for representatives of German firms to do business. Although this prejudice will not interfere with German trade, as it will be merely of a personal character, it will facilitate trading transactions if employers will employ agents who can pass as

"French or English, preferably, or as "Dutch, American, or Spanish."

So this is the prospect we are faced with after the war. The meaning of this circular in plain language is this: So loathed and hated have Germans become outside their own country that no one will want to have any personal dealings with them after the war.

A large number of businesses are, moreover, being secretly bolstered up with State aid. A condition of this aid is that the owners of the businesses receiving it shall agree to accept a considerable degree of State control over their business after the war. This is part and parcel of a plan on the part of the Hohenzollerns to get the commercial classes thoroughly into their grip before the end of the war, and so minimize the chances of a revolution.

These men who have agreed to accept aid now for their businesses, and State control after the war, have received a notification from the Foreign Trade Department to the effect that, with proper organization, Germany ought to recover her pre-war trade three years after peace is declared. Here is the Hohenzollern method of redeeming promises. We are to get back our pre-war trade three years after peace is declared, and to do this we must submit to have our trading transactions controlled and supervised by the State.

Can any German to whom such prospects are held out by the Emperor fail to see that he has been bamboozled and humbugged and fooled into supporting a war from which the utmost he can hope to gain is to come out of it without national bankruptcy?

How Canadians Voted Under Fire

During the elections in Canada in November, 1917, the Canadian troops in France cast their votes where they stood in the firing trenches or at their guns. A correspondent wrote:

The most dramatic of all incidents of the war election to date has been the securing of the votes of men wounded in action. Deputy presiding officers, scrutineers, and poll clerks have brought their ballot boxes with them to advanced dressing stations and voted men as they lay in bed—men who were so weak from suffering that it was all they could do to mark their ballots. Election officers have taken their boxes with them on tramways, behind the lines, and voted men practically as they worked. In the same way they have gone through the front-line trenches, giving the men in the firing line their opportunity to exercise the franchise. Officials have worked all day and far into the night and risked their lives to secure to every possible man an adequate opportunity to exercise the franchise. One poll clerk has been seriously wounded, a presiding officer has been sent down to the base as a casualty, and one gunner voting beside his gun was hit by shrapnel. Polling booths have been damaged by shellfire and by bombs, but there has been no serious interruption to election work, and above all no interference with actual war operations.

Economic Distress in Germany

Statement by the Rev. Aloysius Daniels

[A Priest Stationed at Marathon, Wis.]

The Rev. Aloysius Daniels arrived at New York from Germany on Feb. 2, 1918, after a two months' journey. He had been imprisoned in Westphalia for defending President Wilson, the court holding that he had "misused German hospitality." Upon his release he was permitted to go to Switzerland, and from there went to France and sailed in January.

IT is beyond understanding how human beings can endure what the Germans have had to suffer during the last few years. I have known men who have lost from 80 to 100 pounds from lack of nourishment. There is now no middle class. Those who belonged to that class have now descended to the poorest of the poor.

I have seen women who before the war lived in comfortable and refined surroundings forced to sweep the streets to support their families, while their husbands are out in the German trenches cursing the German Kultur for which they are forced to fight. The upper classes are living on the poor people. They own the war plants, the munition factories, and their money is piling up in Prussian banks.

[In referring to the strikes in February and reports of increasing unrest and dissatisfaction in Germany, the priest declared he was not surprised.]

This dissatisfaction has been steadily growing since the latter part of 1915, and it culminated in the riots and strikes of 1916. At that time strikes and riots occurred in every industrial centre in Germany, and it was at that time that all the police who had been sent to the front had to be recalled to aid the military in suppressing the strikers. They are still there in the big cities and industrial centres, which shows that uprisings are continuously expected.

FOOD LACKING EVERYWHERE

Most of the meat in the butcher shops is horse meat, and even that is very scarce. Horse meat sells for \$2.75 a pound. The best food conditions are present in Germany after the crops have

been gathered, and even then a prohibitive scale of prices remains. Then the people are allowed but one pound of potatoes a day, five ounces of meat a day, eight pounds of flour a week, and but five ounces of butter a week. Dairy produce is extremely scarce, and only the rich can afford it.

A woman who works twelve and fourteen hours a day must live on this food, and sometimes she cannot even get that ration, especially during the Winter months. The effect of the lack of nourishing food is shown in Germany today in the dreadful falling off in the birth rate. It has truly fallen away to practically nothing. Children of 5 and 6 years die rapidly after months of starving.

Germany only cares for those who can aid her in prosecuting the war. This has led to a brutal neglect of the aged. Those who happen to go to a police station, where all permits for food are given out, and ask permission to buy milk or eggs for a sick person are immediately asked, "How old is the sick man?"

If the person who is ill is beyond any age of active service food is at once refused. "That man is of no use to us. We have nothing for him," is the customary reply. Hunger has driven thousands to theft in their desperation, and this in spite of the fact that heavy sentences are dealt out to these offenders. A man found guilty of stealing a loaf of bread for his family is given from three weeks to a month in prison. In one morning, while I was in a Berlin court, I saw fifteen starving persons sent to jail for food thefts.

[Father Daniels said that the soldiers themselves when home on furlough help

to spread the dissatisfaction that is spreading all over the country. He continued:]

I have heard them cursing the Kaiser, and their feeling against the military is most bitter. They, of course, are guarded in their utterances except when among friends, for any of them found criticising the Government are shot down like dogs. Before I left I saw the 18-year-old boys of Germany drafted, and a relative of mine who was still in school was taken away. It is among these boys that insanity develops quickly after they are sent into the trenches, and the asylums are full to overflowing with soldiers crazed by the horrors that they have witnessed.

The German people do not get any true news of the war. The strikes and riots of 1916 were only quelled when the papers in the empire declared that the submarine warfare would bring England to her knees in three months. When the three months were over and there were no signs of peace, patriotic feeling was again revived by anti-Wilson propaganda. The main story was to the effect that President Wilson had been bought by England.

Suffering and Unrest in Berlin

A traveler from Germany who reached London on Jan. 10 gave this report of conditions at Berlin:

The situation in Berlin is absolutely awful. For the great mass of the population there is hardly any light, warmth, clothing, or boots, and an appalling lack of food. The work of the city is carried on by decrepit men, and by women who are reduced to nearly the same condition. "On one occasion I saw a coal cart with Russian prisoners in the driver's seat, and four women, literally in rags, carrying the bags of coal into a house." The linen worn by both sexes is abominably dirty, for there is no soap with which to wash it.

There is an intensely bitter feeling among the people against the Government, and there would undoubtedly be a revolt but for the fact, as the people are always saying, that "women cannot make a revolution." The Government knows all this, and forbids able-bodied

ADVICE TO PROPAGANDISTS

[In conclusion Father Daniels gives this opinion of German Kultur:]

I know now what it means, and there is nothing too fiendish to class under it. It means taking schoolboys, giving them a gun, and sending them out to do a man's work in the trenches. It means undermining the health of the German woman, putting her to cleaning the streets, making the munitions, and at the same time starving her. It means making of the children of Germany a race of starved, diseased boys and girls. It means deserting the old men and women and refusing them nourishment because they cannot help the Kaiser carry on his war program. It means everything that is cruel, unjust, and inhuman to the people upon whom it falls.

I have seen German Kultur at its worst, and I say God help the poor mortals who must live with it. If any man spreading German propaganda in this country and secretly praising the Kaiser could go and live under the conditions I have seen, he would be very glad to return to the United States and thank God he had been fortunate enough to receive the blessings of a democratic Government.

men returning to Berlin from the front. Officers are allowed to return there only in exceptional circumstances.

Hindenburg is loathed by the people of Berlin. Placards with the picture of Hindenburg (such as those with Kitchener's picture in England at the beginning of the war) urging the population to subscribe to loans, to hold out, &c., are torn off by the people, though in South Germany they are not touched. All over Berlin little notices are posted up offering a reward of 3,000 marks (\$750) to any one giving information of persons who say anything against the Government, the Emperor, the war, or officers.

The population of Berlin is divided roughly into three classes. The upper, military class, which adores Hindenburg and hates Ludendorff; the middle class,

which loves Ludendorff, and the lower, working class, which loathes Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and especially the Emperor. This latter class ridicules the Crown Prince unmercifully. Otherwise nobody speaks of the imperial family, which has ceased to be a dominant factor.

The well-to-do classes get along fairly comfortably, because the necessities of life can be purchased if one can afford to give fabulous sums for them. A ham, for example, can be bought for \$70.

A special dinner at a restaurant for three people, costing \$12.50, consisted of soup that was practically warm water, some tiny fishes, ("people now eat the fishes' heads,") a fragment of some sort of meat, a few carrots, and a piece of turnip boiled in water, and some pudding that was uneatable. Some officers were dining at a neighboring table, and one of them said, "The English have already won the war," for which he was taken severely to task by the others.

The New Paris and Its Daily Life

Described by John Bell

What are the greatest changes that forty months of war have effected in the life of Paris? After a patient search I think I have discovered them. Though the war has not repressed Gallic gayety, it has proved a corrective in that it has restricted the area of amusements, revised tastes, and, as will be seen shortly, it will control appetites.

We are living in a new and chastened Paris. Here are a few pictures of the new city as I see it today. The Grand Boulevards—from the Madeleine to the Bonne Nouvelle—are crowded as of old. Morning or afternoon, whether there are fitful gleams of sunshine or "chill November's surly blasts" sweep the leaves from the trees, they are a blaze of color and movement. The horizon blue uniforms of French officers mingle with British and American khaki and Italian gray-green, with here and there a red fez and a black face; and the gray days do not exclude touches of color from women's toilets. At nighttime the same crowd—but with civilian black predominate—jostling and good-humored. The cafés and terraces are full. At half-past 9 shrill whistles and distinctive clapping of hands are heard. No need to ask what these sounds portend. They are the signals that the closing hour is come. There is no grace. The cafés empty as if by magic.

By 10 o'clock the crowds on the boulevards have melted away.

Nine o'clock in the evening. The Rue Blanche, that long, narrow street leading to the Heights of Montmartre, is dark,

silent, and deserted—like a village street when the shutters are closed. Perhaps things will be more lively in the Boulevard Clichy, which aforesaid scintillated with lights from restaurants, theatres, and freak show places. Illusion. This artery of Paris, to which those in search of amusement hied, could not be more subdued. The show places, with their hideous façades—plaster heads of monsters with bulging eyes in which the electric light shone, and huge teeth, and the fantastic forms of humans and animals—are in darkness. Il n'y a plus.

Chastened by the horrors and sorrows of war, people are not in the mood to tolerate these inanities. That is why they have gone. Yet the cabaret is still there, bravely struggling to maintain itself as an institution. In the Boulevard Rochechouart, which vied with the Boulevard Clichy in attracting the foreigner, a long-haired gentleman wearing a brown velvet jacket shouts his program for the evening. It seems a work of supererogation. The passers-by are rare.

Life on the Left Bank is even less attractive. The Boulevard Saint Michel! It is a new Pays Latin. No sparkling lights, no movement, no sounds of students' revels. I walk from the Place Saint Michel to the Jardin du Luxembourg. It is a night of stars. But there are few people to enjoy the starlight. The centre of Murger's "Vie de Bohème" is as silent as the grave. The cafés, which formerly resounded with quip and jest, are practically deserted. Gas is wasted for nothing. Only in front of a tobacco shop do

I find a little group of men—students and painters wearing in their buttonholes the ribbon which indicates that they have been discharged from the army.

The same desolation in the Rue des Ecoles. A row of lights indicates a well-known cabaret that was always crowded

before the war. I peep inside, and find a score of men and women trying to enjoy the songs and jests in argot. "C'est la guerre," says the proprietor in explanation of his sparse audience. Yes, it is the war. Paris is becoming serious after forty months of it.

War Burdens in Hungary

General strikes broke out in Austria and Hungary in the last weeks of January, 1918, and for a while became menacing. As early as Nov. 27, 1917, 200,000 working people took part in a demonstration at Budapest to protest against their privations and to demand peace.

The Budapest Népszava on Nov. 29 published a report from its Vienna correspondent which shows that life is indeed hard in the monarchy. In many districts of Bohemia a new disease has made its appearance, which from its symptoms has been called famine-dropsy. Men are attacked by it chiefly between

the ages of 40 and 50, and unless the patient is given plenty of nourishment the disease proves fatal. The ravages of the disease are very great. In the small town of Asch 900 cases occurred, 3 per cent. proving fatal. In the small districts of Graslitz 1,500 cases, with 8 to 10 per cent. deaths; Haida, 1,500 cases, with 10 per cent. deaths; Rumburg, 646 cases, with 12½ per cent. deaths; in Platten and Baeringen the number of cases and deaths was still greater. In Weipert, Schluckenau, and Warndorff there were many thousands of cases, and in every instance the cause has been found to be insufficient food.

Germany's Claim to Alsace

A Study by Frederic Masson

Frederic Masson, author of this brilliant article, which appeared in The London Telegraph, is one of the most distinguished of French historians. He is Librarian of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a member of the French Academy. He here presents the historical claims of Alsace and Lorraine to be and to remain French.

DURING the middle of the seventeenth century, Germany was not a definitely constituted State, inclosed in well-defined boundaries, composed of rigid elements, ruled by a recognized Constitution acknowledged by all, possessed of a code of uniform laws, and obeying one single chief in peace and war; she was an agglomeration of States of all dimensions, of the most varying importance, independent in fact if not in law, bound to the elected Chief of the Empire by a tie so feeble and subjected to so many restrictions that it might well be asked where the exercise of the central power began and

where it ended. As has been said, "the Emperor possessed nothing intact but the insignia of his dignity."

By virtue of its "territorial sovereignty," each State exercised over its own territory all rights of sovereignty that were not in contradiction with the public and general laws of the empire; these ancient rights, prerogatives, liberties, privileges, territorial freedom, &c., were definitely assured to all the Electors, Princes, and States of the empire by the Treaty of Osnabrück; but those States of the empire which sat in the Diet, and which had been nominated more by chance than by any fixed principle,

were far from forming all the component parts of the empire. Thus the "Immediate Nobles," who had no vote in the Diet, acknowledged only the "Corpus Germanicus" and the Emperor, enjoyed individually the rights of "territorial sovereignty," and, as a body, certain prerogatives which released their subjects from imperial claims; thus the "Immediate" and imperial towns which, since 1309, sent Deputies to the Diet, enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty by means of Constitutions which recognized the privileges that they had successively exacted, conquered, or bought.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The Emperor was elected; formerly he was elected in the first degree by the Dukes and principal nobles, and in the second by what one may term the people—meaning those people who were in the "street" at Aix-la-Chapelle. Ever since the bull published in 1336 by Charles IV. to the States of Nuremberg, which has become the basis of the political rights of the empire, the Emperor had been elected by the seven Electors—the Archbishop of Mainz, Archchancellor of the Empire in Germany; the Archbishop of Cologne, Archchancellor of the Empire in Italy; the Archbishop of Trèves, Archchancellor of the Empire in Gallic territories; the King of Bohemia, archcupbearer; the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Archsteward; the Duke of Saxony, Archmarshal, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, Archchamberlain.

What, then, was this empire? The "Holy Roman Empire," the universal empire. Thus, on the occasion of the election, each Elector swore by the Holy Gospels, by the faith by which he was sworn to God and the Holy Roman Empire, that according to all his discernment and judgment he wished to elect "a temporal chief of the Christian people," that is to say, "a King of the Romans, future Emperor. * * *." And that is why the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire claimed the whole of Italy, Belgium, Gaul, and many other States, kingdoms, and republics, but these claims were worth just as much as the assertor of them could impose.

Thus the possession of nearly the

whole of Italy can be claimed by Germany with far more historical foundation than she can claim Alsace-Lorraine, if it is once admitted that all those countries that formed part of the Holy Roman Empire should be incorporated in the German Empire. For Otto I., who conquered the Kingdom of Italy in 961, and who in 962 included it in his empire, assuredly transmitted to his descendant, William II., his rights over the peninsula. Modern Germany is still more within her rights in claiming the imperial fiefs which she lost in 1815, those which lie between Genoa, Tortona, and Pavia, those of Lunigiana, and those of Tuscany, (Verna, Montanto, and Monte-Santa Maria.) Better still, if the stipulations of the Treaty of Westphalia are closely examined, it cannot be forgotten that the thirteen Swiss cantons obtained from the Imperial States the acknowledgment of their independence, their entire freedom, and their exemption from the empire only by the Treaty of Osnabrück, and that previously—that is to say, in 930—Switzerland was included in the legacy that Rudolph III. bequeathed to Conrad the Salic of the Kingdom of Arles, which comprised the two Burgundies. It was only at the beginning of the fourteenth century that the Swiss attempted to free themselves: their struggle lasted until the opening of the sixteenth century, and their independence was only acknowledged in the middle of the seventeenth century.

MIGHT AND RIGHT

There is no doubt that as soon as one enters the domain of ancient claims, and as soon as it is admitted that Might constitutes the sole Right, some alleged conquest will always be found for the benefit of Germany. "The Germans," wrote a celebrated lawyer in 1821, "were of all modern peoples the slowest to understand that justice exists in the social State only for the purpose of acting as a balance to force." It was only after innumerable attempts and many bloody wars that the Emperors succeeded, not in destroying, but in attenuating "this sovereign jurisdiction of the sword," which each holder of a fief defended as a sacred right. It was to get rid of this



MAP OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE, WITH BATTLE FRONT SHOWN BY DOTTED LINE. THE AMERICAN FORCES ARE NORTH OF TOUL AND NANCY

that Rudolph of Hapsburg decreed a public peace for three years, that his successors attempted vainly to carry out this task, and that Maximilian I., on the demand of the States themselves, decreed by the Diet of Worms in 1495 a perpetual public peace, to be assured, as far as possible, by the application of the sen-

tence of banishment to those who infringed it, and by the creation of the Imperial Chamber.

The right of Might as a consequence of the negation of Right is the direct heritage and the tradition of the Germans; throughout the ages, no matter how it may be disguised, it exists as the

basis of relations between Germany and all other nations, and even as the basis of relations between the Germans themselves.

The entire history of the German people illustrates the declarations of their lawyers, attested by the words, which are without parallel in any other country and have remained traditional: "*Faust und Kolben Recht*"—the domination of the right of the strongest. Thus, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, an attempt was being made in Germany to find a remedy for these continual abuses of Might, and a period where Might constituted the sole Right was soon to be entered upon.

The Reformation opens the period where the abuse of Force was at its height, for it was exercised in the name of religious doctrines which ought to have had as their object the assignment of its limitations. That most assuredly was the *raison d'être* of the ecclesiastical principalities. Their possessors, it is true, often lost sight of this object, but there was at least a hope, which at times became a reality, that a man animated by love and justice might ascend an episcopal throne. After the secularization of the ecclesiastical principalities and of the militant religious orders, and their seizure by lay Princes, there remained only the harshness of men of iron, who oppressed the peasant, the serf, and the people. Religion has been made a fresh occasion for persecution.

The Holy Empire, an incoherent mass composed of thousands of parts, each possessing its own master and a different Constitution, ruled by contradictory laws, separated by tariff dues, varying monetary standards, absence of roads, often at war one against the other, and generally hostile; the Holy Empire, a seething mass, of which the various parts joined issue according to the interests of the moment, and formed more or less numerous and powerful leagues; the Holy Empire, an almost fluid mass, of which the influence was subordinated to the external resources which the nominal sovereign of the moment turned to his own advantage, oscillated continually between its neighbors of the west, those of the

south, and those of the east. Possessed only of conventional frontiers, except on the side where it refused to recognize them, it overflowed sometimes in the direction of the Slavs or Letts, and sometimes in that of the French or the Czechs. Boundary lines appear and disappear with each treaty of peace, and without any reason for their existence being formulated, for the Germanic race, even though it stretches to infinity, is easily penetrated and assimilated by other races.

The King of Spain, who was also Archduke of Austria, in the election of 1519 triumphed by a majority of one over the King of France. The two royal houses thereupon became rivals, and since then a great number of Electors and imperial towns allied themselves with the French against the Austrians, who had been again invested by this farcical election and by the Pontifical confirmation with the imperial dignity.

FRENCH SOVEREIGNTY

When, after more than one hundred years of uninterrupted struggle—for certain of the civil and religious wars in France assumed the character of a conflict between French and Germans, if not Germany—the two States, and nearly the whole of Europe, whom they had dragged into their quarrel, met together for the great negotiation in which the Pope in 1636 took the initiative, France claiming as a "satisfaction" the sovereignty of the Bishopsrics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which Henry II. had conquered in 1552; then Upper and Lower Alsace, including the Sundgau and the forest towns, "in the same way," she said, "as the Princes of the House of Austria had possessed these provinces, with Philippsburg and the surrounding territory." The King of France consented to hold these provinces as a fief of the empire, provided that a fitting rank and a seat in the Diet were granted him.

It was not Germany which ceded the Landgravate of Upper Alsace, but the House of Austria, the younger branch of that house which reigned in Tryol and which possessed the Landgravate of Upper Alsace as a fief of the empire, but without a voice in the Diet. After in-

terminable discussions the Congress ended by renouncing the imperial sovereignty over the three Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, over the towns of those names, and the districts surrounding the Bishoprics, and over the Landgravate of Upper and Lower Alsace, with the Sundgau, but without a voice in the Diet; it ceded also the prefecture of the ten imperial towns of Alsace. (The other stipulations concerning Pignerol, Vieux-Brisach, and Philippsburg were annulled by the Treaty of Turin in 1696, the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, and the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1679.)

"The Emperor," it is stated in Paragraphs 73 and 74 of the Treaty of Münster, "in his own name, as well as in that of the Royal House of Austria, and also in that of the empire, cedes all rights, properties, domains, possessions, and jurisdictions which have belonged up to the present as much to him as to the empire and to the House of Austria, on and over the town of Brisach, the Landgravate of Upper and Lower Alsace, the Sundgau, and the provincial prefecture of the ten imperial towns situated in Alsace * * * without reserve, and with all jurisdiction, sovereignty, and supreme authority." The essential point in the eyes of the Emperor was that the King of France should not enter the Diet, where he might have proved an insufferable rival. But there was nothing extraordinary in the case, the Kings of Sweden, Prussia, England, Hungary, and Spain having been members of the Diet for such part of their States as had been portions of the empire.

The King of France consented to this arrangement, but it was he who had raised the question. As to the Bishops of Strassburg and Bâle, the town of Strassburg, the Abbés of Murbach and of Lure, the Abbess of Andain, the Palatines of Petitepierre, and the nobility of Lower Alsace, as well as the ten imperial towns under the Prefecture of Haguenau, the King undertook to respect the right which they had theretofore enjoyed of being directly amenable to the Holy Empire.

This stipulation was faithfully observed, and if the town of Strassburg voluntarily ceded itself to the King of

France in 1681, it nevertheless maintained, in the same manner as the imperial towns of the Prefecture of Haguenau, its singularly complicated Constitution, dividing the power between the nobles and the people, Stettmeisters, Ammeisters, the Grand Senate, the Permanent Colleges, the Thirteenth, the Fifteenth, and the Twenty-first. The only innovation introduced by France was in 1685, when a royal official was authorized to attend the meetings of the Magistracy in a consultative capacity.

PETTY GERMAN RULERS

As for the German nobles who had possessions in Alsace, and of whom many were members of the "Corps de la Noblesse Immédiate" of Lower Alsace or of the "Corps de la Noblesse Immédiate" of Ortenau, they extended their almost sovereign authority over more than 1,300 localities, of which the greater number today form as many communes. The list of them will be found in "L'Alsace Noble," by Lehr, (Strassburg, 1870, quarto, Vol. III,) together with the most accurate map that has ever been made up to the present. The most important possessions belonged with all sovereign rights to the Landgravate of Hesse-Darmstadt, to the Duke of Valentinois, to the Duke of Württemberg, to the Margrave of Baden, to the Prince of Nassau-Saarbrück, to the Prince of Nassau-Weilburg, to the Republic of Mulhouse, to the Prince-Bishops of Strassburg, of Spire, and of Bâle, to the three branches of the Palatine House, to the princely houses of Hohenlohe, Loewenhaupt, Liange, and Salm.

The result of this arrangement was the strangest disparity in government and administration, and, in spite of all the efforts of the Sovereign Council of Alsace, the most complete disorder. Consequently, when in 1789 the States General was convened by King Louis XVI., the desire for unity, the wish to end the feudal régime and the domination of German Princes, were the outstanding features of the elections in Alsace. All the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat, the greater part of those of the clergy, and some of those of the nobility, declared themselves

from that time as being in favor of reform, of the Revolution, and of French nationality.

THROWING OFF THE YOKE

It may be that previous to 1789 Alsace was still German; it is certain that she was feudal, and that she impatiently endured the masters whom she hated. When, on the occasion of the Federation of 1790, Alsace swore fidelity to the new-born France, it was not conquest, but free choice and unanimous desire that made her French. She kept this oath of allegiance in 1793, although she was surrounded by counter-revolutionary traps at the very moment that the Austrians were placing new boundary posts on her territory; she kept it magnificently against the invaders in 1814, 1815, and in 1870. After the Assembly of 1789, and until the Assembly of 1871, she sent to the French Parliament the wisest, the firmest, the most energetic, and the most honest men, all passionately devoted to their country and to liberty.

The representatives of Alsace, faithful to the will of the Alsatian population, have affirmed in the French Chambers as well as in the Imperial Reichstag, their

will to be and to remain French. The question of the lapse of time is not to be taken into account. The protest was uninterrupted; the appeal to justice never ceased for a single day. Elected by the people, speaking in the name of the people, they have, in right as well as in fact, preserved French nationality for Alsace. They have proved that as opposed to the domination of "Might" there is justice, and that against the doctrine of conquest there is the doctrine of free consent. For forty-four years they have seized every occasion to claim for their compatriots the right to live, to fight, to die for France, and they have done so in spite of threats and terrorization, exile, imprisonment, and the scaffold. Alsace, who gave herself to France, who shared her life for eighty years with all her glories and her sorrows, is not a province whose nationality any more than her patriotism can be contested or disputed. She is as French as Picardy, Flanders, or the Ardennes. Alsace was never conquered by Germany; she was invaded. It is the invaders that we are fighting; it is Alsace that we are liberating—nothing more and nothing less.

Why Alsace-Lorraine Should Be Restored Without a Plebiscite

By Albert Thomas

Leader of the French Socialists, Former Cabinet Minister

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

MY comrades of the British Labor Party have in a recent declaration defined their views on the subject of war aims. They have, in particular, made their position clear as to the question of Alsace-Lorraine. The Labor Party has renewed its condemnation of the crime against the peace of the world by which Alsace-Lorraine was torn from France in 1871. It emphatically expresses its sympathy with the unfortunate inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine. It demands, "in accordance with the declarations of the French Socialists, that those populations shall be allowed, under the protection of the supernational au-

thority, or League of Nations, freely to decide what shall be their future political position."

I am afraid the detailed considerations in our memorandum in answer to the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee at Stockholm have led our friends a little astray.

Our British labor friends have been led to believe we were in favor of a plebiscite. They knew that we always firmly upheld the right of peoples to dispose of themselves. They thought that we could but apply that principle automatically to the case of Alsace-Lorraine. Alsace-Lorraine would recover her right freely to decide, probably under the control of an

international or a Franco-German commission, whether she is to remain German or return to France.

This is not the policy advocated by the declarations of the French Socialists. What they say is this: The right of France to Alsace-Lorraine remains unaltered: it was in violation of the right of peoples to self-determination that Alsace-Lorraine was wrenched from France; the treaty of Frankfurt, to which France had to submit, has been torn to pieces by Germany's own will in 1914; the document by which Alsace-Lorraine was surrendered to Germany has now been destroyed; the right of France remains immutable; therefore Alsace-Lorraine must come back to France.

But French Socialists further add (and this may have misled our British friends) that France, acting of her own free will, will do herself honor by going so far, in her regard for the right of self-determination, as to agree, after Alsace-Lorraine has resumed her place in the French community, to a consultation of the populations there, under the control of the League of Nations. What is proposed here is not a plebiscite which would decide whether Alsace-Lorraine would return to France or not, but a consultation after the event, by which the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine will declare that they wished to be French again.

I think I have made the distinction clear. I may add that, while this view is held by an overwhelming majority of the French Socialist Party, there are members of the party (and I am bound to say I am one of them, as well as some Socialists of Alsatian and Lorrainer origin) who are afraid that even such a consultation may be a dangerous concession, leading to a dubious interpretation; they adopt the formula of the Republican League of Alsace-Lorraine, and declare that a consultation cannot be forced upon these populations; it belongs to Alsace-Lorraine herself to assert in her own way, at the moment and in the form she prefers, her will to belong to France.

Our views being thus clearly restated, I wish to add a few words of explanation for our British friends.

Why do French and Alsations, in this special case of Alsace-Lorraine, think

that no plebiscite should take place, in spite of their claim for the peoples of the right to dispose of themselves?

The reason is a simple one. The question is not to give a population the right for the first time to decide its own fate. It was in 1871 that the right of peoples to dispose of themselves was violated. The most characteristic feature of the French Nation is her complete unity, and the fact that all the populations of France have unquestionably expressed their desire to belong to the French community. No people in the world has attained to such absolute unity, such a homogeneous national structure. While Great Britain shows to the world the finest realization of the imperial idea, France is the very example and prototype of the nation.

In 1790, after the alternative changes which had made Alsace and Lorraine now French, now German, territories, the Lorrainers and the Alsations, on the great day of the federation, solemnly declared their resolution to be part of the French Nation. At Strassburg, Mulhouse, and in other Alsatian towns the people showed by stirring demonstrations how enthusiastically they proclaimed their French nationality. During the nineteenth century no separatist tendency ever found any expression in Alsace or in Lorraine. In 1871, when the two provinces were violently taken from France, the inhabitants raised before the Bordeaux Assembly a moving protest, in which they declared that, should even centuries pass, their right to be French would remain indefeasible. In 1874 they protested in the Reichstag against annexation, made against their will, and by which they had been handed over to Germany "like mere cattle."

During forty-seven years the protest of Alsace-Lorraine never ceased to make itself heard in various ways. On the eve of the present war, when the Zabern incidents took place a Prussian officer could say that the German army in Alsace was practically in enemy country. Since the beginning of the war hundreds of sentences have been passed by German Judges on Alsations whose guilt was to have expressed their French feelings.

To agree to a plebiscite under such circumstances would not only amount to

canceling the repeated protestations of 1871, 1874, and of all times. It would be equivalent to a declaration that our right has become null and void. It would amount to admitting that the Treaty of Frankfort is still valid, and it would vindicate Germany's action when in 1871 she violated the right of peoples to dispose of themselves. It is because of this right that the method of the plebiscite cannot be accepted.

The protest, which never ceased since 1871, establishes the fact of Alsace-Lorraine's unvaried desire to belong to France. France feels certain that should a plebiscite be taken, the result would be in her favor. But we must not forget that there are in Alsace-Lorraine 400,000 "immigrants," that is to say, German settlers, many of whom have been sent there as officials of the German Empire; they, no doubt, would declare for the endurance of German rule.

Let us suppose that, instead of 400,000, Germany had sent to Alsace-Lorraine 1,000,000 immigrants. Let us suppose that she had turned out a part of the population, or destroyed it by such massacres as her Turkish disciples are now perpetrating in Armenia: what would then happen if a plebiscite were taken? Would the right of peoples to dispose of themselves make it imperative to sanction by a vote, the result of which, in such circumstances, would be a foregone conclusion, the crime Germany committed in 1871?

It is therefore impossible, from the point of view of morality as well as from that of legality—if the right of peoples to dispose of themselves be adhered to—to make the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France conditional on the taking of a plebiscite.

WHY IT IS IMPRACTICABLE

But let us now for a moment admit that, by a concession which is really an impossible one, France were to consent to a plebiscite. We declare that it could not work in practice. First of all there would be conditions of time to settle: when should the plebiscite take place? Would it be when the country is still occupied by German armies, or how long after occupation by the French? Or

would it be under the guarantee of neutrals? In each case the consequence would be to lay the two provinces open to every kind of electoral contest, which would be the more serious because the question this time would not be of a choice between individuals, but between conditions which would decide the fate of the whole community.

German propaganda would be rampant. The threats which often weighed so heavily on those populations and paralyzed their political life would unavoidably react upon the people. Would not both French and German Governments be led to the making of promises, the giving of more or less official pledges, to influence the vote? And would the question of right, under such conditions, remain in full light before the peoples concerned?

Then—and this is more important—who would be entitled to vote? The register, unfortunately, could not include those who, having enlisted in the French Army, gave their lives for the cause of Alsace-Lorraine. But only the genuine Alsatians and Lorrainers of 1871 and their offspring, including the hundreds of thousands who have left the country since and because it was annexed to Germany, should take part in the plebiscite. Under no circumstances could the immigrants be admitted to vote.

Would such a plebiscite—although the only one that would be morally admissible—finally settle the dispute between France and Germany?

Therefore it must be concluded that the plebiscite is not only unacceptable in principle, but also impossible in practice.

Those who might persist in objecting that the right of peoples to dispose of themselves cannot be vindicated by any other method must be reminded that the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine have unceasingly expressed their feelings. Since 1871 there has been, so to speak, an uninterrupted plebiscite. The population of Alsace-Lorraine has consistently refused to accept the Treaty of Frankfort. We only state actual facts when we say that the case of Alsace-Lorraine is the same as that of our invaded provinces. Just as the German armies shall evacu-

ate these, they must and shall evacuate Alsace-Lorraine. The only difference is that their occupation has lasted three and a half years, and that of Alsace-Lorraine forty-seven years.

AN INTERNATIONAL QUESTION

There is one more point on which I wish to lay special stress, speaking not only to my Socialist comrades, but to all our British friends, whatever party they may belong to. I frequently hear people repeating: "We English will fight for Alsace-Lorraine because France demands Alsace-Lorraine." Others will go even further and say: "It is enough that our French allies demand Alsace-Lorraine to determine us never to lay down our arms until she has recovered that country."

We can but deeply feel such a delicate expression of complete friendship and of unconditional loyalty to the bond of alliance between the two nations. Would it be possible to show more unreserved confidence? But if France's aims were unjust, would the British people be bound to take the same attitude?

Supposing France wanted to annex

part of Germany, would the British people agree? France does not claim Alsace-Lorraine only because she is her own, but, by claiming Alsace-Lorraine, she demands that justice shall prevail. The question of Alsace-Lorraine is not merely a French question; it is an international question, in which mankind is interested.

Alsace-Lorraine kept under German rule means permanent violation of right in modern Europe. It means that a just peace, conformable to the right of nations, has not been secured. It means that the reign of justice has not superseded the hegemony of brutal force.

It is not only because the soldiers of the Marne and those of Verdun, by their heroic sacrifices in defense of our common civilization, have deserved to be rewarded by the restoration to France of her national unity, that Alsace and Lorraine must go back to France; it is because of the common will of the Allies to secure the restoration of justice in the world. Great Britain makes the French claim her own, not only because of her love for France, but because she has been, at all times, the defender of right.

German Proclamation to Italians

The full text of the proclamation issued by the German Military Government to the inhabitants of the conquered region of Northern Italy is reproduced below. When compared with General Allenby's proclamation to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, which provided for the carrying on of all business without interruption, the safeguarding of all buildings, and the protection of inhabitants of all creeds, it affords an illuminating example of the different ways in which Great Britain and Germany wage war. The German proclamation to the Italians is as follows:

PROCLAMATION issued by the Headquarters of the German Military Government at Udine to the Inhabitants of Conquered Italy.

A house-to-house search will be made for

all concealed arms, weapons, and ammunition.

All victuals remaining in the house must be delivered up.

Every citizen must obey our labor regulations.

ALL WORKMEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN OVER 15 YEARS OLD are obliged to work in the fields every day, Sundays included, from 4 A. M. to 8 P. M.

Disobedience will be PUNISHED in the following manner:

(1) Lazy workmen will be accompanied to their work and watched by Germans. After the harvest they will be IMPRISONED for six months, and every third day will be given NOTHING BUT BREAD AND WATER.

(2) Lazy women will be obliged to work, and after the harvest receive SIX MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT.

(3) LAZY CHILDREN WILL BE PUNISHED BY BEATING. THE COMMANDANT RESERVES THE RIGHT TO PUNISH LAZY WORKMEN WITH 20 LASHES DAILY.

Secret Treaty With Italy

Text of the Important Pact Made by Italy and the Entente Prior to That Nation's Entry Into the War

PUBLICATION of the secret treaties and diplomatic agreements between Russia and the Allies, which were found in the archives of the Foreign Office at Petrograd when the Bolsheviks seized power on Nov. 7, 1917, was begun Nov. 23 by Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had previously announced that he intended to take this step, which had been urged upon Kerensky and refused by him. On Nov. 15 Trotsky, finding the rooms of the Foreign Office closed, summoned all the Foreign Office officials to meet him there the following day. He arrived accompanied by Professor Polivavnov, whom he had appointed to search out the material, and obtained from the officials, thirty in number, a written statement of their willingness to assist. M. Dofrovolski, head of the Judicial Department, surrendered the keys to the archives, and prepared a statement that he had done this of his own volition and not through force.

TROTSKY'S REASONS

When the first publication was made, M. Trotsky gave the following reasons for his action:

In proceeding to publish the secret diplomatic documents dealing with the foreign policy of the Czarist and Bourgeois Coalition Governments during the first seven months of the revolution we are fulfilling the obligation which we took upon ourselves when our party was in opposition. Secret diplomacy is a necessary weapon in the hands of a propertied minority, which is compelled to deceive the majority in order to make the latter obey its interests. Imperialism, with its world-wide plans of annexation and its rapacious alliances and arrangements, has developed to the highest extent the system of secret diplomacy. The struggle against imperialism, which has ruined and drained of their blood the peoples of Europe, means at the same time the struggle against capitalist diplomacy, which has good reason to fear the light of day. The Russian people, as well as the peoples of Europe and of the whole world, must

know the documentary truth about those plots which were hatched in secret by financiers and industrialists, together with their parliamentary and diplomatic agents. The peoples of Europe have earned the right to know the truth about these things, owing to their innumerable sacrifices and the universal economic ruin.

To abolish secret diplomacy is the first condition of an honorable, popular, and really democratic foreign policy. The Soviet Government makes the introduction of such a policy its object. For this reason, while openly offering to all the belligerent peoples and their Governments an immediate armistice, we publish simultaneously those treaties and agreements which have lost all their obligatory force for the Russian workmen, soldiers, and peasants who have taken the Government into their hands. * * *

Bourgeois politicians and journalists of Germany and Austria-Hungary may endeavor to profit by the published documents in order to represent in a favorable light the diplomacy of the Central Empires. But every effort in this direction would be doomed to failure for two reasons. In the first place, we intend shortly to put before the public secret documents which will show up quite clearly the diplomacy of the Central Empires. In the second place—and this is the chief point—the methods of secret diplomacy are just as international as imperialist rapacity. When the German proletariat by revolutionary means gets access to the secrets of its Government Chancelleries, it will produce from them documents of just the same nature as those which we are now publishing. It is to be hoped that this will happen as soon as possible.

The Government of workmen and peasants abolishes secret diplomacy, with its intrigues, figures, and lies. We have nothing to conceal. Our program formulates the passionate wishes of millions of workmen, soldiers, and peasants. We desire a speedy peace so that the peoples may honorably live and work together. We desire a speedy deposition of the supremacy of capital. In revealing before the whole world the work of the governing classes as it is expressed in the secret documents of diplomacy, we turn to the workers with that appeal which will always form the basis of our foreign

policy: "Proletarists of all countries, unite!"

TEXT OF ITALY'S TREATY

The most interesting and important of the documents published was a secret treaty which Italy made with Russia, Great Britain, and France, and which was executed two weeks prior to Italy's entrance into the war, having been signed on May 9, 1915. The text of this treaty, as translated from the Russian by The New Europe of London, follows:

The Italian Ambassador in London, Marchese Imperiali, on instructions from his Government, has the honor to communicate to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey; to the French Ambassador, M. Cambon, and to the Russian Ambassador, Count Benckendorff, the following memorandum:

I. The Great Powers of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy shall, without delay, draw up a military convention by which are to be determined the minimum of military forces which Russia will be bound to place against Austria-Hungary in the event of the latter throwing all her forces against Italy. This military convention will also regulate the problems relating to a possible armistice, in so far as these do not by their very nature fall within the competence of the supreme command.

II. Italy on her part undertakes to conduct the war with all means at her disposal in agreement with France, Great Britain, and Russia, and against the States which are at war with them.

III. The naval forces of France and Great Britain will lend Italy their active co-operation until such time as the Austrian fleet shall be destroyed, or till the conclusion of peace. France, Great Britain, and Italy shall in this connection conclude without delay a naval convention.

What Italy Was Promised

IV. By the future treaty of peace Italy shall receive the Trentino, the whole of Southern Tyrol, as far as its natural and geographical frontier, the Brenner; the City of Trieste and its surroundings, the County of Gorizia and Gradisca, the whole of Istria as far as the Quarnero, including Volosca and the Istrian Islands, Cherso and Lussin, as also the lesser islands of Plavnik, Unia, Canidoli, Palazuola, S. Pietro Nerovio, Asinello and Gruica, with their neighboring islets.

Note 1.—In carrying out what is said in Article IV. the frontier line shall be drawn along the following points: From the summit of Umbrile northward to the Stelvio, then along the watershed of the

Rhaetian Alps as far as the sources of the Rivers Adige and Eisach, then across the Mounts of Reschen and Brenner and the Etz and Ziller peaks. The frontier then turns southward, touching Mount Toblach, in order to reach the present frontier of Carniola, which is near the Alps. Along this frontier the line will reach Mount Tarvis and will follow the watershed of the Julian Alps beyond the crests of Predil, Mangart, and Tricorno, and the passes of Podberdo, Podlansko, and Idria. From here the line will turn in a southeast direction toward the Schneeberg in such a way as not to include the basin of the Save and its tributaries in Italian territory. From the Schneeberg the frontier will descend toward the seacoast, including Castua, Matuglia, and Volosca as Italian districts.

Dalmatia to Be Italian

V. In the same way Italy shall receive the Province of Dalmatia in its present extent, including further to the north Lissarika and Trebinje [i. e., two small places in Southwestern Croatia,] and to the south all places as far as a line starting from the sea close to Cape Planka [between Trau and Sebenico] and following the watershed eastward in such a way as to place in Italian hands all the valleys whose rivers enter the sea near Sebenico—namely, the Gikola, Krka, and Butisnjica, with their tributaries. To Italy also will belong all the islands north and west of the Dalmatian coast, beginning with Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Skerda, Maon, Pago, and Puntadura, and further north and reaching to Meleda southward, with the addition of the islands of S. Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta and all the surrounding islets and rocks, and hence Pelagosa also, but without the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buje, Solta, and Brazza.

The following shall be neutralized: (1) The whole coast from Cape Planka on the north to the southern point of the peninsula of Sabbioncello on the south, this peninsula being included in the neutral zone. (2) Part of the coast from a point ten kilometers south of Ragusa Vecchia as far as the River Vojussa on the south, so as to include in the neutralized zone the whole Gulf of Cattaro, with its ports, Antivari, Duleigno, S. Giovanni di Medua, and Durazzo, with the reservation that Montenegro rights are not to be infringed in so far as they are based on the declarations exchanged between the contracting parties in April and May, 1909. These rights being recognized solely for Montenegro's present possessions, they shall not be extended to such regions and ports as may in the future be assigned to Montenegro. Hence no part of the coast which

today belongs to Montenegro shall be subject to neutralization in future. But all legal restrictions regarding the port of Antivari—to which Montenegro herself gave her adhesion in 1900—remain in vigor. (3) All the islands not assigned to Italy.

Note 2.—The following districts on the Adriatic shall by the work of the Entente Powers be included in the territory of Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro: To the north of the Adriatic the whole coast beginning at the Gulf of Volosca, near the frontier of Italy, as far as the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the whole coast today belonging to Hungary; the whole coast of Croatia, the port of Fiume, and the small ports of Nevi and Carlopago, and in the same way the islands of Veglia, Pervicio, Gregorio, Kali, and Arbe. To the south of the Adriatic, where Serbia and Montenegro are interested, the whole coast from Cape Planka to the River Drin, with the very important ports of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno and S. Giovanni di Medua, as also the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buja, Solta, Brazza, Cikljan, and Calamotta.

The port of Durazzo can be assigned to the independent Mohammedan State of Albania.

VI. Italy shall obtain in full ownership Valona, the island of Saseno and territory of sufficient extent to assure her against dangers of a military kind—approximately between the River Vojussa to the north and east, and the district of Shimar to the south.

Partitioning Albania

VII. Having obtained Trentino and Istria by Article IV., Dalmatia and the Adriatic Islands by Article V., and also the Gulf of Valona, Italy undertakes, in the event of a small autonomous and neutralized State being formed in Albania, not to oppose the possible desire of France, Great Britain, and Russia to partition the northern and southern districts of Albania between Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece. The southern coast of Albania, from the frontier of the Italian territory of Valona to Cape Stilos, is to be neutralized.

To Italy will be conceded the right of conducting the foreign relations of Albania; in any case Italy will be bound to secure for Albania a territory sufficiently extensive to enable its frontiers to join those of Greece and Serbia to the east of the Lake of Ohrida.

VIII. Italy shall obtain full possession of all the islands of the Dodecanese, at present occupied by her.

IX. France, Great Britain, and Russia recognize as an axiom the fact that Italy is interested in maintaining the political

balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her right to take over, when Turkey is broken up, a portion equal to theirs in the Mediterranean—namely, in that part which borders on the Province of Adalia, where Italy had already acquired special rights and interests, laid down in the Italo-British convention. The zone to be assigned to Italy will, in due course, be fixed in accordance with the vital interests of France and Great Britain. In the same way regard must be had for the interests of Italy, even in the event of the powers maintaining for a further period of time the inviolability of Asiatic Turkey, and merely proceeding to map out spheres of interest among themselves. In the event of France, Great Britain, and Russia occupying during the present war districts of Asiatic Turkey, the whole district bordering on Adalia and defined above in greater detail, shall be reserved to Italy, who reserves the right to occupy it.

Italy in Africa

X. In Libya Italy obtains recognition of all those rights and prerogatives hitherto reserved to the Sultan by the Treaty of Lausanne.

XI. Italy shall receive a military contribution corresponding to her strength and sacrifices.

XII. Italy associates herself with the declaration made by France, Great Britain, and Russia, by which the Mohammedan holy places are to be left in the possession of an independent Mohammedan State.

XIII. In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognize to Italy in principle the right of demanding for herself certain compensations in the form of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies.

XIV. Great Britain undertakes to facilitate for Italy without delay and on favorable conditions the conclusion of a loan in the London market, amounting to not less than £50,000,000.

XV. France, Great Britain, and Russia undertake to support Italy in so far as she does not permit the representatives of the Holy See to take diplomatic action with regard to the conclusion of peace and the regulation of questions connected with the war.

XVI. The present treaty is to be kept secret. As regards Italy's adherence to the declaration of Sept. 5, 1914, this shall only be published after the declaration of war by and upon Italy.

The representatives of France, Great

Britain, and Russia, having taken cognizance of this memorandum, and being furnished with powers for this purpose, agreed as follows with the representative of Italy, who was also authorized by his Government for this purpose:

France, Great Britain, and Russia declare their full agreement with the present memorandum presented to them by the Italian Government. With regard to Points I., II., and III., (relating to the co-ordination of the military and naval operations of all four powers,) Italy declares that she will enter the war actively as soon as possible, and in any case not

later than one month after the signature of the present document on behalf of the contracting parties.

(Signed in four copies, April 26, 1915.)

EDWARD GREY, JULES CAMBON,
IMPERIALI, BENCKENDORFF.

[A number of secret telegrams disclosing agreements sent and received by the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs were published; such as have a permanent bearing on events will be printed in a subsequent number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

The Serbian Mission in America

By Milivoy S. Stanoyevich

IN the middle of November, 1917, the Serbian Government, following the example of the French, Belgian, and other allied Governments, announced its intention to send a diplomatic mission to the United States. The mission arrived in Washington on Dec. 20, 1917, and presented to President Wilson an autographed letter of King Peter, as a testimonial of the high regard which the Serbians feel for this country. The Commissioners included are the following: Dr. Milenko R. Vesnitch, Serbian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France; Dr. Sima Lozanitch, former Minister of Agriculture and lately Minister Plenipotentiary at London; General Mihailo Rashitch, Commander in Chief of the Serbian Corps d'Armée in France; Lieut. Col. Mihailo Nenadovitch, Military Attaché of the Serbian Legation in Switzerland; Captain Milan Jovitchich, Aide de Camp to the Crown Prince; Mr. Vladislav Martinats, Secretary to the Serbian Legation at Paris.

ADDRESS TO THE SENATE

On Jan. 5, 1918, the Serbian envoys appeared before the Senate and were introduced by Vice President Thomas R. Marshall. Presenting the mission to the Senators, Mr. Marshall said:

Senators, even so untrained a mind as mine can grasp the artistic possibilities of this scene. Here you are, the representatives of a free people, because your

forebears heard and heeded the agonizing cry of Patrick Henry in the Virginia House of Burgesses. Here they are, the representatives of a people who for nearly six centuries, in mortal combat with the Austrians and the Turks, have written in the blood of their sons, upon the green sward of every mountainside and every valley of the Balkans, the immortal cry of Henry. * * * Here you both are, this day, each a worthy representative of his race, clasping hands in the midnight darkness and solemnly vowing that the morrow's morn will find you and yours as always consecrated to liberty or to death.

Dr. Vesnitch, the head of the mission, spoke after the Vice President. He brilliantly expressed in English the true spirit of the country represented by him and his colleagues, gathered at this memorable meeting. Asserting that the United States would not take the part of a spectator when humanity struggled for its highest ideals, he went on to say:

From over the ocean we have anxiously listened to the epoch-making declarations of the eminent leader of the greatest and purest democracy that history has ever known, and we have been happy in understanding that this Senate was in complete harmony with the ideas of the dignified successor of Washington and of Lincoln. Your President said in his address: "We believe in peace, but we believe also in justice and righteousness and liberty." More than anybody we believe with President Wilson that peace cannot subsist without justice, without liberty and righteousness.

With golden characters, all liberty-loving nations will inscribe forever in their hearts

and souls this President's and your program, following which America stands, first of all, for the right of men to determine whom they will obey and whom they will serve; for the right of political freedom and a people's sovereignty; for the equality of nations, which means the equality of rights, neither recognizing nor implying a difference between great nations and small ones, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. * * *

We also accept with enthusiasm the doctrine of Monroe as the doctrine of the world. We are happy in being permitted to share with you the belief that right shall command might, and that it ought not to be dishonored in its inception.

The Serbian Nation, with their kinsmen, the Croats and Slovenes, have suffered in this war more than any other nation, but today I shall not make an appeal to you on this behalf. I am proud to say we have fought for our liberties as bravely as any one of our gallant allies.

We, too, have faith with you, Mr. President of the Senate, that the morning light will break in this good year at hand, and that it will break with the sun of liberty rising upon a rose-tinted sky. We, too, have in this solemn hour a vision and we voice our unalterable faith that this magnificent republic is to lead the nations of the world into the mountain of perfect peace, and to become the arbiter of them all; for, we know that the American commandments of peace are commandments of justice, which alone will enable mankind to improve in free evolution.

TRIBUTE TO WASHINGTON

On Jan. 8 the mission was received by the House of Representatives and introduced by the Speaker, Mr. Champ Clark. Dr. Vesnitch told the House that Serbia, although one of the smallest of nations, would lend her resources and man power to the prosecution of a war which would relieve her from the oppression of the Prussian heel. Voicing Serbia's confidence in the United States Government, he declared that his only wish was that he could be heard by all the American people when expressing to them the gratitude of his country.

A day later the mission paid a visit to Mount Vernon, and in the presence of Secretary Lansing and other representa-

tives of official Washington placed a wreath upon the tomb of Washington. Dr. Vesnitch spoke of his people's love for liberty. "This, alas," he said, "has brought us misfortune; the autocrats and the despots surrounding us, the Teutons and the Turks, have rushed upon us, and have crucified Serbia; nay, our whole race, the Jugoslavs. We have believed in the moral and in the political gospel which Washington preached and which he confirmed by his life; we shall arise again; the heroic Argonauts whom General Pershing commands in Europe will complete the work of our liberty. Jerusalem and Mount Vernon greet each other today; here have stood the representatives of nearly 600,000,000 people, and others will come; Marshal Joffre has bowed before this tomb; we do so in the name of our martyred fatherland, and in the name of our decimated but still unvanquished army, hopeful and confident of a better future."

VISIT TO WESTERN CITIES

There is no doubt that the most impressive ceremonies of the journeys which these delegates have made through the United States were the visit to the tomb of Washington and the visit to Congress, already mentioned. But these two occasions were only a little less important than the welcome extended to the mission wherever it has been.

From Washington Dr. Vesnitch and his staff traveled westward, visiting Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Chicago, and St. Louis. It was in St. Louis that this prominent Serbian diplomat and his friends, General Rashitch and Dr. Lozanitch, encouraged the Jugoslavs to enlist to fight for democracy. Before a large audience of the Slavic and American people he spoke as follows:

The Jugoslavs should make no distinction between the United States flag and the flag of Serbia, but they should be under one of them. * * * One of the first causes of this war is found in the fact that the Serbians and the Jugoslavs represent the spirit of America; they oppose German autocracy and tyranny with the spirit of liberty. * * * Democracy means that the individuals of nations must live together as equals in every respect; autocracy means that one shall command

and all others shall obey; Germany believes that she is destined to command, and that the rest of the world must obey; Serbia has opposed and always will oppose this idea.

From St. Louis the Serbian Mission turned again east, and visited Buffalo, Boston, New York, and Albany. In Boston the members were presented on Jan. 18 to the Massachusetts Legislature, and Governor McCall delivered an address of welcome before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives. Paying tribute to Serbia for its age-long struggle for freedom, first against the Mohammedans, now against both Mohammedans and Germans, Governor McCall called upon the United States to assist in rebuilding the little nation, which is "small in stature but mighty in spirit."

ADDRESS IN BOSTON

Dr. Vesnitch addressed the Massachusetts lawmakers in a thrilling speech, which reached its climax when he said of the enemy Teutons, "They have been able to destroy our bodies, but they have not been able to reach our hearts and our souls." Further on he told of the unfortunate position of Serbia, placed between the Roman and Byzantine Empires originally, and suffering from the aggressions of both. He told of the glorious history of his country in the wars against the Turks.

During more than five centuries [he said] we contested the ground, foot by foot, with the Turk, and our heroes even fought to defend Vienna. Through years and years our rivers ran red with blood, and at the end, toward the beginning of the nineteenth century, we succeeded in repelling the invaders from a part of our country. * * * To the defense and protection of our democracy we have devoted all our resources; for these ideals we have sacrificed our lives. Aided by the Turks and Bulgarians, the Prussians and the Austro-Hungarians have invaded and devastated our country, destroyed our homes, burned our villages, profaned our churches, pillaged our libraries, killed our children, violated our sisters, our wives, and even our grandmothers. They have been able to destroy our bodies, but they have not been able to reach our souls and our hearts. Since the first days of our tragedy the Central Powers have attempted to corrupt us by proposing to our Government a separate peace; we have never been able to understand that lan-

guage, because we have never doubted that their peace would mean slavery to us; we have never been able to understand their insinuations, because our history of fifteen centuries has never known treachery to our friends and allies.

After the conclusion of Dr. Vesnitch's address, the convention was dismissed, and the Governor, his council, and the guests adjourned to Memorial Hall, where a reception was held.

HONORED BY NEW YORK

On the next day, Jan. 19, the commission came back to New York and was cordially received by Mayor Hylan and other city officials. The distinguished guests entered City Hall under a military and naval guard of honor, whose massed bands played the Serbian national anthem. Standing on the same dais which had received Joffre, Balfour, Viviani, and other allied envoys, the Serbian visitors heard the Mayor of the national metropolis pay high tribute to the valorous deeds of the little Slavic State. During the three days of the visit of this mission New York City had more than one opportunity of expressing its chivalry and courtesy toward Serbia and her representatives. A reception at the Morgan Library, a visit to Grant's Tomb, and an outing to West Point were incidents in the greeting which the great city on the Hudson extended to its guests. Perhaps the climax of all these ceremonies came on Jan. 20, when at the Astor Hotel the Slavic organizations in New York gathered to greet the representatives of their sister nation, Serbia, in whom they place their great hope for the future. Here were represented the Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Czecho-Slovak, and Polish societies. They passed a resolution expressing appreciation for the efforts of the United States on behalf of small nations. "The Western and Southern Slavs," so ran a statement in this resolution, "greet 'the struggle of the subjugated Slavic nationalities in Austria-Hungary, and 'see in the dissolution of the Hapsburg 'Monarchy the fundamental principle of 'a durable peace in Europe. The Jugo-slavs, the Czecho-Slovaks, and the Poles 'in America are firmly determined to 'form with their compatriots in the 'motherland a defensive bloc against

"Austria-Hungary. They will not surrender arms in the struggle until all Slavs under a foreign yoke are delivered and are able to form their own independent States capable of living in culture and civilization."

OBJECTS AND RESULTS

On Jan. 4 Dr. Vesnitch said to the present writer: "Certain newspapers have assumed a mistaken idea as to the object of our mission, in thinking that we have come to influence in any way the President and the United States Government to declare war against Turkey and Bulgaria. Our range is not so broad as was that of the British, French, Italian, and Russian Missions. We have come to this country to extend our gratitude and congratulations to the President and America for entering the war against the Central Powers, and to inform their statesmen about the true situation in the Balkans."

However, such was not the only object in the minds of the Serbian official delegates to America. They came with the further intention of urging the United States to grant another loan and to aid Serbian recruiting. Already 20,000 Southern Slavs from America have

joined the expeditionary forces in Macedonia. In the City of New York a permanent Serbian war mission was formed for enlisting the Jugoslavs. The third purpose of the Serbian diplomatic delegation was to study American military and agricultural measures and to arrange for supplies to be transported to the Serbian armies in France and Macedonia.

Significant are Dr. Vesnitch's utterances in Chicago. It was here that he stirred a great audience of 10,000 Americans and Slavs with these words: "Jugoslav unity is a fact; to the restoration of Serbia the United States of America is pledged." He also told of having seen General Pershing in France, together with many other notable Generals, all of whom were of the same opinion—that the end of the war must be victory for the Allies. "The only thing we need," added Dr. Vesnitch, "is steel, much steel."

Besides arousing America to take an interest in South Slavic political affairs, the Serbian Mission has achieved other valuable results: It has effected a fuller understanding between two nations, geographically far segregated, but spiritually akin in their democratic ideals.



The Tragedy of the Lithuanians

A Historical Sketch

IF the formula of President Wilson, "The world must be made safe for democracy," is realized, the national status of Eastern Europe and Asia Minor will be entirely transformed. In fact, nowhere on earth can the changes be so radical as in the stretch of territory between the Balkan Peninsula and a line extending from the Persian Gulf to the Baltic Sea. The number of separate nationalities existing in that area is greater than in any region of equal extent on the globe. There dwell the Persians, the Arabs, Syrians, Jews, Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Circassians, Tartars, Greeks, Albanians, Serbians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Bohemians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Austrians, Germans, Poles, Finns, and Lithuanians. These twenty-four nationalities, with separate ethnic roots, differing in language, culture, customs, ideals, and traditions, are subdivided into smaller units of differing individualities, and form an almost inextricable conglomerate mass of diverse races, infusible and nonassimilable, though they have dwelt side by side for many centuries.

WRONGS OF THE LITHUANIANS

The revolution in Russia, the direct outcome of the war, has given a new impetus to separatist movements among these numerous peoples, the smaller branches having long been restless under the autocratic dominion of Russia, Germany, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary. This agitation in recent months has attained an accelerated pace, until now the whole of Europe and Asia is seething with individualism, and the movement has gathered such force that the momentous issues of the European war no longer merely involve German-Austrian aspirations for domination, but affect the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of every separate nationality on earth.

Among the nationalities which are comparatively unknown, and which find

few champions in America, are the Lithuanians, a race who have suffered—at the hands of Austria, Russia, and Prussia—tyranny, cruelty, spoliation no whit less flagrant than that suffered by Poland, yet who by ethnical distinction, language, religion, and traditions are entitled to an independent existence based on definite historical rights, as much so as any other race in Europe, Asia, or America.

Lithuania at present has an area of 131,995 square miles, equal in extent to England, Wales, and Ireland combined, and includes the provinces of Kovno, Vilna, Suvalki, (the latter a part of Russian Poland,) part of Grodno, Minsk, and Vitebsk, with just claims on Lettland, Courland, and Livonia. Its present population is around 7,000,000. This territory has been almost entirely occupied by the Germans, who swept over it in the campaign of 1915, and they have flatly refused the demand of the Bolsheviks to evacuate any portion of it, to give the residents freedom of action in determining their future status, and have clearly indicated that they are definitely resolved to annex it to the German Empire.

Lithuania, following the course of Finland, Ukraine, and other provinces of the former Czar's domain, has formally declared its independence. On Jan. 8, 1918, a conference of Lithuanian delegates was held at Stockholm, (following one held in the previous October in Vilna, which was attended by 250 delegates from all parts of Lithuania,) and unanimously adopted a resolution favoring independence for Lithuania and its voluntary union with Lettland.

AN INDO-EUROPEAN RACE

Dr. John Szlupas, a member of the Lithuanian Society of Science, who is an American citizen residing at Scranton, Penn., and who is now in Lithuania, has made an exhaustive study of the origin of the Lithuanians. He holds that they



LITHUANIA, PAST AND PRESENT: LIGHTER SHADING SHOWS ANCIENT BOUNDARIES, HEAVIER SHADING SHOWS PRESENT REGION DESIRING NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

were the powerful nation of antiquity known as the Hittites. They are a distinct Indo-European race, fair, light-haired, blue-eyed, tall and strong, and are in no way related to Slav or Teuton. Ptolemy mentions two clans, the Galendae and Sudeni, who probably belonged to the western subdivision of this racial group known as the Borussians, or Prussians of today. In the tenth century they were known under the name of Litva, and, together with the Letts and

Borussians, they occupied the south-eastern coast of the Baltic Sea from the Vistula to the Dvina, occupying the tract between Finland in the north to the Slavic countries almost to the Black Sea. The country is forested and marshy, and they were thus enabled to maintain a separate existence, retaining their natural characteristics, and at no time did they assimilate with the Slavs, Teutons, or Poles, notwithstanding they were joined for centuries in Govern-

mental union with the latter. The Lithuanian language denotes their ethnical relationship to the Thracians. It is closely akin to the Sanskrit and ancient Greek in vocabulary, forms, and structure.

During the forty years preceding the present war the Russian Government endeavored by every means of oppression, restrictive laws, and cruel punishments to extirpate the Lithuanian language. Decrees were promulgated with extreme penalties excluding the language from courts, commerce schools, and church; the dissemination of Lithuanian books, papers, and periodicals was forbidden; raids, search, fines, imprisonment, and deportations to Siberia were matters of daily occurrence; thousands of books and pamphlets were burned in the market place in Vilnius, (Vilna,) the chief city, and tens of thousands of volumes were annually confiscated. In fact, in 1897 the Czar induced the Kaiser to join him in suppressing Lithuanian language publications in Prussia, and special police agents were appointed in Königsberg and Tilsit, (former Lithuanian territory,) to carry out these edicts, but the indomitable will of the people was proof against this tyrannous exercise of authority, and after seven years of futile effort the decree of prohibition was set aside, on May 7, 1904. Immediately there followed an enormous output of Lithuanian literature in Latin characters. Many new elementary and higher schools and gymnasiums were established. In St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Kiev, Dorpat, and Riga student circles were established, yet the Russian Government up to the downfall refused to restore the Lithuanian University of Vilnius.

HISTORY OF THE NATION

In the tenth century the Lithuanians were divided into three main branches, the Borussians, or Prussians, the Letts, and the Lithuanians proper. They had no towns or fortified places, and were subdivided into numerous independent clans and villages, separated from one another by forests and marshes. They thus lay open to foreign invasions. They were surrounded by Russians, Germans, and Poles. The Borussians first fell

under the dominion of the Germans and gave their name to the State which later became Prussia. The Letts were driven north and fell under the dominion of the Livonians. The Lithuanians proper, together with a branch known as the Samogitians, succeeded in forming an independent State. Little is known of this, except that there was continuous war with the Slavs.

The first chief known in history was Ryngold, whose son Mendowe accepted Christianity and became King in 1252, and met death by assassination in 1263. The dominion of Lithuania was extended greatly in subsequent years, embracing principalities from the Danube to the Black Sea. Jogiello, one of the later Kings, married the Queen of Poland, Yadviga, and on Feb. 14, 1386, was crowned King of Poland.

The dominions of Lithuania were further extended to the shores of the Sea of Azov, thus including Kiev and Lutsk. The union with Poland continued nominally for nearly 200 years, interrupted by frequent outbreaks and petty wars, but on July 1, 1569, under Sigismundus Augustus, a complete union was effected, and the history of Independent Lithuania came to an end.

There followed a long struggle between the Protestant, Greek Orthodox, and Roman Catholic elements of the country, waged with all the fury and bitterness which marked religious warfare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The country was in a perpetual ferment, due to the conflicts between the Roman Catholics and the dissenters and to the efforts of the Polish aristocracy to dominate all the Lithuanian territories.

PARTITION OF POLAND

The internal disturbances continued almost without interruption for over 200 years, when in 1791 a Prussian army entered Poland, and the first partition was decided on by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Russia appropriated Levland, Polotzk, Vitebsk, and a part of Minsk, 1,692 square miles; Austria took Osviecim and Zatov, with Red Russia, a total of 1,508 square miles; Prussia received Varmia and Pomerania, a total of 660 square

miles. Poland lost 4,000,000 of her inhabitants by this first partition. The internal troubles were not stilled, however, and religious warfare was continued with unabated fury. The country was in continual civil revolt. A new Constitution was adopted in 1791, whereby Lithuania became fully incorporated with Poland.

A new rebellion immediately followed, and a second partition of Poland was decided upon by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Prussia appropriated 1,060 square miles, Russia took part of the Palatinates of Vilnius, Minsk, Volhynia, Kiev, Podolia, a total of 4,500 square miles, and there remained of Poland only 3,830 square miles and 4,000,000 inhabitants.

REVOLT OF KOSCIUSZKO

Insurrections and revolts followed, the most important being led by Kosciuszko, who was conspicuous in the American Revolution. He was a Lithuanian, not a Pole, as is generally supposed. This revolt at first met with success, but was finally subdued, and in 1795 the third partition of Poland occurred. Russia this time received Lithuania and Lettonia, with the cities of Vilnius, Kaunas, Grodno, Mitau, and Brest, (where the peace negotiations between the Bolsheviks and the Germans were recently held)—a total of 2,183 square miles; Austria received Cracow, Kielce, Radom, Lublin, and Zamosc, 835 square miles, and Prussia's share was 697 square miles lying between the Pilica, Bug, and Niemen Rivers, together with the City of

Warsaw. Not a protest was raised by any European nation; by the irony of fate the only nation that voiced disapproval was Turkey.

From this time forth the history of Lithuania was a sad tale of tyranny, oppression, and spoliation by the Russians. The blackest period was under the reign of Alexander II., about 1860, but there was little improvement between that date and the outbreak of the European war in 1914. It was especially between 1863 and 1890 that the Russian Government determined to "Russianize" the Lithuanian people, and to accomplish this appointed cruel and tyrannous dictators to achieve their purpose. They instituted merciless regulations with diabolical malignity to crush the Lithuanian spirit, to extinguish every spark of nationality, and to force the Greek Orthodox Church upon the inhabitants by inexorable decrees and cruel laws.

This was the state of the unhappy country when the war of 1914 burst forth, and soon there followed a tragedy for the people of that unfortunate district which surpassed in horror all the calamities of the preceding centuries.

Situated as a buffer State between the colossal armies of Germany and Russia, Lithuania became the battleground of the contending hosts in the first impact. In 1915 the Germans succeeded in driving back the Russians and occupied practically the whole of Lithuania, which they still securely hold in 1918.

Horrors of the Invasion of Lithuania

By a Lithuanian

The horrors of the German invasion of Lithuania are here told by an American Lithuanian, a man of high standing, who spent the greater part of 1916 and much of 1917 in his native country, returning to the United States in the Fall of 1917. His name cannot be disclosed, as the Germans have it in their power to wreak vengeance on his family and estates were his identity known. He has prepared for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE the appended narrative of German outrages in the region he visited.

SINCE the occupation of Lithuania by the Germans (1914) communication with the outside world has been cut off. As a consequence,

Lithuanians living in the United States (about 750,000 in number) did not fully know what had happened to their native country. While secretly receiving fright-

ful news about German domination in their beloved land, it was nevertheless difficult to determine the real situation.

After invading, the Germans looted Lithuania and took everything of value to Germany. Property that did not appeal to them, such as furniture, books, pictures, &c., they destroyed on the spot. Homes were burned, innocent people tortured and murdered. In the methods of torturing they have surpassed the barbarians of the eleventh century.

It was a terrible time for girls! These poor creatures, some only 14 years of age, were stripped of all clothing, then publicly violated—afterward murdered. Many mothers, with tears in their eyes, told the delegates how their young daughters were dragged away while they knelt before soldiers and officers, kissing their hands and beseeching for the lives of their loved ones. But the "Kultured" ear was deaf to their prayers, and the innocent girls were outraged and murdered in the presence of their parents. Infuriated fathers, sons, and brothers, attempting to protect their wives and sisters, their mothers and daughters, were hanged to the nearest trees. Pregnant women were ill-treated, kicked, and some of them hanged by Germans. Little children were wrested from their mothers' hands and hurled against the walls of buildings.

In the district of Suvalki, in the evacuated German trenches, were found the bodies of fourteen girls between 14 and 20 years of age. In other German trenches on the banks of the Dubisa River there were found ten bodies of young girls. This was also true of several other places where the Germans had previously been. The people who were forced to dig trenches for Germans testified that these girls had been seized by German soldiers for use of their officers, and then turned back so these same soldiers could finish them.

INDESCRIBABLE SUFFERINGS

Here is a real picture presented by one of the Lithuanian writers:

"The misery and sufferings of the unfortunate populace are indescribable. It is beyond human power to relieve the grief, the mental anguish, the tor-

tures of those afflicted by this calamity. Many die of wounds; many are driven mad. Some, in agony, destroy themselves while protesting against the evil that has overwhelmed humanity. Too proud to receive sympathy and offended by the sight of human degradation, for relief they turn their eyes heavenward, but the gloomy, obscured horizon reflects only the flames of conflagrations devouring their unfortunate, blood-covered native land.

"They hear the cries of tortured brothers and sisters; the sharp, agonized voices pierce their aching hearts! They hear the roar of cannon that sounds to them like the laughter of an inferno mocking at human misery, at the Utopian dreams of universal brotherhood, at the attempts of doctrinaires and preachers of 'Love thy brother as thyself' to elevate an always envious, an ever greedy, superselfish humanity. Unconsoled by the faintest ray of hope from any source, in deepest despair, they seek a tragic end!"

FORCED INTO PROSTITUTION

After occupying Lithuania, the Germans established a strict military rule. Communication between cities and villages was cut off. Crossing the rivers is forbidden under penalty of death. People are confined in their homes—principally dugouts—between the hours of 10 at night and 7 in the morning. A disregard of this restriction brings severe punishment.

In the cities and villages German officers issued orders to former local officials to establish "red light districts" for Germans. Compliance would have been extremely unpopular in Lithuania and against the traditions of that country, so, despite menacing punishment, the officials emphatically refused to obey. Of course, they were punished—shot, or at least exiled to prison camps. Notwithstanding the resistance offered by the people, the Germans themselves established these "red light districts," not only in the cities, but in the villages as well. Then they forced mere girls and the younger women into them. To absolve themselves from such disgraceful deeds, these "red light districts"

were by Germans named "hospitals," and the people taxed to maintain them.

Numerous Lithuanian girls committed suicide just to escape German hands. Others dressed in the garb of old women and hobbled about on crutches. Some applied black paint to their bodies. Not a few burned their faces, hoping thus to prevent disgrace by destroying their beauty. Many were the ingenious schemes employed by young womanhood to protect itself from the bestial Germans.

Later on German officers sought to deal with the women with less violence, but husbands and brothers interfered, so the Germans decided to deport the male population to Germany and thus have undisputed mastery over the women left behind unprotected.

DESTROYING ALL RESOURCES

The pillage of the country was so thorough that even church bells and door knobs were gathered. Although the invaders attempted to confiscate everything of value, it remains to the credit of Lithuanians that this destructive work was not so easily accomplished, because Lithuanians know the Germans too well. They know them both from their own experience as neighbors and from stories about the "hideous Teutons" related by their ancestors. Consequently, the people of Lithuania took the best precautions to prevent being robbed of all their possessions.

To protect their animals they underfed them, giving only enough food to keep them alive. Upon learning that the Germans were coming to one of their villages, the Lithuanian peasants strove to conceal their possessions; foodstuffs and clothing they hid under ground, or, tightly packed in wooden boxes, suspended them in the tops of trees. If they did not succeed in hiding horses and cows in deserted trenches, or by better means, the next best thing to do was to drive a spike into the animal's foot. (Germans do not want lame horses.) When the invaders leave the village the poor peasant pulls out the spike and treats the animal to the best of his ability.

So skillful were the means adopted to

save property that the Germans soon saw how useless it was to endeavor to rob the people by force. Then they decided to use the real Teutonic method. They published an announcement in the Lithuanian and Russian languages ordering the people to surrender willingly their domestic animals, clothing, food, and everything usable. Whoever failed to comply with this demand was to be severely punished. From then on for all things taken certain cards were to be issued, redeemable in money after the war. Naturally, at first the Lithuanians did not take all for granted. After a while, however, they thought there might be some truth in the German promise; also knowing that, while they could succeed possibly nine times out of ten in hiding things, the tenth time they might fail, and then not only lose everything, but be made to suffer.

That was why the people decided to dispose of their property, exchanging it for cards which it was supposed would be the same as money after the war. These cards were carefully guarded as precious treasures, because the only hope of restoring their lost property and ruined homes was in the cards.

American-Lithuanian delegates saw these cards; they read them. Thousands of them are in possession of the Lithuanian people. These cards are written in the German language. Most of the Lithuanian peasants do not understand German. They had to rely on German "sincerity" and on the figures which were supposed to represent the amount allowed for the goods taken from them.

It was a most painful experience for the people when they discovered that these cards were worse than worthless. They were without signature. The wording was offensive. For instance, there were taken from a peasant three cows and his last two horses; he received a card supposedly for 700 rubles (Russian money)—100 for each cow and 200 for each horse. Here we read: "If this peasant asks for money, give him 700 lashes." Another poor man received a card for 200 rubles in payment of his two small pigs and only cow. On it was written: "This fool peasant has 200

AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN TRAINING



These men at Camp Dix, N. J., are learning how to use machine guns in repelling an assault by the enemy.

(Times Photo Service.)

THE UNITED STATES ARMY AT HOME AND ABROAD



Marching over the frozen ground at Camp Upton, N. Y.

(© *Western Newspaper Union.*)



Officers receiving instruction in handling the Stokes mortar at a British Corps School in France.

(© *Underwood and Underwood.*)

lice." Still another mark of civilization: "This man kissed my horse 400 times; he is a fool." One more: "The meat was good; 500 rubles shall be paid to you by Russians."

ROBBED EVEN OF CARDS

Gradually the Germans themselves began to realize that they would be convicted by the civilized world for such disgraceful work; so they decided to conceal their crimes. Hence the issuance of a new proclamation, telling all who had received certain cards for their property and wished to get money that they must turn these cards in to certain officials within a specified time.

Some of the people tried to comply, but the cards were taken away from them and they were told that "when the time comes you shall receive your money." No name or address has ever been asked of any person. If some one was brave enough to ask the official for some kind of identification or the return of his card that man was beaten and kicked out of the office, or was tied up publicly to the pole and kept for several hours, while he was flogged to break the monotony.

The Germans, seeing that not many were turning in their cards, issued another proclamation threatening severe punishment for noncompliance. So we see how, with these cards, the Germans, without any trouble on their part, robbed honest people of all they once possessed.

TAXING THE DOGS

Heavy taxes were imposed on Lithuania. Every man between 16 and 60 years of age had to pay 6 marks a year. The right is reserved by the local authorities to raise individual taxes when it is found he has more means than first reported. This can be made as high as 6,000 marks from each person. These taxes go entirely to the Germans. Dogs are also taxed—in the country 10 marks and in the cities 30 marks.

The Germans did everything in their power to take out of Lithuania all Russian money and to circulate in its place German paper money, but the people refused to acquiesce. They termed German money "bottle labels."

To profit by the situation, the rate of

exchange for rubles was lowered. While in the first half of 1916 the rate everywhere was from 1.90 to 2 marks, the Germans put the official rate in Lithuania at 1.50.

Such commodities as sugar, flour, drugs, and soap would not be sold unless the people traded with gold. (Later there was no soap at all.) When gold became scarce they asked for Russian money of any kind. Later on the Germans issued a new paper currency, imitating Russian rubles, except that this "money" was printed in the German and Lithuanian languages. The Germans called it "Lithuanian money," and there was no guarantee behind it.

PLIGHT OF LITHUANIAN JEWS

There are many Jews in Lithuania, particularly in the principal cities, Vilnius (Vilna) and Kaunas (Kovno). These people made their living by keeping stores. Very few Jews engage in agriculture. The Germans robbed their homes, their stores, and left them to face starvation. At present there is no other way for them to make a living. In place of Jewish stores, Germans opened their own and did the business themselves.

While the American-Lithuanian delegates were in Kovno many Jewish mothers wept as they complained to them of German brutality and told how Jewish families were forced to send their daughters to the soldiers in order to get money enough to buy bread.

I will mention one out of hundreds of similar incidents which prove that Germans are heartless. The Lithuanians were planning for the Easter holiday. This holiday is a great event in Lithuania. No matter how poor a man may be, he tries, to the best of his ability, to meet that day fully prepared. New clothes are provided or old ones cleaned. Special care is exercised to have the best food with which to celebrate Easter. Even during the war and in the midst of great misery they did not forget that day. Under great difficulties and trying conditions they made ready to celebrate. But on the eve of observing this holiday, (April 23, 1916,) the Germans made an unexpected raid on the villages

in the district of Kovno and confiscated everything that had been specially gotten together for the Easter rejoicing. Instead of joyful reunions the Lithuanian Easter holiday that year was marked by sadness, by countless aching hearts and starving souls—all because of German atrociousness. * * *

GERMAN LANGUAGE USED

All Lithuanian newspapers have suspended publication. In their place the Germans publish one paper (*Dabartis*) in the Lithuanian language, and through this paper they try to bring the people to the Kaiser's feet. But the Lithuanians refused to read this paper and asked permission to publish their own. This was denied. Likewise they sought to open primary and secondary schools in which the instruction should be in the Lithuanian tongue. The Germans opened some of the schools, but there is no place for the Lithuanian language. Even in the conducting of municipalities and tribunals—everywhere—the German language must be used.

The Germans enforced this rule in Lithuania, notably in the cities of Vilna and Kovno. Here all clergymen were obliged to salute German officers by removing hats; also the school children are forced, under punishment, to salute the officers—boys by removing their hats and girls by courtesying. The children can hardly distinguish officers from privates, and to escape punishment they are obliged to salute every one in uniform. The private soldiers are now so used to this that they require it. The saluting high school girl of 15 or 16 officers and privates take by the hand without any further formality.

KAISER HONORS HANGMAN

The following is an extract from the Bulletin of the Bureau of Information of Lithuania, published in Switzerland, 1917:

Prince Esenburg von Birnstein, Civil Governor of Lithuania, has been elected "Doctor Honoris Causa" by the University of Fribourg, in Brisgau, for "services" rendered to the German cause in Lithuania.

These services consisted in requisitioning all personal property in the country and

its exportation into Germany; in the deportation of the youth, and in the compulsory introduction of the German language in all of the schools and public institutions of Lithuania.

This Prince is distinguished for brutality and is without an equal in this respect. He has introduced into Lithuania corporal punishments and slavery.

Here is a citation of the official announcement issued Nov. 6, 1916, at the City of Vilnius, (Vilna,) capital of Lithuania:

Complying with the orders of the Chief Commander of the Eastern Armies, (Hindenburg,) all the men between 17 and 60 years of age, both inclusive, living in the province of Vilna, are being called for examination as to their fitness for work. They must report according to the numbers on their passports, issued by Ober-Ost, at the City of Vilna, ranging from Nos. 1 to 45,000.

Those exempted are: All clergymen, teachers, physicians, dentists, pharmacists; but at the time of their call, according to the numbers of their passports, they must pay 600 marks to the German Stadthauptmann.

This money will be used for a supply of clothing to be provided those called to work, and for the support of their families.

Those failing to comply with this request, and failing to give reasonable cause, shall be punished by imprisonment for three years, or fined up to 10,000 marks, or both.

Der Stadthauptmann, I. V. PILTZ.
Vilna, Nov. 6, 1916.

In writing this story I have purposely omitted the names of people and places, fearing that it might bring harm to those living in the immediate sections referred to. Much has been too hideous to describe in detail, but after the war those who had to bear these things shall tell you, as I believe the Germans cannot succeed in murdering all who oppose them. But if they should, then the bones of the people shall speak to you; the trees on which they were hanged shall recite you the story; the bloody walls at which babies were killed shall present to you the sad picture furnished by the "Kultur trägers." The Germans cannot hide all their crimes, and the whole civilized world shall know the truth some day.

Those responsible for these crimes in Lithuania are the chief military ruler, von Hindenburg, and his aids—Prince

Esenburg von Birstein, who is the Civil Governor of Kovno and Courland Provinces; Count York, Governor of Vilna and Suvalki Provinces; Pohl, Burgomeister of the City of Vilna; Major Putkammer, and Mohl, from the staff of Prince Esenburg, who has offices in the City of Kovno. Some people in Berlin who are most responsible are Herr Traut-

man, from the Department of Justice, and Baron Ropp, the Kaiser's hand, (a German possessing large estates in Lithuania.) These are the principal murderers. Obviously, at the head of all of them stands the Kaiser.

All these people deserve a noose actively associated with the branch of a dead tree!

How the War Transformed England

By Sir John Foster Fraser, F. R. G. S.

Sir John Foster Fraser, who has written this article for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, is a distinguished British Parliamentary correspondent, author, and traveler. His wanderings have taken him through every continent on the globe, and his travel books include "The Real Siberia," "Red Russia," "Pictures from the Balkans," "Canada as It Is," and "America at Work." He is now visiting the United States. His wife is an American.

ONE of these days we will take reckoning, not only on the war as it has affected nations, but on the consequences socially in various belligerent countries. Things have happened in Great Britain since the outbreak of hostilities in the Summer of 1914 which no Englishman dreamed were possible; anybody who presumed to prophesy them would have been dismissed as a dreamer. There has not been so much a revolution as a gigantic evolution, which can only be appreciated by comparing matters as they are in 1918 with what they were nearly four years ago.

One of the most remarkable changes brought about by the war was in regard to British politics. Not only was a truce proclaimed between the great contending parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, but it is acknowledged history that the Government of the day, in the war measures it was taking, received stronger support from its erstwhile opponents than from its regular supporters.

When the great machine of war organization was set moving, and there were breakdowns and obstructions and mis-haps, whatever criticism there was came from the regular supporters of the Liberal Government, and not from its antagonists.

The war machine became clogged; there was maladministration, with lamentable breakdowns. There were shortages in munitions, and disgraceful negligence in equipment. These things, unknown to the outside public, (though sometimes suspected,) were common information to what in Britain is called the official Opposition. Had Bonar Law, the leader of the Opposition, and his friends liked, they could, so free is the constitutional Government of Great Britain, have swept the Asquith administration from office and power in a night. Not a word was said. Nay, when the cry went up, "Come over and help us," the Conservative (or Unionist) Party consented to the creation of a Coalition Government. They knew that by such a proceeding they were throwing away any political advantage they might have had over their opponents, and were accepting a share in the responsibility at the very hour when the outlook for Great Britain was the darkest.

The fact that there was a Coalition Government, the outward sign that the party truce was really effective, meant the loosening in criticism of many tongues. Mr. Asquith remained Prime Minister. Although much was being accomplished, there was a gathering feel-

ing that in the progress of the war he was not displaying sufficient of what the Americans call "punch." The result of adverse comment was his ultimate resignation. His colleague, Lloyd George, became the first Minister of King George.

Animated by fiery Celtic and characteristic enthusiasm, and realizing that, having taken the greatest position in the empire, he must make good, Lloyd George at once ruthlessly and almost brutally cut away all the deadwood in the Government, although it meant the throwing on one side of many of his old personal and political friends.

Though a politician of uncompromising character whose anathema had descended like a torrent of vitriol upon those with whom he was in antagonism, Lloyd George now cared nothing for politics and called into his Government men who had been his enemies, men like Mr. Balfour, Lord Milner of South African fame, and others. He chose well-known business men who had distinguished themselves in railway organization, in city administration, the organization of commerce, found seats for them in Parliament independent of whatever their personal politics might be, and made them members of his Government. New Ministries were created; commissions and committees were set up to consider and assist on particular details. The great chiefs of war control were Liberals, Conservatives, Labor men, and men with no politics at all. Having after three years got the war machine in full working order, he created a small War Cabinet, the special function of which was to deal with the great important issues of the war, while it was left to others to carry forward the details, gigantic though they were.

It is not to be assumed that this meant the checking of criticism. Criticism has not only grown, but has sometimes been marked by harsh invective and accompanied by threats of industrial disruption. The only point I desire to make in this connection is that, while there have been conflicts of opinion concerning the proper prosecution of the war, antagonism from great masses of the working-

class section of the community against their treatment under special war legislation, all the criticisms were independent of the old party animosities. Though there will be party divisions in the future, everybody knows that the old shibboleths will never be brought back. So far the war has done good.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

A swift but wonderful transformation was effected by the coming of the war. Many people had noted with alarm what is described by the phrase class antagonism. In certain circles was the ostentatious display of wealth, while at the other end of the scale were people who had to struggle hard for bare subsistence. England had a considerable leisure class, perhaps more than any other country—people who had inherited sufficient means to live comfortable lives without being engaged in any professional or commercial avocation. Though called the leisure class, they were by no means lazy, as the word might be translated, for the majority gave their time and their services to useful but voluntary public work—the management of local affairs, the control of public institutions, and the supervision of all kinds of educational and charitable bodies. Still they, along with the great landowners and those who had become vulgarly rich, were looked upon askance by hundreds of thousands who were less well positioned than themselves.

At that time England had a considerable number of young fellows who were sarcastically referred to as "knuts," the sons of prosperous parents, youths who dressed extravagantly and took little interest in anything outside golf, cricket, football, and hunting. When the clarion was sounded for Britain to jump to arms, when men were wanted as soldiers and millions of money demanded to provide for the welfare of the fighting men, this despised class was the first to come forward. I should say that within three months after the declaration of war a "knut" was an individual incapable of being found in Great Britain.

Though later on there were recruiting campaigns, and Britain had ultimately to resort to conscription to secure soldiers,

nothing of this kind was necessary in the case of the sons of the aristocracy, the lads who belonged to long-established county families, or even the boys whose fathers comparatively recently had made fortunes by speculations on the Stock Exchange. Possibly public opinion had something to do with it, but I am convinced the British love of outdoor life and of adventure and of experiencing the joys of war—the young Englishman goes to war rather as a piece of fun than as a grave business for the safeguarding of democracy, about which he does not know very much—were the chief spurs which sent him to France and to Flanders. British officers have been killed and wounded out of all proportion to the general ranks. It was the recognition of their valor to death which imperceptibly but quickly softened the old class animosities and made the most radical and resentful workingman very proud of these young men. Today in England it would be difficult to find a well-to-do family that is not mourning the death of a brave young fellow.

CLASS PREJUDICE BROKEN

Another thing which broke down class prejudice was that the mothers and sisters of the young fellows threw themselves into Red Cross work, into canteen work, into work for looking after the wives and children of the soldiers hastened abroad, and of welfare work for brightening the lives of those who came to live and to work tremendous hours in improvised munition camps.

This appreciation reacted. Folk who lived in different stations of society were brought together in the work of common usefulness. Just as the workingman sitting on the same committee with the wife of an Earl learned that she was a charming and kind-hearted lady, so she in her turn discovered that the workingman was not a boor and that frequently he had a very shrewd knowledge of business. There will never be eliminated from my mind the way, during the first months of the war, social distinctions fell and all over the land, independent of the common concern for what was taking place on the other side of the English Channel, there was evi-

denced brotherhood and sisterhood. The flower of courtesy bloomed in those days, though I must admit that it has a little withered since that time. The net result, however, was mutual appreciation, a better understanding of common interests, a feeling that to be a Briton was a proud heritage not limited to any class.

THE FIRST BRITISH ARMY

Great Britain had what the Kaiser called "a contemptible little army." Within a week of the outbreak of hostilities, however, 40,000 men were shipped across the English Channel, ready to contest the advance of the boches. When the big fighting began, British troops suffered severely; the retreat from Mons was not far short of a tragedy. But the terrible ordeal which the soldiers under General French suffered, instead of damping the spirits of people at home, stirred them to war fever. In those days the name of Lord Kitchener was one to conjure with. When he appealed to the young men to volunteer, 500,000 were enrolled within a month. Two months later the number was up to a million; then three months elapsed before another half million recruits were secured. All open spaces around the towns became drill grounds.

There were scandals about ill-feeding, deficiency of clothing, bad housing, and occasionally a burst of indignation when it was revealed that certain contractors were making colossal fortunes in building army huts. All this, however, was buried beneath the general enthusiasm for the war. The bombardment of English coast towns by enemy war vessels and the visits of Zeppelins to England had a contrary effect to that which the Germans hoped. Each visit and every renewed outrage stimulated recruiting.

As it came to be understood how gigantic was the task before Britain, and how, so terrible was the wastage of war, thousands upon thousands of more men were required, a great recruiting campaign had to be started. Crowds of men responded, partly through patriotism and partly through the force of public opinion. In some industries, like that of coal mining, there was such a rush to

arms that the Government found it necessary to stop recruiting in colliery districts, because there was a possibility of a shortage of essential coal. The hoardings of the country were covered with gaudy appeals to the valor of young Englishmen. Young Englishwomen developed a practice of presenting white feathers to young men who they thought would be better engaged in shouldering a rifle than in driving a pen. The recruiting campaign did much. But, as the cry was ever for more men, it did not do enough.

CONSCRIPTION ACCEPTED

The idea of conscripted military service was wholly alien to the British temperament. Yet it had to come. In some industrial areas there was resistance, and for a time it appeared as though there would be serious domestic trouble. Necessitous circumstance triumphed. The Germans were endeavoring to force a way to Calais. There was trepidation in the British heart about the possibility of a German invasion of their island. Conscription of the young manhood of the country became operative, and the fears of the industrial classes that this might be followed by the conscription of labor were allayed. The consequence of calling men to the colors ultimately provided Great Britain with a standing army of close upon 7,000,000 men, and to this must be added about another million who came from the oversea dominions.

The withdrawal of so many men from ordinary civilian employment had a striking effect. Instead of there being unemployment with starvation stalking through the land, the demand for munitions, the building of ships, the providing of a thousand and one things necessary to accoutre and maintain an army, necessitated the reorganization of practically all the industries in Great Britain. Never had there been such a fervor of work. Unemployment fell to the vanishing point. The trade unionists, who had stood stoutly by their principle not to work alongside nonunionists, made a great concession and consented to their trades being invaded by throngs of men who had turned from nonessential indus-

tries to the manufacture of war necessities.

RALLYING OF THE WOMEN

Great Britain was faced with an acute problem. Every man who went into the army meant that not only had he to be maintained, but his vacated place had to be filled by somebody else. So the women of the land were appealed to. At first, chiefly through diffidence, there was hesitancy. A good lead, however, was given by well-to-do women, who donned the overalls of workmen and went into factories. It became popular to become a munition worker, though I daresay the excellent pay had something to do with it. Women were called upon to follow many vocations which were new to them. They went into banks, became farm laborers, acted as omnibus conductors, railway ticket collectors, were seen serving in hotels where formerly there were only men waiters, until at last it was reckoned that something like 2,500,000 women were doing work as a direct result of their country being at war.

Out of the chaos and confusion which hampered England's military operations in the first year there gradually evolved an organization which, although far from perfect, stands as a marvel of attainment. The usual workmen's holidays were abrogated; hours of employment were extended to twelve and sometimes sixteen hours a day for seven days in the week. I am writing what I know and what I have seen when I say that many men under months of strain broke down and wept hysterically. The pace was too great. It was decided that at any rate men should rest each alternate Sunday. Then as production gradually crept up to and actually passed requirement, easier hours of labor were introduced.

It would be presenting a false picture to say that all went satisfactorily. There were protests against many of the labor restrictions, particularly one which prevented a man from leaving his present employ unless he had a certificate from his employer. Employers who were in need of men were not inclined to grant these certificates; therefore there was the feeling that men were tied to particular firms and were rather in the

position of serfs. As a matter of fact, I know that this arrangement had been imposed for the purpose of preventing employers winning away men from valuable work on which they were engaged by the offer of superior pay. However, after much controversy, the objectionable leaving certificate was abolished.

Though wages increased, it cannot be said that they kept pace with the constant rise in the cost of food. While on the one hand the artisans had the idea that the great war contractors were amassing huge fortunes, they were certain that on the other hand there was profiteering in the sale of the necessities of life. In time these complaints, if not removed, were considerably modified by a special war profits tax which meant that great firms handed practically 80 per cent. of their war profits back to the State, and the profiteer had his schemes partly frustrated by the arbitrary fixing of the price of the prime articles of food.

Reviewing the whole of the industrial area, I can say the working classes of Great Britain were materially improved financially by the war. Shortage of labor and concerted action by trade unions forced up wages. A considerable amount of the extra money went into war bonds and Government loans. There was much amelioration in methods of living. It became a joke that the chief purchasers of pianos, expensive furniture, elaborate garments, furs, and jewelry were people of the working classes.

The folk whose incomes were considerably crippled, either by heavy taxation or by the increased cost of everything and no increase of income, were the middle or professional classes. Plain living was supposed to be the rule. One of the curious things was that while herrings and other common classes of fish increased in price, more expensive and luxurious food, say lobsters and oysters, considerably decreased in price. Ultimately, the country was rationed, voluntarily in regard to some articles, compulsorily in regard to others, so that at the present time the average consumption of bread is 4 pounds a week, meat 2½ pounds, and sugar 8 ounces.

ANCIENT LIBERTIES SUSPENDED

Though the general population is scarcely aware of the fact, it is nevertheless true that under the Defense of the Realm act, hurriedly passed in the early days of the war, and now generally referred to as "Dora," which is made up of the initial letters, no personal liberties are left to anybody in Great Britain. Any hotel or private dwelling house can be seized by the authorities for military purposes, and there is no redress. The freedom of the press, on which Britain formerly prided itself, has ceased. Not only is the censor strict in preventing the publication of any news which may be likely to give information to the enemy, but articles intended to bring the objects of the Allies into contempt are prohibited. Freedom of speech is no longer allowed, and meetings which are likely to have as their object the weakening of war aims are suppressed. Great Britain has passed under the strictest of military law, although it should be said in all fairness that, to the ordinary patriotic citizen who appreciates the anomalous nature of the times, this is no grievance.

The United Kingdom had not long been at war before it realized, with something like dismay, that following its easy-going money-making methods it had not only been dependent on foreign countries, chiefly Germany, for many articles, but had allowed Germany to secure a monopoly of certain key industries. There were even things necessary for war upon which England had formerly depended on Germany. I mention chemicals as the most outstanding of these. My countrymen had to adapt themselves; through the adaptation there grew up the national determination that never again would Great Britain or the empire allow itself to be at the mercy of any other country in the matter of such supplies. So, under all the warlike energy, there was a persistent movement in scientific circles, supported by the captains of industry and the Government, to make the British Empire self-contained in all essentials.

Perhaps, however, the most remarkable transformation which the war effected in Great Britain was in regard

to legislation. For years great political and economic questions had been debated in the houses of Parliament. There were acute divisions of opinion concerning the laws of trade and the relationship of capital and labor. The war compelled the country instantly to consider these matters from a new angle. Instead of free imports there was, notwithstanding some protests, the prohibition of the importation of certain articles, and heavy taxation was imposed in regard to others. In former times the two branches of industry, capital and labor, had fought out their disputes by the crude and cruel agency of lockouts and strikes. Some people believe there have been too many concessions to the demands of labor during the last three years; but while there has been a truce between the big political parties, British labor, though patriotic on the principles of the war, never relaxed its efforts to improve its power in the land.

The result of all this is that the representatives of labor are not only given a voice at the board set up to deal with disagreements, but by its very position and power in the electoral constituencies the Labor Party has a controlling voice. There is no general resentment at this; because the public at large know and admit that the chief work in the war has been done by the industrial classes—in the factories, the munition sheds, the shipyards, and on the field of battle.

Appreciating its power, the Labor Party proposes to put several hundred candidates of its own into the constituencies, and there is an anticipation that when Great Britain has a general election—though owing to the elastic British Constitution it is hoped to delay this till after the war—the Labor Party will have control of the political machine. It is to be borne in mind that in 1917 the House of Commons gave over six million women the Parliamentary franchise, and there is an assumption that the majority of these new voters, more interested in social problems, housing, health, the care of children, wages, the drink traffic, than in general problems, will give their support to the Labor Party.

MANY PERMANENT CHANGES

Change has followed upon the heel of change with a rapidity which would be startling were it not that the thoughts of men are engrossed with immediate problems; they scarcely have the time to turn round and survey how far they have traveled. Yet, if we do look over the ground and compare conditions today with those which existed in Great Britain in the earlier months of 1914, we find alterations in national life which could not otherwise have been effected in less than half a century. There will be great disputes in the future; but if we eliminate the sporadic and temporary disturbances which are always with us, and in times of war are sharp and dramatic because they swiftly rise and have to be as swiftly arranged, we see there has been an improvement in social conditions; that the control of public affairs has passed completely into the hands of the producing classes, leaving the old governing class with little power; that fresh vision has been brought to bear upon the solution of industrial problems; that women, though coming by the million into the work of munitions for a temporary purpose, are certain to remain in the labor market and by their newly acquired political power exert influence upon future legislation, the curve of which is now in the direction of national socialism.

Today the railways of Great Britain are under Government control; thousands of great works are directly administered by the Government; it is accepted that, in some measure, this control will be retained after the war. The distribution of food, the curbing of the profiteer, the check in the exploitation of the necessities of life are all things which none of us expects will cease when the power of Prussianism has been broken and Great Britain returns to the path of peace. They are never going back to the old state of affairs. Workmen have declared they will never permit their wages to be reduced to the old standard by the harsh arbitrament of competition. A new England is in the making.

Military Review of 1917 on All Fronts

By General de Lacroix

French Military Expert

This rapid summary of the chief military events of 1917, written for the *Paris Temps* and translated for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, is especially convenient for reference purposes as regards dates and the correlation of events on all the fronts.

DURING the course of the year 1917 the military operations in Flanders, in Artois, to the north of the Aisne, in Champagne, at Verdun, in Alsace, in Macedonia, in Palestine, and in Mesopotamia were favorable to the Entente Allies. In Italy the situation, compromised for a moment, was promptly re-established. Hostilities on the Russian fronts were halted and negotiations for a separate peace were begun. It is interesting to recall the chronological succession of events and to notice, if not the unity, at least the synchronism of the military actions of the Allies.

The suspension of the Duma at Petrograd on March 11 marked the coming of an internal revolution, which was to lead to the fall of the Czar and the establishment of a Provisional Government. On the same day the British entered Bagdad. In France the strategic withdrawal of the Germans, which had begun in the last days of February, was accentuated. On March 17 the British troops were at Bapaume and the French troops at Roye, Lassigny, and Noyon. Such was the situation in the Spring of 1917. From that time the attacks followed each other at intervals of a few days in all the theatres of operation.

BEGINNING OF SPRING ACTIVITIES

On March 21 the Franco-British armies for the first time met serious resistance between Arras and Nurlu and in the region south of St. Quentin. From the 19th to the 22d, inclusive, the Army of the East [in the Balkans] in four days of violent battle captured the heights to the north and west of Monastir. In the last days of March the British were victorious on the banks of the Wady Gaza, in Palestine, and at Sharaban, in Mesopotamia.

The Germans on April 3, profiting by

the disorganization into which the revolution had thrown the Russian troops, carried by surprise the great bridgehead of Toboly, on the Stokhod. On the 6th the United States declared war on Germany, bringing to the support of the Allies an increase of strength which was to compensate in a measure for the weakening of the resistance on the Russian fronts. Between the 9th and 13th the British troops carried Vimy Ridge along a wide front, which brought them finally to the line Monchy-le-Pieux-Bailleul-Sire-Berthout-Angres. By the 15th the attempts at fraternization between the Russian and German troops had become frequent. On the 16th the French troops attacked with success between Soissons and Rheims, and the next day between Rheims and St. Souplet. Between the 18th and the 30th the British took Villers-Guislain, Gonnelleu, and Arleux-en-Gohelle; in Mesopotamia they defeated the Turks at Istabulat and at Bar-di-Adhim.

The British again attacked in force on May 3 from Bullecourt to Fresnoy and from La Sensée to the Vimy road. At the same moment the Rumanians took the offensive in the region of Voloscani and Caliman, in the upper valley of the Susita; the Army of the East did likewise on the English, Franco-Greek, Serbian, Italian, and Russian fronts from Doiran to Monastir. On May 11 and 12 the English in Artois penetrated into Liévin, completing the capture of Roeulx, and on the 17th took Bullecourt after an uninterrupted fight of fifteen days. On May 21 the French troops in their turn began a general offensive on the plateau of Laffaux, the Chemin des Dames, and the heights south of Moronvillers.

A few days earlier the Italian armies had crossed the Isonzo north of Plava,

and the action had extended rapidly along their whole front, to the north and south of Gorizia. They had brilliantly carried Monte Cucco and the Vodice, and had within their grasp certain important points between Castagnievizza and the sea. The situation had become so dangerous for the Austrians that an Austro-German war council met at Leybach on May 25.

BATTLE OF MESSINES

At the beginning of June the Italians were following up their attack along the Carso front, the Rumanian armies were advancing between the Susita and the Putna, the British troops in Artois, and the French troops on the plateaus of Vauclerc, the Casemates, and Californie. On June 7 and 8 the British carried the Messines salient by main force, and on the 14th took the slopes of Infantry Hill, east of Monchy-le-Preux. In Russia on the 16th, under the impulsion of the Provisional Government, active fighting was suddenly renewed on the Volhynian and Galician fronts. On June 23, 24, and 25, the French took the offensive on the plateau of Laffaux and north of Heurtebise, where they stormed the Dragon's Cave, while the British captured the outskirts of Lens.

General Brusiloff's offensive north of the Dniester began on June 29. On July 4 the Germans replied with vigorous counterattacks, but on the 8th Korniloff's army burst through to the south of the Dniester, took Halicz, pushed on to the Lomnizta, and captured Kalucz. On the 14th the enemy replied with a counter-offensive on the whole Russian front. In France we were holding the German forces by attacking them on the left bank of the Meuse, in Champagne, and to the north of the Aisne; our allies were approaching them from Havrincourt Wood to Monchy-le-Preux and along both banks of the Souchez.

Prince Leopold of Bavaria made a heavy attack on the Russians on July 21, and penetrated to the immediate environs of Tarnopol; a great part of the Russian forces retired in disorder, compelling the retreat of the armies in Galicia and Bukowina. The next day, however, the Russians counterattacked to the north

and south of the Pripet. At the same time the Rumanians began so vigorous an attack between the Trotus and the Putna that the weakened right wing of Archduke Joseph's army was obliged to retire upon the southern slopes of the Berecz Mountains, while Mackensen's left wing counterattacked without success on the northern slopes of Mount Obodesci, northwest of Foksani. On July 28 the Austro-German troops reached the Zbrucz on the Galician frontier and the region of Czernowitz in Bukowina. On the 31st the British troops, supported on the left by a French army, assaulted the German front in Flanders from Bixschoote, on the Yser, to the outskirts of Warneton, on the Lys.

In August the fighting was general. Archduke Joseph entered Czernowitz. His centre and right advanced upon the Trotus, while Mackensen attacked in the directions of Panciu and Marascesci, in the angle of the Trotus and Sereth. The Rumanians, though threatened on both flanks, put up a heroic resistance in the valleys of the Slanic and Oituzu, on Mount Clija, on Mount Casinul, and in the upper valley of the Susita. On Aug. 15 there was a new British offensive in Flanders and in Artois, where the Canadians brilliantly carried the defenses of Hill 70, in front of Loos. At Verdun on the 20th began a new battle which gave the French possession of the advanced lines extending from Avocourt Wood to Bezonvaux. On the same dates the Italians were fighting from Tolmino to the Gulf of Trieste. They took Monte Santo on Aug. 24, and attacked San Gabriele, where they met a desperate resistance. On the 31st the Austrians checked the progress of their adversaries with a powerful counterattack on the Bainsizza Plateau.

GERMANS' CAPTURE OF RIGA

With the beginning of September came a new turn of events. The Germans crossed the Dvina near Uxkull and took Riga, which the Russians abandoned without defending it. The struggle, however, continued with unabated energy in Rumania, where the Rumanians vigorously counterattacked Mackensen's left flank between Panciu and Warnitzta; in

Macedonia, where the left wing of the Army of the East took the offensive in the lake region; on the Isonzo, where the Italians strengthened their position on the Sella di Dol and captured the heights between Madoni and Podlesce, on the edge of the Bainsizza Plateau.

The first half of September was marked by special activity on the British and French fronts. The British established themselves firmly from Broodseinde to Poelcappelle, and on the edges of the Houthulst Forest. General Maistre's army on Sept. 23 captured the plateau of Malmaison. On the same day the 14th German Army penetrated the Italian lines in the valley of the Upper Isonzo, and its action, ably planned and vigorously led, supported as it was by the Austro-Hungarian armies on the right and left, forced the Italian armies to withdraw from the Isonzo, from the Carnic Alps, and from Tyrol. On Nov. 8 the Italian retreat stopped on the Piave; the next day the Austro-Hungarian forces from the Trentino broke through the Italian lines between Asiago and the Piave, where they found a stiff resistance, reinforced by the arrival of English and French reserves that had been hastily dispatched into Italy.

PROGRESS IN THE LEVANT

Meanwhile the successes of the Entente Allies became more marked in Asia and on the western front. In Palestine the cities of Beersheba, Gaza, and Jerusalem fell before the British expeditionary corps, to which Italian and French contingents had been added. In Mesopotamia, after overcoming separately the 18th and 13th Turkish Corps, the British pushed a salient as far as Tekrit, north of Samarra, and established themselves solidly between Delatana and Deli-Abbas. On Nov. 20 the British Army under General Byng pierced the German lines south of Cambrai. On the 24th it was violently counterattacked in Bourslon Wood. On the 30th it was assailed from Moeuvres to Bourslon, from Fontaine-Notre Dame to Masnières, and from Crevecoeur to Vend-

huile. After fighting bravely for six days against superior forces Byng's army concentrated on a narrower front between Prouville, Flesquières, Couillet Wood, La Vacquerie, and Gonnellieu, in advance of the position where it had begun the attack.

EFFECTS OF THE ARMISTICE

Upon the Russian front the Germans had easily occupied the islands in the Gulf of Riga and the line of the Dvina River below Josephstadt. Pursuing their policy of disorganization, they succeeded in producing complete anarchy in the Russian armies and communities. On Dec. 15 an armistice was signed for the Russian and Rumanian fronts. This armistice, valid to Jan. 14, could be extended. It was to apply also to the Turko-Russian front in Asia, and was completed by this additional clause: "The Russian and Turkish High Commands are disposed to withdraw their troops from Persia. They will come to an agreement immediately with the Persian Government for the settlement of details."

As the Persian frontier extends from Mount Ararat to the mouth of the Chatt-el-Arab, on the Persian Gulf, the enemy hoped by this means to uncover the right flank and menace the communications of the British army in Mesopotamia, to create disorder in Persia, and to oblige the British, abandoned on that side by the Russians, to change their plans in order to parry the danger.

The armistice, as was to be expected, was arranged wholly in favor of the Central Powers. Germany seemed to believe that Russia, being disarmed, was at her mercy; but later many of the Russian provinces refused to accept Lenine's action. The peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk took place under singular conditions. Trotzky and Lenine, the Bolshevik rulers, could no longer claim the right to speak in the name of all the Russias. On the other hand, the ambitions of Germany came clearly to light, becoming for her a source of new complications, which seemed likely to have some influence on the course of military operations.

General Haig's 1917 Report

Full Text of Official Narrative of the Battles Around Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British armies in France, sent to the British Secretary of War (Lord Derby) at the close of 1917 a memorable report of the operations of his forces from the opening of the British offensive at Arras in April to the conclusion of the Flanders offensive in November. The dispatch was published in the official London Gazette on Jan. 8, 1918, from which it is here reproduced in full. It covers the great engagements around Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres. The armies taking part in major operations were the First, under General Sir H. S. Horne; the Second, under General Sir Herbert Plumer; the Third, under General Sir E. H. H. Allenby; the Fourth, under General Sir Henry Rawlinson, and the Fifth, under General Sir H. Gough. In these operations 131 German divisions were engaged and defeated by less than half that number of British divisions. General Haig here tells in detail the story of some of the greatest fighting in the world's history, and tells it with a graphic vividness seldom found in official reports.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
BRITISH ARMIES IN THE FIELD,
Dec. 25, 1917.

MY LORD: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the forces under my command from the opening of the British offensive on April 9, 1917, to the conclusion of the Flanders offensive in November. The subsequent events of this year will form the subject of a separate dispatch, to be rendered a little later.

THE GENERAL ALLIED PLAN

(1) The general plan of campaign to be pursued by the allied armies during 1917 was unanimously agreed on by a conference of military representatives of all the allied powers held at French General Headquarters in November, 1916.

This plan comprised a series of offensives on all fronts, so timed as to assist each other by depriving the enemy of the power of weakening any one of his fronts in order to reinforce another.

A general understanding had also been arrived at between the then French Commander in Chief and myself as to the rôles of our respective armies in this general plan, and with the approval of his Majesty's Government preparations based upon these arrangements had at once been taken in hand.

(2) Briefly stated, my plan of action for the armies under my command in the proposed general offensive was as follows:

In the Spring, as soon as all the allied armies were ready to commence operations, my first efforts were to be directed against the enemy's troops occupying the salient between the Scarpe and the Ancre, into which they had been pressed as a result of the Somme battle.

It was my intention to attack both shoulders of this salient simultaneously, the 5th Army operating in the Ancre front, while the 3d Army attacked from the northwest about Arras. These converging attacks, if successful, would pinch off the whole salient, and would be likely to make the withdrawal of the enemy's troops from it a very costly manoeuvre for him if it were not commenced in good time.

The front of attack on the Arras side was to include the Vimy Ridge, possession of which I considered necessary to secure the left flank of the operations on the south bank of the Scarpe. The capture of this ridge, which was to be carried out by the 1st Army, also offered other important advantages. It would deprive the enemy of valuable observation and give us a wide view over the plains stretching from the eastern foot of the

ridge to Douai and beyond. Moreover, although it was evident that the enemy might, by a timely withdrawal, avoid a battle in the awkward salient still held by him between the Scarpe and the Ancre, no such withdrawal from his important Vimy Ridge positions was likely. He would be almost certain to fight for



FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

this ridge, and, as my object was to deal him a blow which would force him to use up reserves, it was important that he should not evade my attack.

(3) With the forces at my disposal, even combined with what the French proposed to undertake in co-operation, I did not consider that any great strategical results were likely to be gained by following up a success on the front about Arras and to the south of it, beyond the capture of the objectives aimed at as described above. It was therefore my intention to transfer my main offensive to another part of my front after these objectives had been secured.

The front selected for these further operations was in Flanders. They were to be commenced as soon as possible after the Arras offensive, and continued throughout the Summer, so far as the forces at my disposal would permit.

(4) The positions held by us in the Ypres salient since May, 1915, were far from satisfactory. They were completely overlooked by the enemy. Their defense involved a considerable strain on the

troops occupying them, and they were certain to be costly to maintain against a serious attack, in which the enemy would enjoy all the advantages in observation and in the placing of his artillery. Our positions would be much improved by the capture of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge and of the high ground which extends thence northeastward for some seven miles and then trends north through Broodseinde and Passchendaele.

The operation in its first stages was a very difficult one, and in 1916 I had judged that the general situation was not yet ripe to attempt it. In the Summer of 1917, however, as larger forces would be at my disposal, and as, in the Somme battle, our new armies had proved their ability to overcome the enemy's strongest defenses, and had lowered his power of resistance, I considered myself justified in undertaking it. Various preliminary steps had already been taken, including the necessary development of railways in the area, which had been proceeding quietly from early in 1916. I therefore hoped, after completing my Spring offensive further south, to be able to develop this Flanders attack without great delay, and to strike hard in the north before the enemy realized that the attack in the south would not be pressed further.

(5) Subsequently, unexpected developments in the early weeks of the year necessitated certain modifications in my plans above described.

New proposals for action were made by our French allies which entailed a considerable extension of my defensive front, a modification of the rôle previously allotted to the British armies, and an acceleration of the date of my opening attack.

As a result of these proposals, I received instructions from his Majesty's Government to readjust my previous plans to meet the wishes of our allies. Accordingly, it was arranged that I should commence the offensive early in April on as great a scale as the extension of my front would permit, with due regard to defensive requirements on the rest of my line. The British attack, under the revised scheme, was, in the first instance, to be preparatory to a

more decisive operation to be undertaken a little later by the French armies, in the subsequent stages of which the British forces were to co-operate to the fullest extent possible.

It was further agreed that if this combined offensive did not produce the full results hoped for within a reasonable time, the main efforts of the British armies should then be transferred to Flanders, as I had originally intended. In this case our allies were to assist me by taking over as much as possible of the front held by my troops, and by carrying out, in combination with my Flanders attacks, such offensives on the French front as they might be able to undertake.

(6) My original plan for the preliminary operations on the Arras front fortunately fitted in well with what was required of me under the revised scheme, and the necessary preparations were already in progress. In order to give full effect, however, to the new rôle allotted to me in this revised scheme, preparations for the attack in Flanders had to be restricted for the time being to what could be done by such troops and other labor as could not in any case be made available on the Arras front. Moreover, the carrying out of any offensive this year on the Flanders front became contingent on the degree of success attained by the new plan.

(7) The chief events to note during the period of preparations for the Spring offensive were the retirement of the enemy on the Arras-Soissons front and the revolution in Russia.

As regards the former, the redistribution of my forces necessitated by the enemy's withdrawal was easily made. The front decided on for my main attack on the Arras front lay almost altogether outside the area from which the enemy had retired, and my plans and preparations on that side were not deranged thereby. His retirement, however, did enable the enemy to avoid the danger of some of his troops being cut off by the converging attacks arranged for, and to that extent reduced the results which might have been attained by my operation as originally planned. The rôle of the 5th Army, too, had to be modified. Instead

of attacking from the line of the Ancre simultaneously with the advance of the 3d Army from the northwest, it had now to follow up the retiring enemy and establish itself afresh in front of the Hindenburg line to which the enemy withdrew. This line had been very strongly fortified and sited with great care and skill to deny all advantages of position to any force attempting to attack it.

The adjustments necessary, however, to enable me to carry out the more subsidiary rôle which had been allotted to my armies since the formation of my original plans, were comparatively simple, and caused no delay in my preparation for the Spring offensive.

My task was, in the first instance, to attract as large hostile forces as possible to my front before the French offensive was launched, and my forces were still well placed for this purpose. The capture of such important tactical features as the Vimy Ridge and Monchy-le-Preux by the 1st and 3d Armies, combined with pressure by the 5th Army from the south against the front of the Hindenburg line, could be relied on to use up many of the enemy's divisions and to compel him to reinforce largely on the threatened front.

The Russian revolution was of far more consequence in the approaching struggle. Even though the Russian armies might still prove capable of co-operating in the later phases of the 1917 campaign, the revolution at once destroyed any prospect that may previously have existed of these armies being able to combine with the Spring offensive in the west by the earlier date which had been fixed for it in the new plans made since the conference of November, 1916. Moreover, as the Italian offensive also could not be ready until some time after the date fixed by the new arrangement with the French for our combined operation, the situation became very different from that contemplated at the conference.

It was decided, however, to proceed with the Spring offensive in the west, notwithstanding these serious drawbacks. Even though the prospects of any far-reaching success were reduced, it would at least tend to relieve Russia of pres-

sure on her front while she was trying to reorganize her Government; and if she should fail to reorganize it, the Allies in the west had little, if anything, to gain

by delaying their blow. Preparations were pushed on accordingly, the most urgent initial step being the development of adequate transport facilities.

Spring Campaign—Preparations for Arras Offensive

(8) When transport requirements on the front in question were first brought under consideration, the neighborhood was served by two single lines of railway, the combined capacity of which was less than half our estimated requirements. Considerable constructional work, therefore, both of standard and narrow gauge railway, had to be undertaken to meet our program. Roads also had to be improved and adapted to the circumstances for which they were required, and preparations made to carry them forward rapidly as our troops advanced.

For this latter purpose considerable use was made both in this and in the later offensives of plank roads. These were built chiefly of heavy beech slabs laid side by side, and were found of great utility, being capable of rapid construction over almost any nature of ground.

By these means the accumulation of the vast stocks of munitions and stores of all kinds required for our offensive, and their distribution to the troops, were made possible. The numberless other preparatory measures taken for the Somme offensive were again repeated, with such improvements and additions as previous experience dictated. Hutting and other accommodation for the troops concentrated in the area had to be provided in great quantity. An adequate water supply had to be guaranteed, necessitating the erection of numerous pumping installations, the laying of many miles of pipe lines, and the construction of reservoirs.

Very extensive mining and tunneling operations were carried out. In particular, advantage was taken of the existence of a large system of underground quarries and cellars in Arras and its suburbs to provide safe quarters for a great number of troops. Electric light was installed in these caves and cellars, which were linked together by tunnels, and the whole connected by long subways with our trench system east of the town.

A problem peculiar to the launching of a great offensive from a town arose from the difficulty of insuring the punctual debouching of troops and the avoidance of confusion and congestion in the streets both before the assault and during the progress of the battle. This problem was met by the most careful and complete organization of routes, reflect-

ing the highest credit on the staffs concerned.

The Enemy's Defenses

9. Prior to our offensive, the new German lines of defense on the British front ran in a general northwesterly direction from St. Quentin to the village of Tilloy-lez-Moflaines, immediately southeast of Arras. Thence the German original trench systems continued northward across the valley of the Scarpe River to the dominating Vimy Ridge, which, rising to a height of some 475 feet, commands a wide view to the south-east, east, and north. Thereafter the opposing lines left the high ground, and, skirting the western suburbs of Lens, stretched northward to the Channel across a flat country of rivers, dikes, and canals, the dead level of which is broken by the line of hills stretching from Wyschaete northeastward to Passchendaele and Staden.

The front attacked by the 3d and 1st Armies on the morning of April 9 extended from just north of the village of Croisilles, southeast of Arras, to just south of Givenchy-en-Gohelle at the northern foot of Vimy Ridge, a distance of nearly fifteen miles. It included between four and five miles of the northern end of the Hindenburg line, which had been built to meet the experience of the Somme battle.

Further north, the original German defenses in this sector were arranged on the same principle as those which we had already captured further south. They comprised three separate trench systems, connected by a powerful switch line running from the Scarpe at Fampoux to Lievin, and formed a highly organized defensive belt some two to five miles in depth.

In addition, from three to six miles further east a new line of resistance was just approaching completion. This system, known as the Drocourt-Queant line, formed a northern extension of the Hindenburg line, with which it is linked up at Queant.

Fight for Aerial Supremacy

(10) The great strength of these defenses demanded very thorough artillery preparation, and this in turn could only be carried out effectively with the aid of our air service.

Our activity in the air, therefore, increased with the growing severity of our bombardment. A period of very heavy air fighting ensued, culminating in the days immediately preceding the attack in a struggle of the utmost intensity for local supremacy in the

air. Losses on both sides were severe, but the offensive tactics most gallantly persisted in by our fighting airplanes secured our artillery machines from serious interference and enabled our guns to carry out their work effectively. At the same time bombing machines caused great damage and loss to the enemy by a constant succession of successful raids directed against his dumps, railways, airdromes, and bullets.

The Bombardment

(11) Three weeks prior to the attack the systematic cutting of the enemy's wire was commenced, while our heavy artillery searched the enemy's back areas and communications. Night firing, wire cutting, and bombardment of hostile trenches, strong points, and billets continued steadily and with increasing intensity on the whole battle front, till the days immediately preceding the attack, when the general bombardment was opened.

During the latter period extensive gas discharges were carried out, and many successful raids were undertaken by day and night along the whole front to be attacked.

Organized bombardments took place also on other parts of our front, particularly in the Ypres sector.

The Troops Employed

(12) The main attack was intrusted to the 3d and 1st Armies under the command of General Sir E. H. H. Allenby, G. C. M. G., K. C. B., and General Sir H. S. Horne, K. C. B., respectively.

Four army corps were placed at the disposal of General Allenby, with an additional Army Corps Headquarters to be used as occasion might demand. Cavalry also was brought up into the 3d Army area, in case the development of the battle should give rise to an opportunity for the employment of mounted troops on a considerable scale.

The attack of the 1st Army on the Vimy Ridge was carried out by the Canadian corps. It was further arranged that, as soon as the Vimy Ridge had been secured, the troops in line on the front of the Canadian corps should extend the area of attack northward as far as the left bank of the Souchez River. An additional army corps was also at the disposal of the 1st Army in reserve.

The greater part of the divisions employed in the attack were composed of troops drawn from the English counties. These, with Scottish, Canadian, and South African troops, accomplished a most striking success.

My plans provided for the co-operation of the 4th and 5th Armies under the command respectively of General Sir Henry S. Rawlinson, Bart., G. C. V. O., K. C. B., and General Sir H. de la P. Gough, K. C. B., K. C. V. O., as soon as the development of my main assault should permit of their effective action.

The Method of Attack

(13) The attack on the front of the 3d and 1st Armies was planned to be carried out by a succession of comparatively short advances, the separate stages of which were arranged to correspond approximately with the enemy's successive systems of defense. As each stage was reached a short pause was to take place, to enable the troops detailed for the attack on the next objective to form up for the assault.

Tanks, which on many occasions since their first use in September of last year had done excellent service, were attached to each corps for the assault and again did admirable work in co-operation with our infantry. Their assistance was particularly valuable in the capture of hostile strong points, such as Telegraph Hill and the Harp, two powerful redoubts situated to the south of Tilloy-lez-Mofflaines and Railway Triangle, a stronghold formed by the junction of the Lens and Douai lines, east of Arras.

The Arras Battle

(14) The general attack on April 9 was launched at 5:30 A. M. under cover of a most effective artillery barrage. Closely following the tornado of our shell fire our gallant infantry poured like a flood across the German lines, overwhelming the enemy's garrisons.

Within forty minutes of the opening of the battle practically the whole of the German front-line system on the front attacked had been stormed and taken. Only on the extreme left fierce fighting was still taking place for the possession of the enemy's trenches on the slopes of Hill 145 at the northern end of the Vimy Ridge.

At 7:30 A. M. the advance was resumed against the second objectives. Somewhat greater opposition was now encountered, and at the hour at which these objectives were timed to have been captured strong parties of the enemy were still holding out on the high ground north of Tilloy-lez-Mofflaines, known as Observation Ridge, and in Railway Triangle.

North of the Scarpe, north country and Scottish territorial troops, attacking east of Roelincourt, were met by heavy machine-gun fire. Their advance was delayed, but not checked. On the left the Canadians rapidly overran the German positions, and by 9:30 A. M., in spite of difficult going over wet and sticky ground, had carried the village of Les Tilleuls and La Folie Farm.

By 12 noon men from the eastern counties of England had captured Observation Ridge and, with the exception of Railway Triangle, the whole of our second objectives were in our possession, from south of Neuville Vitasse, stormed by London territorials, to north of La Folie Farm. A large number of prisoners had already been taken, including practically a whole battalion of the 162d German Regiment at the Harp.

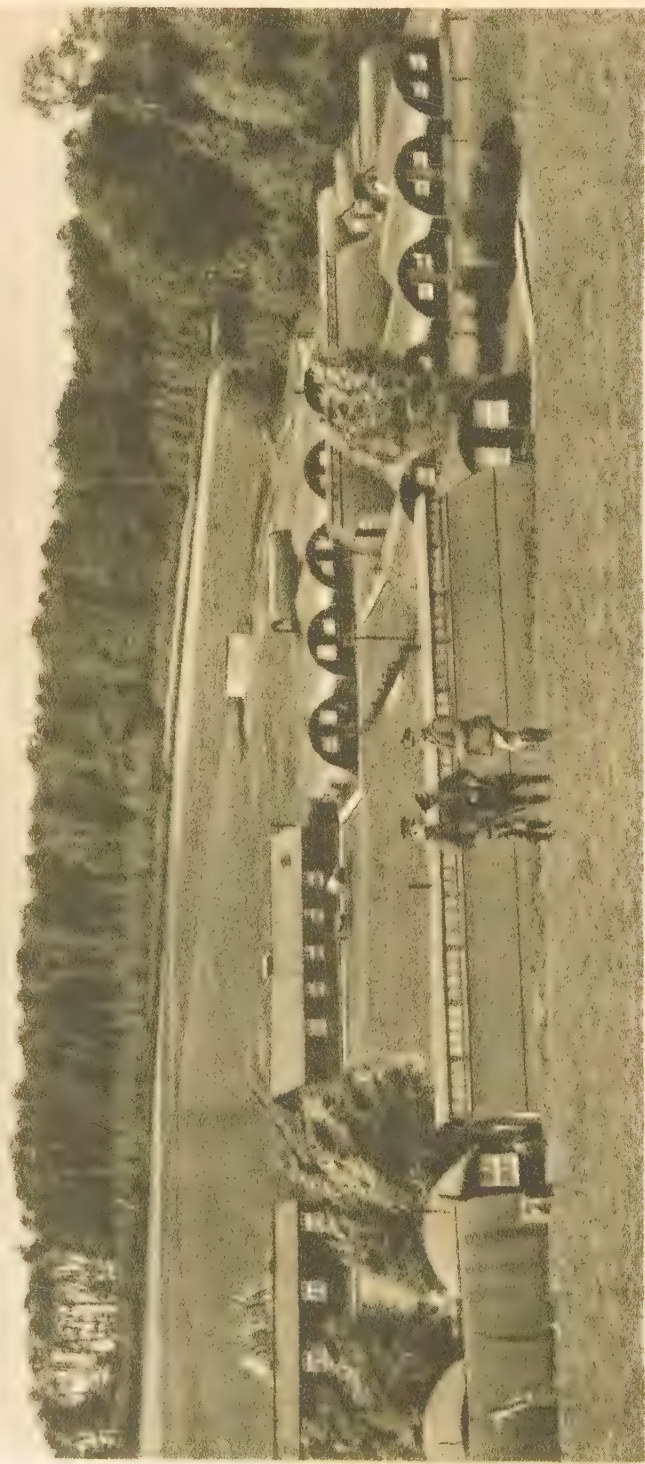
Meanwhile our artillery had begun to move

RIFLE PRACTICE AT AN AMERICAN TRAINING CAMP



Field works at Camp Meade, Maryland, especially constructed for instruction in rifle shooting. These men are non-commissioned officers training under the supervision of a British army officer.
(© *International Film Service*.)

WHERE AMERICAN OFFICERS ARE TRAINED IN FRANCE



General view of a British Corps School in France, one of the institutions at which American officers are receiving instruction.

(British Official Photograph from Underwood and Underwood)

forward to positions from which they could support our attack upon our third objectives. The enemy's determined resistance at Observation Ridge, however, had delayed the advance of our batteries in this area. The bombardment of the German third line on this front had consequently to be carried out at long range, with the result that the enemy's wire was not well cut.

None the less, when the advance was resumed shortly after midday, great progress was made all along the line. In the course of this attack many of the enemy's battery positions were captured, together with a large number of guns.

German Third-Line Breaches

South of the Scarpe, Manchester and Liverpool troops took St. Martin-sur-Cojeul, and our line was carried forward between that point and Feuchy Chapel on the Arras-Cambrai road. Here a counterattack was repulsed at 2 P. M., and at about the same hour Scottish troops carried Railway Triangle, after a long struggle. Thereafter this division continued its advance rapidly and stormed Feuchy village, making a breach in the German third line. An attempt to widen this breach, and to advance beyond it in the direction of Monchy-le-Preux, was held up for the time by the condition of the enemy's wire.

North of the Scarpe our success was even more complete. Troops from Scotland and South Africa, who had already stormed St. Laurent Blagny, captured Athies. They then gave place, in accordance with program, to an English division, who completed their task by the capture of Fampoux village and Hyderabad Redoubt, breaking another wide gap in the German third-line system. The north country troops on their left seized the strong work known as the Point du Jour, in the face of strong hostile resistance from the German switch line to the north.

Further north, the Canadian division, with an English brigade in the centre of its attack, completed the capture of the Vimy Ridge from Commandant's House to Hill 145, in spite of considerable opposition, especially in the neighborhood of Thelus and the high ground north of this village. These positions were taken by 1 P. M., and early in the afternoon our final objectives in this area had been gained. Our troops then dug themselves in on the eastern side of Farbus Wood and along the steep eastern slopes to the ridge west and northwest of Farbus, sending out cavalry and infantry patrols in the direction of Willerval and along the front of their position.

Desperate Fighting of Canadians

The left Canadian division, meanwhile, had gradually fought its way forward on Hill 145, in the face of a very desperate resistance. The enemy defended this dominating position with great obstinacy, and his garrison, reinforced from dugouts and un-

derground tunnels, launched frequent counterattacks. In view of the severity of the fighting, it was decided to postpone the attack upon the crest line until the following day.

At the end of the day, therefore, our troops were established deeply in the enemy's positions on the whole front of attack. We had gained a firm footing in the enemy's third line on both banks of the Scarpe, and had made an important breach in the enemy's last fully completed line of defense.

During the afternoon cavalry had been brought up to positions east of Arras, in readiness to be sent forward should our infantry succeed in widening this breach sufficiently for the operations of mounted troops. South of Feuchy, however, the unbroken wire of the German third line constituted a complete barrier to a cavalry attack, while the commanding positions held by the enemy on Monchy-le-Preux Hill blocked the way of advance along the Scarpe. The main body of our mounted troops was accordingly withdrawn in the evening to positions just west of the town. Smaller bodies of cavalry were employed effectively during the afternoon on the right bank of the Scarpe to maintain touch with our troops north of the river, and captured a number of prisoners and guns.

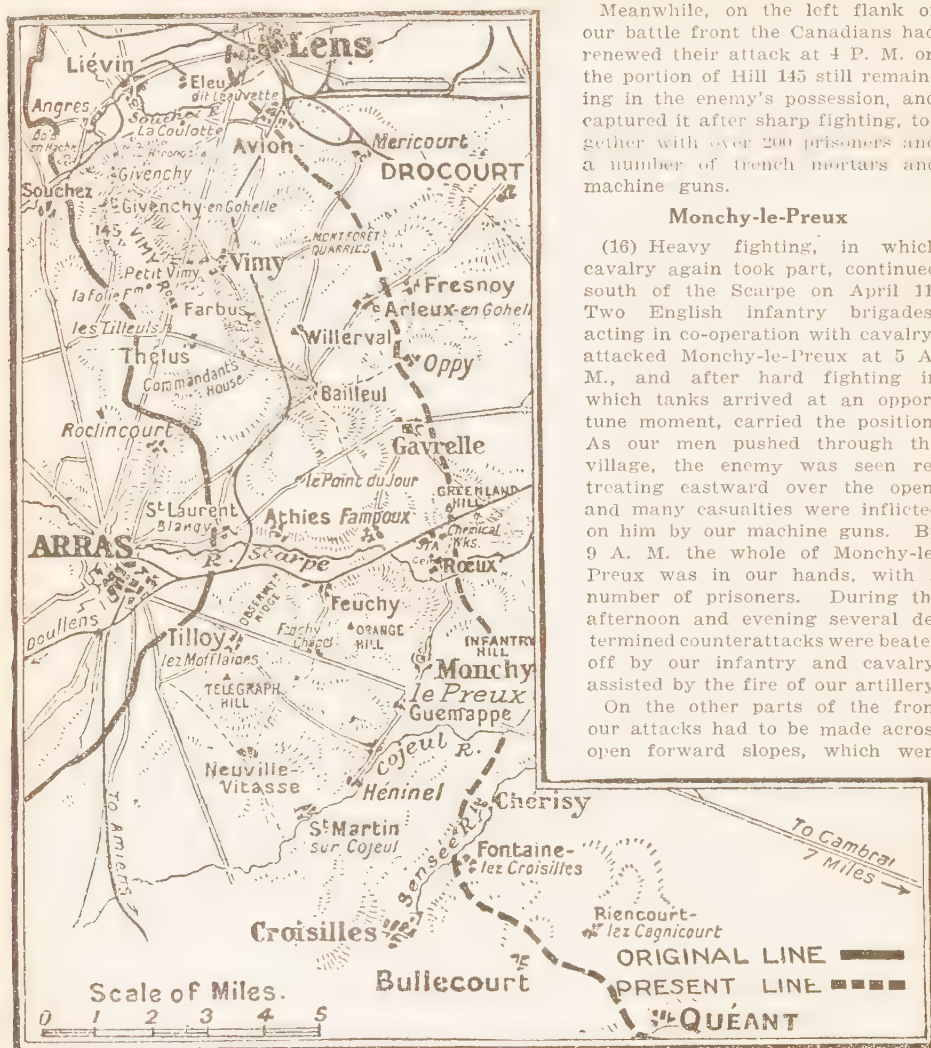
The Advance Continued

(15) For some days prior to April 9 the weather had been fine, but on the morning of that day heavy showers had fallen, and in the evening the weather definitely broke. Thereafter for many days it continued stormy, with heavy falls of snow and squalls of wind and rain. These conditions imposed great hardships on our troops and greatly hampered operations. The heavy snow, in particular, interfered with reliefs, and rendered all movements of troops and guns slow and difficult. It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the resultant delay in bringing up our guns, at a time when the enemy had not yet been able to assemble his reserves, or to calculate the influence which a further period of fine weather might have had upon the course of the battle.

North of the Scarpe little remained to be done to complete the capture of our objectives. South of the river we still required to gain the remainder of the German third line and Monchy-le-Preux. Despite the severity of the weather, our troops set themselves with the utmost gallantry to the accomplishment of these tasks.

During the night English troops made considerable progress through the gap in the German defenses east of Feuchy and occupied the northern slopes of Orange Hill, southeast of the village.

Throughout the morning of April 10 every effort was made to gain further ground through this gap, and our troops succeeded in reaching the inclosures northwest of Monchy-le-Preux.



THE BATTLEFIELD OF ARRAS

Meanwhile, on the left flank of our battle front the Canadians had renewed their attack at 4 P. M. on the portion of Hill 145 still remaining in the enemy's possession, and captured it after sharp fighting, together with over 200 prisoners and a number of trench mortars and machine guns.

Monchy-le-Preux

(16) Heavy fighting, in which cavalry again took part, continued south of the Scarpe on April 11. Two English infantry brigades, acting in co-operation with cavalry, attacked Monchy-le-Preux at 5 A. M., and after hard fighting in which tanks arrived at an opportune moment, carried the position. As our men pushed through the village, the enemy was seen retreating eastward over the open, and many casualties were inflicted on him by our machine guns. By 9 A. M. the whole of Monchy-le-Preux was in our hands, with a number of prisoners. During the afternoon and evening several determined counterattacks were beaten off by our infantry and cavalry, assisted by the fire of our artillery.

On the other parts of the front our attacks had to be made across open forward slopes, which were

At noon the advance became general, and the capture of the whole of the enemy's third-line system south of the Scarpe was completed. The progress of our right beyond this line was checked by machine-gun fire from the villages of Heninel, Wancourt, and Guémappe, with which our artillery was unable to deal effectively. Between the Arras-Cambrai road and the Scarpe, English and Scottish troops pushed on as far as the western edge of Monchy-le-Preux. Here our advance was held up as a result of the unavoidable weakness of our artillery support, and for the same reason an attempt to pass cavalry south and north of Monchy-le-Preux and along the left bank of the Scarpe proved impossible in the face of the enemy's machine-gun fire.

swept from end to end by the enemy's machine guns. The absence of adequate artillery support again made itself felt, and little ground was gained.

In combination with this attack on the 3d Army front, the 5th Army launched an attack at 4:30 A. M. on April 11 against the Hindenburg line in the neighborhood of Bullecourt. The Australian and West Riding battalions engaged showed great gallantry in executing a very difficult attack across a wide extent of open country. Considerable progress was made, and parties of Australian troops, preceded by tanks, penetrated the German positions as far as Riencourt-lez-Cagnicourt. The obstinacy of the enemy's resistance, however, in Heninel and Wancourt, which held up the advance of the

3d Army at these points, prevented the troops of the two armies from joining hands, and the attacking troops of the 5th Army were obliged to withdraw to their original line.

Heninel and the Souchez River

(17) On April 12 the relief of a number of divisions most heavily engaged was commenced, and on the same day the cavalry were withdrawn to areas west of Arras. Great efforts were made to bring forward guns, and, in spite of the difficulties presented by weather and ground, several batteries of howitzers and heavy guns reached positions in the rear of the old German third line.

On this day our attacks upon Heninel and Wancourt were renewed, and our troops succeeded in carrying both villages, as well as in completing the capture of the Hindenburg line for some 2,000 yards south of the Cojeul River. North of the Scarpe attacks were made against Roeux village and the chemical works near Roeux Station, and proved the commencement of many days of fierce and stubbornly contested fighting.

On our left flank operations of the 1st Army astride the Souchez River met with complete success. Attacks were delivered simultaneously at 5 A. M. on April 12 by English and Canadian troops against the two small hills known as the Pimple and the Boisen-Hache, situated on either side of the Souchez River. Both of these positions were captured, with a number of prisoners and machine guns. Steps were at once taken to consolidate our gains and patrols were pushed forward to maintain touch with the enemy.

Withdrawal of the Enemy

(18) The results of this last success at once declared themselves. Prior to its accomplishment there had been many signs that the enemy was preparing to make strong counterattacks from the direction of Givenchy and Hirondelle Woods to recover the Vimy Ridge. The positions captured on April 12 commanded both these localities, and he was therefore compelled to abandon the undertaking. His attitude in this neighborhood forthwith ceased to be aggressive, and indications of an immediate withdrawal from the areas commanded by the Vimy Ridge multiplied rapidly.

The withdrawal commenced on the morning of the April 13. Before noon on that day Canadian patrols had succeeded in occupying the southern portion of Givenchy-en-Gohelle, had pushed through Petit Vimy, and had reached the crossroads 500 yards northeast of the village. That afternoon English patrols north of the Souchez River crossed No Man's Land and entered Angres, while Canadian troops completed the occupation of Givenchy-en-Gohelle and the German trench system east of it. Further south our troops seized Petit Vimy and Vimy, and Willerval and Bailleul were occupied in turn.

Our patrols, backed by supports, continued

to push forward on the 14th of April, keeping contact with the retreating enemy, but avoiding heavy fighting. By midday the general line of our advanced troops ran from a point about 1,000 yards east of Bailleul, through Mont Foret Quarries and the Farbus-Méricourt road, to the eastern end of Hirondelle Wood. North of the river we had reached Riamont Wood and the southern outskirts of Liévin. By the evening the whole of the town of Liévin was in our hands, and our line ran thence to our old front line north of the Double Crassier. Great quantities of ammunition of all calibres, as well as several guns and stores and materials of every kind were abandoned by the enemy in his retreat.

Meanwhile on the 13th and 14th of April fighting south of the Scarpe continued, and some progress was made in the face of strong hostile resistance. On the right of our attack our troops fought their way eastward down the Hindenburg line till they had reached a point opposite Fontaine-les-Croiselles, about seven miles southeast of Arras. In the centre a Northumberland brigade, advancing in open order, carried the high ground east of Heninel and captured Wancourt Tower. Three counterattacks against this position were successfully driven off, and further ground was gained on the ridge southeast of Heninel.

On the other parts of our line heavy counterattacks developed on the 14th of April, the most violent of which were directed against Monchy-le-Preux. The struggle for this important position was exceedingly fierce. The enemy's attacks were supported by the full weight of his available artillery, and at one time parties of his infantry reached the eastern defenses of the village. To the south and the north, however, our posts held their ground, and in the end the enemy was completely repulsed with great loss.

Results of First Attacks

(19) Our advance had now reached a point at which the difficulty of maintaining communications and of providing adequate artillery support for our infantry began seriously to limit our progress. Moreover, the enemy had had time to bring up reserves and to recover from the temporary disorganization caused by our first attacks. Both the increasing strength of his resistance and the weight and promptness of his counterattacks made it evident that, except at excessive cost, our success could not be developed further without a return to more deliberate methods.

Already a very remarkable success had been gained, whether measured by our captures in territory, prisoners, and guns, or judged by the number of German divisions attracted to the front of our attack.

At the end of six days' fighting our front had been rolled four miles further east, and all the dominating features, forming the immediate objects of my attack, which I considered it desirable to hold before transfer-

ring the bulk of my resources to the north, had passed into our possession. So far, therefore, as my own plans were concerned, it would have been possible to have stopped the Arras offensive at this point, and while maintaining a show of activity sufficient to mislead the enemy as to my intentions, to have diverted forthwith to the northern theatre of operations the troops, labor, and material required to complete my preparations there.

At this time, however, the French offensive was on the point of being launched, and it was important that the full pressure of the British offensive should be maintained in order to assist our allies and that we might be ready to seize any opportunity which might follow their success. Accordingly, active preparations were undertaken to renew my attack, but, in view both of the weather and of the strength already developed by the enemy, it was necessary to postpone operations until my communications had been re-established and my artillery dispositions completed. The following week, therefore, saw little change in our front, though the labors of our troops continued incessantly under conditions demanding the highest qualities of courage and endurance.

So far as my object was to draw the enemy's reserves from the front of the French attack, much had already been accomplished. In addition to the capture of more than 13,000 prisoners and over 200 guns, a wide gap had been driven through the German prepared defenses. The enemy had been compelled to pour in men and guns to stop this gap, while he worked feverishly to complete the Drocourt-Quéant line. Ten days after the opening of our offensive the number of German infantry engaged on the front of our attack had been nearly doubled, in spite of the casualties the enemy's troops had sustained. The massing of such large forces within the range of our guns, and the frequent and costly counterattacks rendered necessary by our successes, daily added to the enemy's losses.

Subsidiary Operations

(20) In addition to the main attack east of Arras, successful minor operations were carried out on the 9th of April by the 4th and 5th Armies, by which a number of fortified villages covering the Hindenburg line were taken, with some hundreds of prisoners, and considerable progress was made in the direction of St. Quentin and Cambrai.

Throughout the remainder of the month the two southern armies maintained constant activity. By a succession of minor enterprises our line was advanced closer and closer to the Hindenburg line, and the enemy was kept under the constant threat of more serious operations on this front.

The only offensive action taken by the enemy during this period in this area occurred on the 15th of April. At 4:30 o'clock on that morning the enemy attacked our positions from Hermies to Noreuil with consid-

able forces, estimated at not less than sixteen battalions. Heavy fighting took place, in the course of which parties of German infantry succeeded in penetrating our lines at Lagnicourt for some distance, and at one time reached our advanced battery positions. By 1 P. M., however, the whole of our original line had been re-established, and the enemy left some seventeen hundred dead on the field as well as 360 prisoners in our hands. During the attack our heavy batteries remained in action at very close range and materially assisted in the enemy's repulse.

Guemappe and Gavrelle

(21) On the 16th of April our allies launched their main offensive on the Aisne, and shortly after that date the weather on the Arras front began to improve. Our preparations made more rapid progress, and plans were made to deliver our next attack on the 21st of April. High winds and indifferent visibility persisted, however, and so interfered with the work of our artillery and airplanes that it was found necessary to postpone operations for a further two days. Meanwhile local fighting took place frequently, and our line was improved slightly at a number of points.

At 4:45 A. M. on the 23d of April British troops attacked on a front of about nine miles from Croiselles to Gavrelle. At the same hour a minor operation was undertaken by us southwest of Lens.

On the main front of attack good progress was made at first at almost all points. By 10 A. M. the remainder of the high ground west of Chérisy had been captured by the attacking English brigades, and Scottish troops had pushed through Guémappe. East of Monchy-le-Preux British battalions gained the western slopes of the rising ground known as Infantry Hill. North of the Scarpe Highland territorials were engaged in heavy fighting on the western outskirts of Roeux Wood and the chemical works. On their left English county troops had reached the buildings west of Roeux Station and gained the line of their objectives on the western slopes of Greenland Hill, north of the railway. On the left of our main attack the Royal Naval Division had made rapid progress against Gavrelle, and the whole of the village was already in its hands.

At midday and during the afternoon counterattacks in great force developed all along the line, and were repeated by the enemy with the utmost determination, regardless of the heavy losses inflicted by our fire. Many of these counterattacks were repulsed after severe fighting, but on our right our troops were ultimately compelled by weight of numbers to withdraw from the ridge west of Chérisy and from Guémappe. North of the Scarpe fierce fighting continued for the possession of Roeux, the chemical works, and the station to the north, but without producing any lasting change in the situation. Not less than five separate counterattacks were

made by the enemy on this day against Gavrelle, and on the 24th of April he thrice repeated his attempts. All these attacks were completely crushed by our artillery barrage and machine-gun fire.

As soon as it was clear that the whole of our objectives for the 23d of April had not been gained, orders were issued to renew the advance at 6 P. M. In the attack Guémappe was retaken, but further south our troops were at once met by a counterattack in force, and made no progress. Fighting of a more or less intermittent character continued in this area all night.

In the early morning of the 24th of April the enemy's resistance weakened all along the front of our attack south of the Arras-Cambrai road. Our troops reaped the reward of their persistence, and gained their objectives of the previous day without serious opposition.

After twenty-four hours of very fierce fighting, therefore, in which the severity of the enemy's casualties were in proportion to the strength and determination of his numerous counterattacks, we remained in possession of the villages of Guémappe and Gavrelle, as well as of the whole of the high ground overlooking Fontaine-lez-Croiselles and Chérisy. Very appreciable progress had also been made east of Monchy-le-Preux, on the left bank of the Scarpe, and on Greenland Hill.

In the minor operations southwest of Lens Cornish troops established themselves on the railway loop east of Cité des Petit Bois, and succeeded in maintaining their position in spite of numerous hostile counterattacks.

In the course of these operations of the 23d and 24th of April we captured a further 3,000 prisoners and a few guns. On the battlefield, which remained in our possession, great numbers of German dead testified to the costliness of the enemy's obstinate defense.

Policy of Subsequent Operations

(22) The strength of the opposition encountered in the course of this attack was in itself evidence that my offensive was fulfilling the part designed for it in the allied plans. As the result of the fighting which had already taken place twelve German divisions had been withdrawn exhausted from the battle or were in process of relief. A month after the commencement of our offensive the number of German divisions so withdrawn had increased to twenty-three. On the other hand, the strengthening of the enemy's forces opposite my front necessarily brought about for the time being the characteristics of a wearing-out battle.

On the Aisne and in Champagne, also, the French offensive had met with very obstinate resistance. It was becoming clear that many months of heavy fighting would be necessary before the enemy's troops could be reduced to a condition which would permit of a more rapid advance. None the less, very considerable results had already been achieved, and

our allies continued their efforts against the long plateau north of the Aisne traversed by the Chemin des Dames.

In order to assist our allies, I arranged that until their object had been attained I would continue my operations at Arras. The necessary readjustment of troops, guns, and material required to complete my preparations for my northern operations was accordingly postponed, and preparations were undertaken for a repetition of my attacks on the Arras front until such time as the results of the French offensive should have declared themselves.

The Final Arras Attacks

(23) The first of these attacks was delivered on the 28th of April on a front of about eight miles north of Monchy-le-Preux. With a view to economizing my troops, my objectives were shallow, and for a like reason, and also in order to give the appearance of an attack on a more imposing scale, demonstrations were continued southward of the Arras-Cambrai road and northward to the Souchez River.

The assault was launched at 4:25 A. M. by British and Canadian troops, and resulted in heavy fighting, which continued throughout the greater part of the 28th and 29th of April. The enemy delivered counterattack after counterattack with the greatest determination and most lavish expenditure of men. Our positions at Gavrelle alone were again attacked seven times with strong forces, and on each occasion the enemy was repulsed with great loss.

In spite of the enemy's desperate resistance, the village of Arleux-en-Gohelle was captured by Canadian troops, after bitter hand-to-hand fighting, and English troops made further progress in the neighborhood of Oppy, on Greenland Hill, and between Monchy-le-Preux and the Scarpe. In addition to these advances, another 1,000 German prisoners were taken by us in the course of the two days' fighting.

Fresnoy

(24) Five days later, at 3:45 A. M. on the 3d of May, another attack was undertaken by us of a similar nature to that of the 28th of April, which in the character of the subsequent fighting it closely resembled.

In view of important operations which the French were to carry out on the 5th of May, I arranged for a considerable extension of my active front. While the 3d and 1st Armies attacked from Montaine-lez-Croiselles to Fresnoy, the 5th Army launched a second attack upon the Hindenburg line in the neighborhood of Bullecourt. This gave a total front of over sixteen miles.

Along practically the whole of this front our troops broke into the enemy's positions. Australian troops carried the Hindenburg line east of Bullecourt. Eastern county battalions took Chérisy. Other English troops entered Rocux and captured the German trenches

south of Fresnoy. Canadian battalions found Fresnoy full of German troops assembled for a hostile attack which was to have been delivered at a later hour. After hard fighting, in which the enemy lost heavily, the Canadians carried the village, thereby completing an unbroken series of successes.

Later in the day, strong hostile counter-attacks once more developed, accompanied by an intense bombardment with heavy guns. Fierce fighting lasted throughout the afternoon and far into the night, and our troops were obliged to withdraw from Roeux and Chérisy. They maintained their hold, however, on Fresnoy and the Hindenburg line east of Bullecourt, as well as upon certain trench elements west of Fontaine-lez-Croiselles and south of the Scarpe.

Nine hundred and sixty-eight prisoners, including twenty-nine officers, were captured by us in these operations.

Situation Reviewed

(25) On the 5th of May the French delivered their attack against the Chemin des Dames and successfully achieved the objects they had in view. This brought to an end the first half of our general plan, and marked the close of the Spring campaign on the western front. The decisive action which it had been hoped might follow from the French offensive had not yet proved capable of realization; but the magnitude of the results actually achieved strengthened our belief in its ultimate possibility.

On the British front alone, in less than one month's fighting, we had captured over 19,500 prisoners, including over 400 officers, and had also taken 257 guns, including 98 heavy guns, with 464 machine guns, 227 trench mortars, and immense quantities of other war material. Our line had been advanced to a greatest depth exceeding five miles on a total front of over twenty miles, representing a gain of some sixty square miles of territory. A great improvement had been effected in the general situation of our troops on the front attacked, and the capture of the Vimy Ridge had removed a constant menace to the security of our line.

I was at length able to turn my full attention and to divert the bulk of my resources to the development of my northern plan of operations. Immediate instructions were given by me to General Sir Herbert Plumer, commanding the 2d Army, to be prepared to deliver an attack on the 7th of June against the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, the capture of which, owing to the observation from it over our positions further north in the Ypres salient, was an essential preliminary to the completion of the preparations for my principal offensive east and north of Ypres.

In order to assist me to concentrate troops on the new scene of operations, it was agreed that the French should take over once more a portion of the front taken over by me from

them at the commencement of the year. This relief was completed without incident on the 20th of May, the French extending their front to the Omignon River.

Arras Activity Maintained

(26) A necessary part of the preparations for the Messines attack was the maintenance of activity on the Arras front, sufficient to keep the enemy in doubt as to whether our offensive there would be proceeded with. I therefore directed the armies concerned to continue active operations with such forces as were left to them. The required effect was to be attained by a careful selection of important objectives of a limited nature, deliberate preparation of attack, concentration of artillery, and economy of infantry.

Importance was to be given to these operations by combining them with feint attacks, and by the adoption of various measures and devices to extend the apparent front of attack. These measures would seem to have had considerable success, if any weight may be attached to the enemy's reports concerning them. They involved, however, the disadvantage that I frequently found myself unable to deny German accounts of the bloody repulse of extensive British attacks which in fact never took place.

Bullecourt and Roeux

(27) To secure the footing gained by the Australians in the Hindenburg line on the 3d of May it was advisable that Bullecourt should be captured without loss of time. During the fortnight following our attack, fighting for the possession of this village went on unceasingly; while the Australian troops in the sector of the Hindenburg line to the east beat off counterattack after counterattack. The defense of this 1,000 yards of double trench line, exposed to counterattack on every side, through two weeks of almost constant fighting, deserves to be remembered as a most gallant feat of arms.

On the morning of the 7th of May, English troops gained a footing in the southeast corner of Bullecourt. Thereafter gradual progress was made, in the face of the most obstinate resistance, and on the 17th of May London and West Riding territorials completed the capture of the village.

On other parts of the Arras front also heavy fighting took place, in which we both lost and gained ground.

On the 8th of May the enemy regained Fresnoy village. Three days later London troops captured Cavalry Farm, while other English battalions carried Roeux Cemetery and the chemical works. Further ground was gained in this neighborhood on the 12th of May, and on the night of the 13th-14th our troops captured Roeux.

On the 20th of May fighting was commenced for the sector of the Hindenburg line lying between Bullecourt and our front line west of Fontaine-lez-Croiselles. Steady progress was made, until by the 16th of June touch had

been established by us between these two points. Ten days prior to this event, on the 5th and 6th of June, Scottish and north country regiments captured the German posi-

tions on the western face of Greenland Hill and beat off two counterattacks.

In these different minor operations over 1,500 prisoners were captured by us.

Summer Campaigns—Preparations for Messines Attack

(28) The preparations for the attack on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge were necessarily as elaborate as those undertaken before either the Somme or the Arras battles, and demanded an equal amount of time, forethought, and labor. They were carried out, moreover, under circumstances of exceptional difficulty, for the enemy's positions completely overlooked our lines and much of the area behind them.

Neither labor nor material was available in sufficient quantity for the Messines offensive until the prior demands of the Arras operations had been satisfied. Nevertheless, our preparations in the northern area had been proceeded with steadily, so far as the means at our disposal would allow, ever since the formation of definite plans in the late Autumn of 1916.

A large railway program had been commenced, and as soon as it was possible to divert larger supplies northward, work was pushed on with remarkable speed. Great progress was made with road construction, and certain roads were selected for extension as soon as our objectives should be gained. Forward dumps of material were made for this purpose, and in the days following the 7th of June roads were carried forward with great rapidity to Messines, Wytschaete, and Oosttaverne, across country so completely destroyed by shellfire that it was difficult to trace where the original road had run.

A special problem arose in connection with the water supply. Pipe lines were taken well forward from existing lakes, from catchpits constructed on the Kemmel Hills, and from sterilizing barges on the Lys. Provision was made for the rapid extension of these lines. By the 15th of June they had reached Messines, Wytschaete, and the Dam Strasse, and were supplying water at the rate of between 450,000 and 600,000 gallons daily.

In addition, arrangements were made for the transport of water, rations, and stores by pack animals and carrying parties. So efficiently did these arrangements work that during the attack water reached the troops within twenty to forty minutes of the taking of new positions, while in one case carrying parties arrived with packs and dumps were formed within four minutes of the capture of the objective.

Underground Warfare

(29) A special feature of the attack on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, and one unique in warfare, was furnished by the explosion of nineteen deep mines at the moment of assault.

The inception of a deep mining offensive on

the 2d Army front dated from July, 1915; but the proposal to conduct offensive mining on a grand scale was not definitely adopted till January, 1916. From that date onward, as the necessary labor became available, deep mining for offensive purposes gradually developed, in spite of great difficulties from water-bearing strata and active countermining by the enemy.

In all, twenty-four mines were constructed, four of which were outside the front ultimately selected for our offensive, while one other was lost as the result of a mine blown by the enemy. Many of these mines had been completed for twelve months prior to our offensive, and constant and anxious work was needed to insure their safety. The enemy also had a deep mining system, and was aware of his danger.

At Hill 60 continuous underground fighting took place for over ten months prior to our attack, and only by the greatest skill, persistence, and disregard of danger on the part of our tunnelers were the two mines laid by us at this point saved from destruction. At the time of our offensive the enemy was known to be driving a gallery which ultimately would have cut into the gallery leading to the Hill 60 mines. By careful listening it was judged that if our offensive took place on the date arranged, the enemy's gallery would just fail to reach us. So he was allowed to proceed.

At the Bluff, also, underground fighting went on incessantly. Between the 16th of January, 1916, and the 7th of June, 1917, twenty-seven camouflages were blown in this locality alone, of which seventeen were blown by us and ten by the enemy. After the 1st of February, 1917, the enemy showed signs of great uneasiness, and blew several heavy mines and camouflages in the endeavor to interfere with our working. One of these blows destroyed our gallery to the Spanbroekmolen mine. For three months this mine was cut off, and was only recovered by strenuous efforts on the day preceding the Messines attack. The Spanbroekmolen mine formed the largest crater of any of those blown, the area of complete obliteration having a diameter of over 140 yards.

A total of 8,000 yards of gallery were driven in the construction of these mines, and over one million pounds of explosives were used in them. The simultaneous discharge of such an enormous aggregate of explosive is without parallel in land mining, and no actual experience existed of the effects which would be produced. In these circumstances, the

fact that no hitch of any kind occurred in the operation, and that the effects of the discharges were precisely such as had been foretold, reflects the very highest credit upon those responsible for the planning and construction of the mines.

The Messines Battle

(30) The group of hills known as the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge lies about midway between the towns of Armentières and Ypres. Situated at the eastern end of the range of abrupt, isolated hills which divides the valleys of the River Lys and the River Yser, it links up that range with the line of rising ground which from Wytschaete stretches northeastward to the Ypres-Menin road, and then northward past Passchendaele to Staden.

The village of Messines, situated on the southern spur of the ridge, commands a wide view of the valley of the Lys, and enfiladed the British lines to the south. Northwest of Messines the village of Wytschaete, situated at the point of the salient and on the highest part of the ridge, from its height of about 260 feet commands even more completely the town of Ypres and the whole of the old British positions in the Ypres salient.

The German Defenses

(31) The German front line skirted the western foot of the ridge in a deep curve from the River Lys opposite Frelinghien to a point just short of the Menin road. The line of trenches then turned northwest past Hooge and Weiltje, following the slight rise known as the Pilkem Ridge to the Yser Canal at Boesinghe. The enemy's second-line system followed the crest of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, forming an inner curve.

In addition to these defenses of the ridge itself, two chord positions had been constructed across the base of the salient from south to north. The first lay slightly to the east of the hamlet of Oosttaverne, and was known as the Oosttaverne line. The second chord position, known as the Warneton line, crossed the Lys at Warneton, and ran roughly parallel to the Oosttaverne line a little more than a mile to the east of it.

The natural advantages of the position were exceptional, and during more than two years of occupation the enemy had devoted the greatest skill and industry to developing them to the utmost. Besides the villages of Messines and Wytschaete, which were organized as main centres of resistance, numerous woods, farms, and hamlets lent themselves to the construction of defensive points.

Captured documents and the statements of prisoners proved the importance attached by the enemy to the position. His troops in the line were told that the coming battle might well prove decisive, and that they were to resist to the last. They were assured that strong reserves were available to come to their assistance and to restore the battle

should the British attack succeed in penetrating their lines.

Preparations Completed

(32) The final preparations for the assault on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge were completed punctually, and with a thoroughness of organization and attention to detail which is beyond praise. The excellence of the arrangements reflects the highest credit on the 2d Army commander, General Sir Herbert Plumer, and his staff, as well as on the commanders and staffs of the various formations engaged.

The actual front selected for attack extended from a point opposite St. Yves to Mount Sorrel, inclusive, a distance, following the curve of the salient, of between nine and ten miles. Our final objective was the Oosttaverne line, which lay between these two points. The greatest depth of our attack was therefore about two and a half miles.

As the date for the attack drew near, fine weather favored the work of our airmen, and artillery and wire cutting, the bombardment of the enemy's defenses and strong points, and the shelling of his communications, billets, and back areas continued steadily. Counterbattery work was undertaken with great energy and with striking success.

The Assault

(33) At 3:10 A. M. on the 7th of June the nineteen mines were exploded simultaneously beneath the enemy's defenses. At the same moment our guns opened and our infantry assault was launched. Covered by a concentrated bombardment, which overwhelmed the enemy's trenches and to a great extent neutralized his batteries, our troops swept over the German foremost defenses all along the line.

The attack proceeded from the commencement in almost exact accordance with the time table. The enemy's first-trench system offered little resistance to our advance, and the attacking brigades—English, Irish, Australian, and New Zealand—pressed on up the slopes of the ridge to the assault of the crest line.

At 5:30 A. M. Ulster regiments had already reached their second objectives, including l'Enfer Hill and the southern defenses of Wytschaete, while on their left a South of Ireland division fought its way through Wytschaete Wood. At 7 A. M. New Zealand troops had captured Messines. Men from the western counties of England had cleared the Grand Bois. Other English county regiments had reached the Dam Strasse, and all along the battle front our second objectives had been gained.

Only at a few isolated points did the resistance of the enemy's infantry cause any serious delay. Northeast of Messines our infantry were held up for a time by machine-gun fire from a strong point known as Fanny's Farm, but the arrival of a tank enabled our progress to be resumed. So rapid was



THE BATTLE OF MESSINES

the advance of our infantry, however, that only a few tanks could get forward in time to come into action. Heavy fighting took place in Wyttschaete, and further north London troops encountered a serious obstacle in another strong point known as the White Château. This redoubt was captured while the morning was yet young, and before mid-day the two Irish divisions had fought their way side by side through the defenses of Wyttschaete.

Our troops then began to move down the eastern slopes of the ridge, and the divisions in the centre of our attack, who had furthest to go, gradually drew level with those on either flank. About 2,000 prisoners had already been brought in, and Australian and English troops had reached the first of the enemy's guns. Our own guns had begun to move forward.

Further fighting took place in Ravine Wood, where English county regiments and London troops killed many Germans, and short-lived resistance was encountered at other points among the many woods and farmhouses. Bodies of the enemy continued to hold out in the eastern end of Battle Wood and in strong points constructed in the spoil banks of the Ypres-Comines Canal. Except at these points, our troops gained their final objectives on both flanks early in the afternoon. In the centre we had reached a position running approximately parallel to the Oosttaverne line and from 400 to 800 yards to the west of it. The guns required for the attack upon this line had been brought forward, and the troops and tanks detailed to take part were moving up steadily. Meanwhile the bridges and roads leading out of the triangle formed by the River Lys and

the canal were kept under the fire of our artillery.

The final attack began soon afterward, and by 3:45 P. M. the village of Oosttaverne had been captured. At 4 P. M. troops from the northern and western counties of England entered the Oosttaverne line east of the village and captured two batteries of German field guns. Half an hour later other English battalions broke through the enemy's position further north. Parties of the enemy were surrendering freely, and his casualties were reported to be very heavy. By the evening the Oosttaverne line had been taken, and our objectives had been gained.

The rapidity with which the attack had been carried through, and the destruction caused by our artillery, made it impossible at first to form more than a rough estimate of our captures. When the final reckoning had been completed, it was found that they included 7,200 prisoners, 67 guns, 94 trench mortars, and 294 machine guns.

Subsequent Operations

(34) During the night our infantry consolidated the captured positions, while tanks patrolled the ground east of the Oosttaverne line, and in the early morning of June 8 assisted in the repulse of an enemy counterattack up the Wambeke Valley. At 4 A. M. on the same morning our troops captured a small portion of German trench near Septieme Barn, where the enemy had resisted our first attack. That evening, at 7 P. M., after an intense bombardment, the enemy counterattacked along practically the whole of our new line, but was repulsed at all points.

Consolidation and the establishment of advanced posts continued during the following four days, in the course of which Australian troops captured La Potterie Farm, southeast of Messines, and the hamlet of Gapaard was occupied.

Our progress on the right of the battle front made the enemy's positions between the Lys River and St. Yves very dangerous, and he now gradually began to evacuate them. Our patrols kept close touch with the enemy, and by the evening of June 14 the whole of the old German front and support lines north of Lys had passed into our possession.

That evening we again attacked south and east of Messines and on both sides of the Ypres-Comines Canal, and met with complete success. The strong points in which the enemy had held out north of the canal were captured, and our line was advanced on practically the whole front from the River Warnave to Klein Zillebeke.

By this operation the 2d Army front was pushed forward as far as was then desirable. Henceforward our efforts in this area were directed to putting the line gained in a state of defense and establishing forward posts.

(35) As soon as this preliminary operation had been successfully accomplished it be-

came possible to take in hand our final dispositions for our main offensive east and north of Ypres. Owing to the great extent of front to be dealt with, the 5th Army took over command of the front from Observatory Ridge to Boesinghe on June 10, and the whole of our available resources were directed to completing the preparations for the attack.

It had been agreed that French troops should take part in these operations, and should extend my left flank northward beyond Boesinghe. The relief by British troops of the French troops holding the coast sector from St. Georges to the sea was accordingly arranged for, and was successfully completed ten days later. In the first week of July the Belgian troops holding the front from Boesinghe to Noordschoote were relieved by the 1st French Army, under the command of General Anthoine.

The various problems inseparable from the mounting of a great offensive, the improvement and construction of roads and railways, the provision of an adequate water supply and of accommodation for troops, the formation of dumps, the digging of dugouts, subways, and trenches, and the assembling and registering of guns had all to be met and overcome in the new theatre of battle under conditions of more than ordinary disadvantage.

On no previous occasion, not excepting the attack on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, had the whole of the ground from which we had to attack been so completely exposed to the enemy's observation. Even after the enemy had been driven from the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, he still possessed excellent direct observation over the salient from the east and southeast, as well as from the Pilkem Ridge to the north. Nothing existed at Ypres to correspond with the vast caves and cellars which proved of such value in the days prior to the Arras battle, and the provision of shelter for the troops presented a very serious problem.

The work of the tunneling companies of the Royal Engineers deserves special mention in this connection. It was carried on under great difficulties, both from the unreliable nature of the ground and also from hostile artillery, which paid particular attention to all indications of mining activity on our part.

Minor Operations Continued

(36) Meanwhile the policy of maintaining activity on other parts of my front was continued.

Further ground was gained on Greenland Hill, and on June 14 British troops captured by a surprise attack the German trench lines on the crest of Infantry Hill, east of Monchy-le-Preux, with 175 prisoners. This important position had already been the scene of a great deal of fierce fighting, and during the following six weeks was frequently counterattacked. Our advanced posts

changed hands frequently; but the principal line, giving the observation which lent importance to the position, remained consistently in our possession.

Early in May local attacks had been undertaken by Canadian troops in the neighborhood of the Souchez River, which formed the prelude to a long-sustained series of minor operations directed against the defense of Lens. Substantial progress was made in this area on June 5 and 19, and five days later North Midland troops captured an important position on the slopes of a small hill southwest of Lens, forcing the enemy to make a considerable withdrawal on both sides of the river. Canadian troops took La Coulotte on June 26, and by the morning of June 28 had reached the outskirts of Avion.

On the evening of June 28 a deliberate and carefully thought out scheme was put into operation by the 1st Army, to give the enemy the impression that he was being attacked on a twelve-mile front from Gavrelle to Hulluch.

Elaborate demonstrations were made on the whole of this front, accompanied by discharges of gas, smoke, and thermit, and a mock raid was successfully carried out southeast of Loos. At the same time real attacks were made, with complete success, by English troops on a front of 2,000 yards opposite Oppy, and by Canadian and North Midland troops on a front of two and a half miles astride the Souchez River. All our objectives were gained, including Eleu dit Leauvette and the southern half of Avion, with some 300 prisoners and a number of machine guns.

The Lombaertzyde Attack

(37) The appearance of British troops on the coast seems to have alarmed the enemy

and caused him to launch a small counter-offensive.

The positions which we had taken over from the French in this area included a narrow strip of polder and dune, some two miles in length and from 600 to 1,200 yards in depth, lying on the right bank of the canalized Yser between the Passchendaele Canal, south of Lombaertzyde, and the coast. Midway between the Passchendaele Canal and the sea, these positions were divided into two parts by the dike known as the Geleide Creek, which flows into the Yser southwest of Lombaertzyde. If the enemy could succeed in driving us back across the canal and river on the whole of this front, he would render the defense of the sector much easier for him.

Early on the morning of July 10 an intense bombardment was opened against these positions. Our defenses, which consisted chiefly of breastworks built in the sand, were flattened, and all the bridges across the Yser below the Geleide Creek, as well as the bridges across the creek itself, were destroyed.

At 6:30 P. M. the enemy's infantry attacked, and the isolated garrison of our positions north of the Geleide Creek, consisting of troops from a Northamptonshire battalion and a rifle battalion, were overwhelmed after an obstinate and most gallant resistance. Of these two battalions some seventy men and four officers succeeded during the nights of the 10th-11th and 11th-12th of July in swimming across the Yser to our lines.

On the southern half of the point attacked, opposite Lombaertzyde, the enemy also broke into our lines; but here, where our positions had greater depth, and communication across the Yser was still possible, his troops were ejected by our counterattack.

The Third Battle of Ypres—Preliminary Stages

(38) By this date the preparations for the combined allied offensive were far advanced, and the initial stages of the battle had already begun.

A definite aerial offensive had been launched, and the effective work of our airmen once more enabled our batteries to carry out successfully a methodical and comprehensive artillery program.

So effective was our counterbattery work that the enemy commenced to withdraw his guns to places of greater security. On this account, and also for other reasons, the date of our attack, which had been fixed for the 25th of July, was postponed for three days. This postponement enabled a portion of our own guns to be moved further forward, and gave our airmen the opportunity to locate accurately the enemy's new battery positions. Subsequently a succession of days of bad visibility, combined with the difficulties

experienced by our allies in getting their guns into position in their new area, decided me to sanction a further postponement until the 31st of July.

In addition to our artillery bombardment, gas was used extensively during the fortnight preceding the attack, and a number of highly successful raids were carried out along the whole front north of the Lys.

The Yser Canal Crossed

(39) As the date of the attack drew near, careful watch was maintained lest the enemy should endeavor to disarrange our plans by withdrawing to one of his rear lines of defense. On the 27th of July the German forward defense system was found to be unoccupied on the northern portion of the 5th Army front. British Guards and French troops seized the opportunity to cross the Yser Canal, and established themselves firm-



BATTLES OF YPRES AND MESSINES: SOLID LINE, FORMER ALLIED POSITION; BROKEN LINE, ALLIED FRONT AT END OF 1917.

ly in the enemy's first and support trenches on a front of about 3,000 yards east and north of Boesinghe. All hostile attempts to eject them failed, and during the night seventeen bridges were thrown across the canal by our troops.

This operation greatly facilitated the task of the allied troops on this part of the battle front, to whose attack the Yser Canal had previously presented a formidable obstacle. Whether the withdrawal which made it possible was due to the desire of the German infantry to escape our bombardment, or to their fear that our attack would be inaugurated by the explosion of a new series of mines is uncertain.

Plan of First Attack

(40) The front of the allied attack extended from the Lys River opposite Deulemont northward to beyond Steenstraat, a distance of over fifteen miles, but the main blow was to be delivered by the 5th Army on a front of about seven and a half miles, from the Zillebeke-Zandvoorde road to Boesinghe, inclusive.

Covering the right of the 5th Army, the task of the 2d Army was to advance a short distance only. Its principal object at this stage was to increase the area threatened by the attack and so force the enemy to distribute the fire of his artillery. I had other tasks in view for it at a later period.

On the left of the 5th Army the 1st French Army was to advance its right in close touch with the British forces and secure them from counterattack from the north. This entailed an advance of considerable depth over difficult country, and ultimately involved the capture of the whole peninsula lying between the Yser Canal and the floods of the St. Jansbeek and the Martjevaart.

The plan of attack on the 5th Army front was to advance in a series of bounds, with which the right of the 1st French Army was to keep step. These bounds were arranged so as to suit as far as possible both the position of the principal lines of the enemy's defenses and the configuration of the ground.

It was hoped that in this first attack our troops would succeed in establishing themselves on the crest of the high ground east of Ypres, on which a strong flank could be formed for subsequent operations, and would also secure the crossings of the Steenbeek. For this purpose four army corps were placed at the disposal of General Sir Hubert Gough.

The Battle Opened

(41) At 3:50 A. M. on the morning of the 31st of July the combined attack was launched. English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh troops delivered the main assault on the British front.

Preceded at zero hour by discharges of thermit and oil drums and covered by an accurate artillery barrage from a great number of guns, the allied infantry entered the Ger-

man lines at all points. The enemy's barrage was late and weak, and our casualties were light.

On the greater part of the front of the main attack the resistance of the German infantry was quickly overcome and rapid progress was made. The difficult country east of Ypres, where the Menin road crosses the crest of the Wytshaete - Passchendaele Ridge, formed, however, the key to the enemy's position, and here the most determined opposition was encountered. None the less, the attacking brigades, including a number of Lancashire battalions, regiments from all parts of England, and a few Scottish and Irish battalions, fought their way steadily forward through Shrewsbury Forest and Sanctuary Wood and captured Stirling Castle, Hooge, and the Bellewarde Ridge.

Further north British and French troops carried the whole of the first German trench system with scarcely a check, and proceeded in accordance with the time table to the assault of the enemy's second line of defense. Scottish troops took Verlorenhoek, and, continuing their advance, by 6 A. M. had reached Frezenberg, where for a short time stiff fighting took place before the village, and the strong defenses round it were captured. South of Pilkem a Prussian Guard battalion was broken up by Welsh troops after a brief resistance and Pilkem was taken. Sharp fighting occurred also at a number of other points, but in every instance the enemy's opposition was overcome.

At 9 A. M. the whole of our second objectives north of the Ypres-Roulers railway were in our possession, with the exception of a strong point north of Frezenberg, known as Pommern Redoubt, where fighting was still going on. Within an hour this redoubt also had been captured by West Lancashire territorials. On our left French troops made equal progress, capturing their objective in precise accordance with program and with little loss.

By this time our field artillery had begun to move up, and by 9:30 A. M. a number of batteries were already in action in their forward positions. The allied advance on this portion of our front was resumed at the hour planned. English county troops captured St. Julien, and from that point northward our final objectives were reached and passed. Highland territorials, Welsh and Guard battalions secured the crossings of the Steenbeek, and French troops, having also taken their final objectives, advanced beyond them and seized Bixschoote. A hostile counter-attack launched against the point of junction of the French and British armies was completely repulsed.

Meanwhile, south of the Ypres-Roulers railway, very heavy and continuous fighting was taking place on both sides of the Menin road.

After the capture of the German first-line system our troops on this part of our front had advanced in time with the divisions on

their left against their second objectives. Great opposition was at once encountered in front of two small woods known as Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood, while further south a strong point in Shrewsbury Forest held out against our attacks till the morning of Aug. 1. North of Glencorse Wood English troops continued their advance in spite of the enemy's resistance and reached the village of Westhoek.

Later in the day heavy counterattacks began to develop from south of the Menin road northward to St. Julien. Our artillery caused great loss to the enemy in these attacks, although the weather was unfavorable for airplane work and observation for our batteries was difficult. At Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood a few tanks succeeded in reaching the fighting line, in spite of exceedingly bad ground, and came into action with our infantry. Fierce fighting took place all day, but the enemy was unable to shake our hold upon the ridge.

Results of First Day

(42) At the end of the day, therefore, our troops on the 5th Army front had carried the German first system of defense south of Westhoek. Except at Westhoek itself, where they were established on the outskirts of the village, they had already gained the whole of the crest of the ridge and had denied the enemy observation over the Ypres plain. Further north they had captured the enemy's second line also as far as St. Julien. North of that village they had passed beyond the German second line, and held the line of the Steenbeek to our junction with the French.

On our left flank our allies had admirably completed the important task allotted to them. Close touch had been kept with the British troops on their right throughout the day. All and more than all their objectives had been gained rapidly and at exceptionally light cost, and the flank of the allied advance had been effectively secured.

Meanwhile the attack on the 2d Army front had also met with complete success. On the extreme right New Zealand troops had carried La Basse Ville after a sharp fight lasting some fifty minutes. On the left English troops had captured Hollebeke and the difficult ground north of the bend of the Ypres-Comines Canal and east of Battle Wood. Between these two points our line had been advanced on the whole front for distances varying from 200 to 800 yards.

Over 6,100 prisoners, including 133 officers, were captured by us in this battle. In addition to our gains in prisoners and ground we also captured some twenty-five guns, while a further number of prisoners and guns were taken by our allies.

Effect of the Weather

(43) The weather had been threatening throughout the day, and had rendered the work of our airplanes very difficult from the commencement of the battle. During the

afternoon, while fighting was still in progress, rain began, and fell steadily all night. Thereafter, for four days, the rain continued without cessation, and for several days afterward the weather remained stormy and unsettled. The low-lying, clayey soil, torn by shells and sodden with rain, turned to a succession of vast muddy pools. The valleys of the choked and overflowing streams were speedily transformed into long stretches of bog, impassable except by a few well-defined tracks, which became marks for the enemy's artillery. To leave these tracks was to risk death by drowning, and in the course of the subsequent fighting on several occasions both men and pack animals were lost in this way. In these conditions operations of any magnitude became impossible, and the resumption of our offensive was necessarily postponed until a period of fine weather should allow the ground to recover.

As had been the case in the Arras battle, this unavoidable delay in the development of our offensive was of the greatest service to the enemy. Valuable time was lost, the troops opposed to us were able to recover from the disorganization produced by our first attack, and the enemy was given the opportunity to bring up reinforcements.

St. Julien and Westhoek

(44) On the night of the 31st of July and on the two following days the enemy delivered further counterattacks against our new line, and in particular made determined efforts to dislodge us from the high ground between the Menin road and the Ypres-Roulers railway, and to recover his second-line system between Frezenberg and St. Julien. In this he completely failed. The violence of his artillery fire compelled us, however, to withdraw temporarily from St. Julien, though we retained a bridgehead across the Steenbeek, just north of the village.

In spite of these counterattacks and the great but unavoidable hardships from which our troops were suffering, steady progress was made with the consolidation of the captured ground, and every opportunity was taken to improve the line already gained.

On the 3d of August St. Julien was reoccupied without serious opposition, and our line linked up with the position we had retained on the right bank of the Steenbeek further north. A week later a successful minor operation carried out by English troops gave us complete possession of Westhoek. Seven hostile counterattacks within the following four days broke down before our defense.

During this period certain centres of resistance in the neighborhood of Kortekeer Cabaret were cleared up by our allies, and a number of fortified farmhouses, lying across the front of the French position, were reduced in turn.

Lens Operations Resumed

(45) Toward the middle of August a slight improvement took place in the weather, and

advantage was taken of this to launch our second attack east of Ypres. Thereafter unsettled weather again set in, and the month closed as the wettest August that has been known for many years.

On the day preceding this attack at Ypres a highly successful operation was carried out in the neighborhood of Lens, whereby the situation of our forces in that sector was greatly improved. At the same time the threat to Lens itself was rendered more immediate and more insistent, and the enemy was prevented from concentrating the whole of his attention and resources upon the front of our main offensive.

At 4:25 A. M. on Aug. 15 the Canadian corps attacked on a front of 4,000 yards southeast and east of Loos. The objectives consisted of the strongly fortified hill known as Hill 70, which had been reached, but not held, in the battle of Loos on Sept. 25, 1915, and also the mining suburbs of Cité Ste. Elizabeth, Cité St. Emile, and Cité St. Laurent, together with the whole of Bois Rase and the western half of Bois Hugo. The observation from Hill 70 had been very useful to the enemy, and in our possession materially increased our command over the defenses of Lens.

Practically the whole of these objectives was gained rapidly at light cost and in exact accordance with plan. Only at the furthest apex of our advance a short length of German trench west of Cité St. Auguste resisted our first assault. This position was again attacked on the afternoon of the following day and captured after a fierce struggle lasting far into the night.

A number of local counterattacks on the morning of Aug. 15 were repulsed, and in the evening a powerful attack delivered across the open by a German reserve division was broken up with heavy loss. In addition to the enemy's other casualties, 1,120 prisoners from three German divisions were captured by us.

The Ypres Battle—Langemarck

(46) Close upon the heels of this success, at 4:45 A. M. on Aug. 16 our second attack was launched east and north of Ypres on a front extending from the northwest corner of Inverness Copse to our junction with the French south of St. Janshoek. On our left the French undertook the task of clearing up the remainder of the Bixschoote peninsula.

On the left of the British attack the English brigades detailed for the assault captured the hamlet of Wijndendrift and reached the southern outskirts of Langemarck. Here some resistance was encountered, but by 8 A. M. the village had been taken, after sharp fighting. Our troops then proceeded to attack the portion of the Langemarck-Gheluvelt line which formed their final objective, and an hour later had gained this also, with the exception of a short length of trench northeast of Langemarck. Two small counterattacks were repulsed without difficulty.

The attack of the 1st French Army delivered at the same hour was equally successful. On the right a few fortified farms in the neighborhood of the Steenbeek again gave trouble, and held out for a time. Elsewhere our allies gained their objectives rapidly, and once more at exceptionally light cost. The bridgehead of Die Grachten was secured, and the whole of the peninsula cleared of the enemy.

In the centre of the British attack the enemy's resistance was more obstinate. The difficulty of making deep-mined dugouts in soil where water lay within a few feet of the surface of the ground had compelled the enemy to construct in the ruins of farms and in other suitable localities a number of strong points or "pillboxes" built of reinforced concrete often many feet thick.

These field forts, distributed in depth all along the front of our advance, offered a serious obstacle to progress. They were heavily armed with machine guns and manned by men determined to hold on at all costs. Many were reduced as our troops advanced, but others held out throughout the day, and delayed the arrival of our supports. In addition, weather conditions made airplane observation practically impossible, with the result that no warning was received of the enemy's counterattacks, and our infantry obtained little artillery help against them. When, therefore, later in the morning a heavy counterattack developed in the neighborhood of the Wieltje-Passchendaele road, our troops, who had reached their final objectives at many points in this area also, were gradually compelled to fall back.

On the left centre West Lancashire territorials and troops from other English counties established themselves on a line running north from St. Julien to the old German third line due east of Langemarck. This line they maintained against the enemy's attacks, and thereby secured the flank of our gains further north.

On the right of the British attack the enemy again developed the main strength of his resistance. At the end of a day of very heavy fighting, except for small gains of ground on the western edge of Glencorse Wood and north of Westhoek, the situation south of St. Julien remained unchanged.

In spite of this partial check on the southern portion of our attack, the day closed as a decided success for the Allies. A wide gap had been made in the old German third-line system, and over 2,100 prisoners and some thirty guns had been captured.

Effect of Hostile Resistance

(47) The strength of the resistance developed by the enemy at this stage in the neighborhood of the Menin road decided me to extend the flank of the next attack southward. It was undesirable, however, either to increase the already wide front of attack for which the 5th Army was responsible or to divide between two armies the control of

the attack against the main ridge itself. I therefore determined to extend the left of the 2d Army northward, intrusting the attack upon the whole of the high ground crossed by the Menin road to General Sir Hubert Plumer as a single self-contained operation, to be carried out in conjunction with the attacks of the 5th Army further north.

During the wet weather which prevailed throughout the remainder of the month, our efforts were confined to a number of small operations east and northeast of Ypres, designed to reduce certain of the more important of the enemy's strong points. In the meantime the necessary rearrangements of the British forces were pushed on as rapidly as possible so that our new attack might be ready directly the weather should improve sufficiently to enable it to be undertaken.

These arrangements included a modification of our artillery tactics, to meet the situation created by the change in the enemy's methods of defense.

Our recent successes had conclusively proved that the enemy's infantry were unable to hold the strongest defenses against a properly mounted attack, and that increasing the number of his troops in his forward defense system merely added to his losses. Accordingly, the enemy had adopted a system of elastic defense, in which his forward trench lines were held only in sufficient strength to disorganize the attack, while the bulk of his forces were kept in close reserve, ready to deliver a powerful and immediate blow which might recover the positions overrun by our troops before we had time to consolidate them.

In the heavy fighting east of Ypres these tactics had undoubtedly met with a certain measure of success. While unable to drive

us back from the ridge, they had succeeded in combination with the state of the ground and weather in checking our progress. This new policy, for our early knowledge of which, as well as for other valuable information concerning the enemy's dispositions and intentions throughout the battle, much credit is due to the zeal and efficiency of my Intelligence Service, necessarily entailed corresponding changes in our method of attack.

Minor Operations.

(48) In the interval, on Aug. 19, 22, and 27, positions of considerable local importance in the neighborhood of St. Julien were captured with some hundreds of prisoners as the result of minor attacks conducted under the most unfavorable conditions of ground and weather. The ground gained represented an advance of about 800 yards on a front of over two miles. In combination with the attack of Aug. 22 English troops also attacked astride the Menin road, and after six days of continuous local fighting established themselves in the western edge of Inverness Copse.

Meanwhile, in pursuance of my policy of compelling the enemy to guard himself on other fronts, successful minor operations had been undertaken elsewhere. On the Lens front Canadian troops attacked on the 21st of August and carried the line of German trenches skirting the town to the southwest and west, taking 200 prisoners. Further south north country troops attacked on the 26th of August east of Hargicourt and captured the enemy's advanced positions on a front of a mile. In this operation 136 prisoners were taken, and on the 9th and 11th of September our gains were extended and further prisoners secured.

The Ypres Battle—Preparations for the Third Attack

(49) At the beginning of September the weather gradually improved, and artillery and other preparations for my next attack proceeded steadily. Both the extent of the preparations required, however, and the need to give the ground time to recover from the heavy rains of August rendered a considerable interval unavoidable before a new advance could be undertaken. The 20th of September was therefore chosen for the date of our attack, and before that day our preparations had been completed.

The front selected extended from the Ypres-Comines Canal north of Hollebeke to the Ypres-Staden railway north of Langemarck, a distance of just over eight miles along the line then held by us. The average depth of our objectives was 1,000 yards, which increased to a depth of a mile in the neighborhood of the Menin road. Australian, English, Scottish, and South African troops were employed in the attack, and gained a success

conspicuous for precision and thoroughness of execution.

The Menin Road Ridge

(50) During the night of the 19th-20th of September rain again fell steadily, and when dawn broke thick mist made observation impossible. Despite this disadvantage, the assembling of our troops was carried out in good order, and at 5:40 A. M. on the 20th of September the assault was launched.

Good progress was made from the start, and, as the morning wore on, the mist cleared. Our airplanes were able to establish contact with our infantry, to assist them by engaging parties of the enemy with machine-gun fire, and to report hostile concentrations and counterattacks to our artillery.

On our right, Welsh and west country troops advanced down the spur east of Klein Zillebeke, and, after sharp fighting in the small woods north of the Ypres-Comines Canal,

gained the whole of their objectives. English battalions pushed through the eastern portions of Shrewsbury Forest and reached their objectives in the valley of the Bassevillebeek. Regiments from the southeast counties of England had some trouble from snipers and machine guns early in their advance, but ultimately fought their way forward across the upper valley of the Bassevillebeek and up the slopes of Tower Hamlets. Here strong opposition was encountered, with heavy machine-gun fire from Tower Hamlets and the Veldhoek Ridge.

In the meantime, however, north country troops had already carried Inverness Copse, and, after beating off a counterattack in the neighborhood of Dumbarton Lakes, captured Veldhoek and the line of their final objectives, some 500 yards further east. Their progress assisted the southeast county battalions on their right to establish themselves across the Tower Hamlets Spur.

On the left of the north country division Australian troops carried the remainder of Glencorse Wood and Nonne Boschen. Before 10 A. M. they had taken the hamlet of Polygonveld and the old German third line to the north of it. This advance constituted a fine performance, in which the capture of a difficult piece of ground that had much delayed us was successfully completed. Sharp fighting took place at a strong point known as Black Watch Corner, at the southwestern end of Polygon Wood. By midday this had been captured, the western portion of Polygon Wood had been cleared of the enemy, and the whole of our objectives on this part of our front had been gained.

On the 5th Army front our attack met with equal success. Scottish and South African troops, advancing on both sides of the Ypres-Roulers railway, stormed the line of fortified farms immediately in front of their position, and, pressing on, captured Zonnebeke and Bremen Redoubts and the hamlet of Zevenkote. By 8:45 A. M. our final objectives on this front had been gained.

West Lancashire territorial battalions found the ground southeast of St. Julien very wet and heavy after the night's rain. None the less, they made steady progress, reaching the line of their final objectives early in the afternoon. North of the Zonnebeke-Langemarch road London and Highland territorials gained the whole of their objectives by midday, though stiff fighting took place for a number of farms and strong places.

As the result of this most successful operation, the whole of the high ground crossed by the Menin road, for which such desperate fighting had taken place during our previous attacks, passed into our possession. Important positions were won, also, on the remainder of our front, by which the right of our attack was rendered more secure, and the way opened for the advance of our left. In the attack, as well as in the repeated counterattacks which followed, exceedingly heavy casualties were inflicted on the enemy,

and 3,243 prisoners, together with a number of guns, were captured by us.

Counterattacks

(51) The enemy did not abandon these important positions without further severe struggles. During the afternoon and evening of Sept. 20 no less than eleven counterattacks were made without success against different parts of our new front, in addition to several concentrations of hostile infantry, which were broken up by our artillery before any attack could be launched.

East of St. Julien the enemy at his third attempt succeeded in forcing back our troops to the west of Schuler Farm, but on the following day the farm was retaken by us and our line re-established. Northeast of Langemarch stubborn fighting took place for the possession of the short length of trench which, as already recounted, had resisted our attacks on Aug 16. It was not till the morning of Sept. 23 that the position was finally captured by us.

Pierce fighting took place also on Sept. 21 in the neighborhood of Tower Hamlets. In the course of this and the following four days three powerful attacks were launched by the enemy on wide fronts between Tower Hamlets and Polygon Wood, and a fourth northeast of St. Julien. All these attacks were repulsed, except that on Sept. 25 parties of German infantry succeeded in entering our lines north of the Menin road. Heavy and confused fighting took place in this area throughout the day, in which English, Scottish, and Australian troops gradually drove the enemy from the limited foothold he had gained.

The enemy's casualties in these many counterattacks, as well as in all those subsequently delivered by him on the Ypres front, were consistently very heavy. Our constant successful resistance reflects the greatest credit on the high fighting qualities of our infantry, on the courage and devotion of our airmen, and upon the excellence of our artillery arrangements.

Polygon Wood and Zonnebeke

(52) All this heavy fighting was not allowed to interfere with the arrangements made for a renewal of the advance by the 2d and 5th Armies on Sept. 26.

The front of our attack on that date extended from south of Tower Hamlets to northeast of St. Julien, a total distance of rather less than six miles; but on the portion of this front south of the Menin road only a short advance was intended. North of the Menin road our object was to reach a position from which a direct attack could be made upon the portion of the main ridge between Noodemdhoeck and Broodseinde, traversed by the Beecleare-Passchendaele road.

The assault was delivered at 5:50 A. M., and, after hard and prolonged fighting, in which over 1,600 prisoners were taken by us,

achieved a success as striking as that of Sept. 20.

Australian troops carried the remainder of Polygon Wood, together with the German trench line to the east of it, and established themselves on their objectives beyond the Becelaere-Zonnebeke road. On the left of the Australians, English troops took Zonnebeke village and church, and North Midland and London territorial battalions captured a long line of hostile strong points on both sides of the Wieltje-Gravenstafel road.

South of Polygon Wood an obstinate struggle took place for a group of fortified farms and strong points. English, Scottish, and Welsh battalions of the same divisions that had borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks in this area on the previous day gallantly fought their way forward. In their advance they effected the relief of two companies of Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, who, with great courage and resolution, had held out in our forward line all night, although isolated from the rest of our troops. It was not until the evening of the 27th of September, however, that the line of our objectives in this locality was completely gained.

Further Counterattacks

(53) As had been the case on the 20th of September, our advance was at once followed by a series of powerful counterattacks.

There is evidence that our operations had anticipated a counterstroke which the enemy was preparing for the evening of the 26th of September, and the German troops brought up for this purpose were now hurled in to recover the positions he had lost. In the course of the day at least seven attacks were delivered at points covering practically the whole front from Tower Hamlets to St. Julien. The fiercest fighting prevailed in the sector between the Reutelbeek and Polygon Wood, but here, as elsewhere, all the enemy's assaults were beaten off.

On the 30th of September, when the enemy had recovered from the disorganization caused by his defeat, he recommenced his attacks. Two attempts to advance with flammenwerfer north of the Menin road were followed on the 1st of October by five other attacks in this area, and on the same day a sixth attack was made south of the Ypres-Roulers railway. Except for the temporary loss of the two advanced posts southeast of Polygon Wood, all these attacks were repulsed with great loss. At dawn on the 3d of October another attempt in the neighborhood of the Menin road broke down before our positions.

Further Advance on the Main Ridge

(54) The spell of fine weather was broken on the evening of Oct. 3 by a heavy gale and rain from the southwest. These conditions serve to emphasize the credit due to the troops for the completeness of the success gained by them on the following day.

At 6 A. M. on Oct. 4 our advance was renewed, in accordance with plan, against the

main line of the ridge east of Zonnebeke. The front of our principal attack extended from the Menin road to the Ypres-Staden railway, a distance of about seven miles. South of the Menin road a short advance was undertaken on a front of about a mile, with the object of capturing certain strong points required to strengthen our position in this sector.

The attack was carried out by Australian, New Zealand, and English divisions, including among the latter a few Scottish, Irish, and Welsh battalions, and was successful at all points.

On the right of the main attack troops from Kent, Devon, and Cornwall, and a battalion of the King's Own Scottish Borderers carried their objectives after heavy fighting in the neighborhood of Polderhoek Château. Battalions from Yorkshire, Northumberland, Surrey, and Lincolnshire cleared the small inclosures east of Polygon Wood and seized the village of Reutel, meeting with strong opposition. On their left, Surrey, Staffordshire, Devon, Border, and Highland troops, advancing across the crest of the ridge, captured the hamlet of Noordemdhoek.

Further north, Australian troops advanced beyond the Becelaere-Passchendaele road, storming Molenaarselshoed and Broodseinde, and established themselves well to the east of the crest line. New Zealand troops carried Gravenstafel, and drove the enemy from a network of trenches and strong points on the Gravenstafel Spur.

On the whole of this front the enemy was met in great strength. In addition to the two German divisions already in line, the enemy had brought up three fresh divisions, with a view to launching an attack in force upon the positions captured by us on the 26th of September. Our advance anticipated this attack by ten minutes, and the German infantry were forming up for the assault when our artillery barrage opened. Very serious casualties were inflicted on the enemy by our artillery, and our infantry, advancing with the bayonet, quickly overcame the resistance of those of his troops who had escaped our shellfire. Great numbers of prisoners were taken.

On the left of our attack South Midland troops forced their way across the valley of the Stroombeek, in spite of difficulties due to the rain of the previous night, and gained their objectives according to program, with the exception of a single strong point at the limit of their advance. Other English divisions, advancing on both sides of the Poelcappelle road, stormed the western half of that village, including the church, and captured the whole of their objectives for the day. Tanks took part in the attack on Poelcappelle and contributed to the success of our troops.

On the extreme left considerable opposition was met with, and determined fighting took place for the possession of the rising ground known as Nineteen-Meter Hill. Early in the afternoon a hostile counterattack forced us

back from a portion of this position, but later in the day our troops returned to the attack and recovered the lost ground.

Meanwhile, south of the Menin road, English troops had gained the whole of their limited objectives with the exception of two strong points. Soon after midday our final objectives had been gained, and large numbers of prisoners had already been brought in. The final total of German prisoners captured in these operations exceeded 5,000, including 138 officers. A few guns and many machine guns and trench mortars were also taken by us.

The destruction of the divisions which the enemy had assembled for his intended attack made immediate serious counterattacks impossible for him on a great part of our front. Between the Menin road and the neighborhood of Reutel, however, no less than seven counterattacks were beaten off in turn. Exceedingly heavy fighting took place in this area, and later in the day an eighth attack succeeded in dislodging us from Polderhoek Château and from the eastern portions of Reutel. Another determined counterattack delivered in three waves early in the afternoon north of the Ypres-Roulers railway was broken up by our artillery, rifle, and machine-gun fire. Hostile concentrations east of Zonnebeke and west of Passchendaele were dispersed by our artillery.

Results of This Attack

(55) The success of this operation marked a definite step in the development of our advance. Our line had now been established along the main ridge for 9,000 yards from our starting point near Mount Sorrel. From the furthest point reached the well-marked Gravenstafel Spur offered a defensible feature along which our line could be bent back from the ridge.

The year was far spent. The weather had been consistently unpropitious, and the state of the ground, in consequence of rain and shelling combined, made movement inconceivably difficult. The resultant delays had given the enemy time to bring up reinforcements and to organize his defense after each defeat. Even so, it was still the difficulty of movement far more than hostile resistance which continued to limit our progress, and now made it doubtful whether the capture of the remainder of the ridge before Winter finally set in was possible.

On the other hand, there was no reason to anticipate an abnormally wet October. The enemy had suffered severely, as was evidenced by the number of prisoners in our hands, by the number of his dead on the battlefield, by the costly failure of his repeated counterattacks, and by the symptoms of confusion and discouragement in his ranks.

In this connection, documents captured in the course of the battle of the 4th of October throw an interesting light upon the success of the measures taken by us to meet the enemy's new system of defense by counter-

attack. These documents show that the German Higher Command had already recognized the failure of their methods, and were endeavoring to revert to something approximating to their old practice of holding their forward positions in strength.

After weighing these considerations, as well as the general situation and various other factors affecting the problem, among them the desirability of assisting our allies in the operations to be carried out by them on Oct. 23 in the neighborhood of Malmaison, I decided to continue the offensive further and to renew the advance at the earliest possible moment consistent with adequate preparation.

Accordingly, I determined to deliver the next combined French and British attack on Oct. 9.

Houthulst Forest Reached

(56) Unfortunately, bad weather still persisted in the early part of October, and on Oct. 7 heavy rain fell all day. The unfavorable conditions interfered with our artillery preparations; but every effort was made to engage the enemy's batteries in their new positions, and on the date last mentioned our artillery co-operated effectively in the repulse of two hostile attacks.

On Oct. 8 rain continued, and the slippery state of the ground, combined with an exceptionally dark night, made the assembling of our troops a matter of considerable difficulty. No interference, however, was encountered from the enemy's artillery, and at 5:20 A. M. on Oct. 9 our attack was renewed on a front of over six miles, from a point east of Zonnebeke to our junction with the French northwest of Langemark. On our left our allies prolonged the front of attack to a point opposite Draalbanc. At the same time minor operations were undertaken on the right of our main attack, east and southeast of Polygon Wood.

The greatest depth of our advance was on the left, where the allied troops penetrated the German positions to a distance of nearly one and a half miles. French troops and British Guards crossed the flooded valley of the Broenbeek, and, making steady progress toward their objectives, captured the hamlets of Koekuit, Veldhoek, Mangelare, and St. Janshoek, besides woods and a great number of farmhouses and strong points. Early in the afternoon both French and British troops had established themselves on their final objectives on the outskirts of Houthulst Forest.

On the right of the Guards, other English divisions made equal progress along the Ypres-Staden railway, and secured a line well to the east of the Poelcappelle-Houthulst road. Still fighting took place around certain strong points, in the course of which a hostile counterattack was repulsed.

Further south English battalions fought their way forward in the face of great opposition to the eastern outskirts of Poelcappelle village. Australian troops and East Lancashire, Yorkshire, and South Midland ter-

ritorials carried our line forward in the direction of Passchendaele and up the western slopes of the main ridge, capturing Nieuwemolen and Keerselaarhoek and a number of strong points and fortified farms.

In the subsidiary attack east of Polygon Wood Warwickshire and H. A. C. battalions successfully regained the remainder of Reutel.

Over 2,100 prisoners were taken by the Allies in the course of these operations, together with a few guns.

Progress Continued

(57) Though the condition of the ground continued to deteriorate, the weather after this was unsettled rather than persistently wet, and progress had not yet become impossible. I accordingly decided to press on while circumstances still permitted, and arrangements were made for a renewal of the attack on the 12th of October. On the night of the 11th-12th of October, however, heavy rain commenced again, and after a brief interval during the morning continued steadily throughout the whole of the following day.

Our attack, launched at 5:25 A. M. on the 12th of October between the Ypres-Roulers railway and Houthulst Forest, made progress along the spurs and higher ground; but the valleys of the streams which run westward from the main ridge were found to be impassable. It was therefore determined not to persist in the attack, and the advance toward our more distant objectives was canceled.

Certain strong points and fortified farms on the western slopes of the ridge were captured on this day, and were incorporated in our line. Further north, on both sides of the Ypres-Staden railway, English county divisions and the Guards gained their objectives in spite of all difficulties. Though for many hours the position of our advanced troops on this part of our front was uncertain, communication was at length established and the captured ground maintained.

Over 1,000 prisoners were taken by us in this attack, in which the troops employed displayed remarkable gallantry, steadfastness and endurance in circumstances of extreme hardship.

Plan of Subsequent Operations

(58) By this time the persistent continuation of wet weather had left no further room for hope that the condition of the ground would improve sufficiently to enable us to capture the remainder of the ridge this year. By limited attacks made during intervals of better weather, however, it would still be possible to progress as far as Passchendaele, and in view of other projects which I had in view it was desirable to maintain pressure on the Flanders front for a few weeks longer.

To maintain his defense on this front the enemy had been obliged to reduce the garrison of certain other parts of his line to a degree which justified the expectation that a sudden attack at a point where he did not

expect it might attain a considerable local success. The front for such an attempt had been selected and plans had already been quietly made. But certain preparations and movements of troops required time to complete, and the 20th of November had been fixed as the earliest date for the attack.

No large force could be made available for the enterprise. The prospects of success therefore depended on complete secrecy and on maintaining sufficient activity in Flanders to induce the enemy to continue his concentration of troops in that theatre.

As has been indicated above, our allies also had certain limited operations in view which would be likely to benefit by the maintenance of pressure on my front, and, reciprocally, would add to the prospects of success of my intended surprise attack. Accordingly, while preparing for the latter, operations of limited scope were continued in Flanders.

The Merckem Peninsula

(59) After the middle of October the weather improved, and on Oct. 22 two successful operations, in which we captured over 200 prisoners and gained positions of considerable local importance east of Poelcappelle and within the southern edge of Houthulst Forest, were undertaken by us, in the one case by east county and North-umberland troops, and in the other by west county and Scots battalions in co-operation with the French.

The following two days were unsettled, but on Oct. 25 a strong west wind somewhat dried the surface of the ground. It was therefore decided to proceed with the allied operations which had been planned for Oct. 26.

At an early hour on that morning rain unfortunately began again and fell heavily all day. The assembling of our troops was completed successfully none the less, and at 5:45 A. M. English and Canadian troops attacked on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers railway to beyond Poelcappelle.

The Canadians attacked on the right on both sides of the small stream known as the Ravebeek, which flows southwestward from Passchendaele. On the left bank of the stream they advanced astride the main ridge and established themselves securely on the small hill south of Passchendaele. North of the Ravebeek strong resistance was met on the Bellevue Spur, a very strong point which had resisted our efforts in previous attacks. With splendid determination the Canadians renewed their attack on this point in the afternoon, and captured it. Two strong counterattacks south and west of Passchendaele were beaten off, and by nightfall the Canadians had gained practically the whole of their objectives.

On the left of the Canadians the Royal Naval Division and battalions of London territorials also advanced, and, in spite of im-

mense difficulties from marsh and floods in the more low-lying ground, made progress.

In a subsidiary attack undertaken by us at the same hour English troops entered Gheluveld and recaptured Polderhoek Château, with a number of prisoners. Our men's rifles, however, had become choked with mud in their advance, and when later in the morning strong German counterattacks developed they were obliged to withdraw.

The operations of our allies on this day were limited to establishing bridgeheads across the floods of the St. Jansbeek. This was successfully accomplished, in spite of considerable opposition. Next day the French continued their advance in concert with Belgian troops, who crossed the Yser opposite Knokehoek, and captured Aschhoop, Kippe, and Merckem. The southern end of Blankaart Lake was reached on the same day, and early on the 28th of October French and Belgian troops completed the capture of the whole Merckem Peninsula.

Over 400 prisoners were taken by our allies in these operations, bringing the total allied captures since the commencement of our attacks on the 26th of October to over 1,200.

Passchendaele

(60) At this date the need for the policy of activity outlined above had been still further emphasized by recent developments in Italy. Additional importance was given to it by the increasing probability that a time was approaching when the enemy's power of drawing reinforcements from Russia would increase considerably. In pursuance of this policy, therefore, two short advances were made on the 30th of October and the 6th of November, by which we gained possession of Passchendaele.

In the first operation Canadian and English troops attacked at 5:50 A. M. on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers railway to the Poelcappelle-Westroosebeke road.

On the right the Canadians continued their advance along the high ground and reached the outskirts of Passchendaele, capturing an important position at Crest Farm on a small hill southwest of the village. Fighting was severe at all points, but particularly on the spur west of Passchendaele. Here no less than five strong counterattacks were beaten off in the course of the day, our troops being greatly assisted by the fire of captured German machine guns in Crest Farm.

Further north, battalions of the same London and naval divisions that had taken part in the attack on the 26th of October again made progress wherever it was possible to find a way across the swamps. The almost impassable nature of the ground in this area, however, made movement practically impossible, and it was only on the main ridge that much could be effected.

During the succeeding days small advances were made by night southwest of Passchendaele, and a hostile attack on both sides of the Ypres-Roulers railway was successfully repulsed.

At 6 A. M. on the 6th of November Canadian troops renewed their attack and captured the village of Passchendaele, together with the high ground immediately to the north and northwest. Sharp fighting took place for the possession of "pillboxes" in the northern end of the village, around Mosselmarkt, and on the Goudberg Spur. All objectives were gained at an early hour, and at 8:50 A. M. a hostile counterattack north of Passchendaele was beaten off.

Over 400 prisoners were captured in this most successful attack, by which for the second time within the year Canadian troops achieved a record of uninterrupted success. Four days later, in extremely unfavorable weather, British and Canadian troops attacked northward from Passchendaele and Goudberg, and captured further ground on the main ridge after heavy fighting.

General Review of the Summer's Fighting

(61) These operations concluded our Flanders offensive for the time being, although considerable activity was still continued for another fortnight, for purposes already explained.

This offensive, maintained for three and a half months under the most adverse conditions of weather, had entailed almost superhuman exertions on the part of the troops of all arms and services. The enemy had done his utmost to hold his ground, and in his endeavors to do so had used up no less than seventy-eight divisions, of which eighteen had been engaged a second or third time in the battle, after being withdrawn to rest and refit. Despite the magnitude of his efforts, it was the immense natural difficulties, accentuated manifold by the abnormally wet weather, rather than the enemy's resistance,

which limited our progress and prevented the complete capture of the ridge.

What was actually accomplished under such adverse conditions is the most conclusive proof that, given a normally fine August, the capture of the whole ridge, within the space of a few weeks, was well within the power of the men who achieved so much. They advanced every time with absolute confidence in their power to overcome the enemy, even though they had sometimes to struggle through mud up to their waists to reach him. So long as they could reach him they did overcome him, but physical exhaustion placed narrow limits on the depth to which each advance could be pushed, and compelled long pauses between the advances. The full fruits of each success were consequently not always obtained. Time

after time the practically beaten enemy was enabled to reorganize and relieve his men and to bring up reinforcements behind the sea of mud which constituted his main protection.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties, much has been achieved. Our captures in Flanders since the commencement of operations at the end of July amount to 24,065 prisoners, 74 guns, 941 machine guns, and 138 trench mortars. It is certain that the enemy's losses considerably exceeded ours. Most important of all, our new and hastily trained armies have shown once again that they are capable of meeting and beating the enemy's best troops, even under conditions which favored his defense to a degree which it required the greatest endurance, determination, and heroism to overcome.

In this respect I desire once more to lay emphasis upon the supreme importance of adequate training prior to placing troops in the line of battle, whether for offense or defense. It is essential, if preventable sacrifice is to be avoided and success assured, that troops that are going into battle should first be given an opportunity for special training, under the officers who are to command them in the fight, for the task which they are to be called upon to perform.

Owing to the necessity, already referred to, of taking over line from the French, our offensive at the beginning of the year was commenced under a very definite handicap in this respect. This initial disadvantage was subsequently increased by the difficulty of obtaining adequate drafts a sufficient length of time before divisions were called upon to take their place in the battle, to enable the drafts to be assimilated into divisions, and divisions to be trained.

The general conditions of the struggle this year have been very different from those contemplated at the conference of the allied commanders held in November, 1916. The great general and simultaneous offensive then agreed on did not materialize. Russia, though some of her leaders made a fine effort at one period, not only failed to give the help expected of her, but even failed to prevent the enemy from transferring some forty fresh divisions from her front in exchange for tired ones used up in the western theatre, or from replacing losses in his divisions on this side by drafts of fresh and well-trained men drawn from divisions in the east.

The combined French and British offensive in the Spring was launched before Italy could be ready; and the splendid effort made by Italy at a later period was, unfortunately, followed by developments which resulted in a weakening of the allied forces in this theatre before the conclusion of our offensive.

In these circumstances the task of the British and French Armies has been a far heavier one throughout the year than was originally anticipated, and the enemy's means

of meeting our attack have been far greater than either he or we could have expected.

That under such conditions the victories of Arras, Vimy, Messines, and Flanders were won by us, and those at Moronvillers, Verdun, and Malmaison by the French, constitutes a record of which the allied armies, working in close touch throughout, have a right to be proud.

The British armies have taken their full share in the fighting on the western front. Save for such short intervals as were enforced by the weather or rendered necessary for the completion of the preparations for our principal attacks, they have maintained a vigorous and continuous offensive throughout practically the whole of the period covered by this dispatch. No other example of offensive action on so large a scale, so long and so successfully sustained, has yet been furnished by the war.

In the operations of Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres as many as 131 German divisions have been engaged and defeated by less than half that number of British divisions.

The number of prisoners and guns captured by us is an indication of the progress we have made. The total number of prisoners taken between the opening of our Spring offensive on the 9th of April, 1917, and the conclusion of the Flanders offensive, exclusive of prisoners captured in the Cambrai battle, is 57,693, including 1,290 officers. During the same period and in the same offensives we have also captured 393 guns, including 109 heavy guns, 561 trench mortars, and 1,976 machine guns.

Without reckoning, therefore, the possibilities which have been opened up by our territorial gains in Flanders, and without considering the effect which a less vigorous prosecution of the war by us might have had in other theatres, we have every reason to be satisfied with the results which have been achieved by the past year's fighting. The addition of strength which the enemy has obtained, or may yet obtain, from events in Russia and Italy has already largely been discounted, and the ultimate destruction of the enemy's field forces has been brought appreciably nearer.

The Defensive Fronts

(62) Before passing from the subject of the operations of the past eight months, tribute must be paid to the work accomplished on the defensive portions of our line.

In order to meet the urgent demands of battle, the number of divisions in line on other fronts has necessarily been reduced to the minimum consistent with safety. In consequence, constant vigilance and heavy and unremitting labor have been required at all times of the troops holding these fronts.

The numerous feint attacks which have been organized from time to time have called for great care, forethought, and ingenuity on the part of commanders and staffs concerned, and have demanded much courageous, skillful,

and arduous work from the troops intrusted with the task of carrying them out. In addition, raids and local operations have continued to form a prominent feature of our general policy on our defensive front, and have been effectively combined with our feint attacks and with gas discharges. In

the course of the 270 successful raids carried out by us during the period covered by this dispatch, the greatest enterprise and skill have been displayed by our troops, and many hundreds of prisoners, together with much invaluable information, have been obtained at comparatively light cost.

Deeds of Various Branches of the Service

(63) In my dispatch dealing with the Somme battle I endeavored to express something of the profound admiration inspired in me by the indomitable courage, tireless energy, and cheerful endurance of the men by whose efforts the British armies in France were brought triumphantly through that mighty ordeal. Today the armies of the empire can look back with yet greater pride upon still severer tests successfully withstood and an even higher record of accomplishment.

No one acquainted with the facts can review the general course of the campaigns of 1916 and 1917 without acquiring the sense of a steady progression, in which the fighting superiority of the British soldier has been asserted with ever-increasing insistence. This feeling permeates the troops themselves, and is the greatest guarantee of victory.

Infantry

Throughout the northern operations our troops have been fighting over ground every foot of which is sacred to the memory of those who, in the first and second battles of Ypres, fought and died to make possible the victories of the armies which today are rolling back the tide stayed by their sacrifice. It is no disparagement of the gallant deeds performed on other fronts to say that, in the stubborn struggle for the line of hills which stretches from Wytschaete to Passchendaele, the great armies that today are shouldering the burden of our empire have shown themselves worthy of the regiments which, in October and November of 1914, made Ypres take rank forever among the most glorious of British battles.

Throughout the months of strenuous fighting which have wiped the old Ypres salient from the battle map of Flanders the finest qualities of our infantry have been displayed. The great material disadvantages of the position from which they had to attack, the strength of the enemy's fortifications, and the extraordinary hardships imposed by the conditions of ground and weather during August and throughout the later stages of the attack, called for the exercise of courage, determination, and endurance to a degree which has never been surpassed in war.

Artillery

The courage of our infantry would have been in vain but for the skill, steadfastness, and devotion of the artillery. Their task in the Ypres battle was again a peculiarly

hard one. The long preparatory bombardments had to be conducted from a narrow and confined space, for the most part destitute alike of cover and protection and directly overlooked by the enemy.

As our infantry advanced, our guns had to follow, at the cost of almost incredible exertion, over ground torn by shellfire and sodden with rain. When at length the new positions had been reached, our batteries had to remain in action, practically without protection of any kind, day after day, week after week, and even month after month, under a continuous bombardment of gas and high explosive shell.

It would be easy to multiply instances of individual heroism, to quote cases where, when the signal from our infantry for urgent artillery support and the warning of German gas have been given at the same moment, our gunners have thrown aside their half-adjusted gas masks and, with full knowledge of the consequences, have fought their guns in response to the call of the infantry till the enemy's attack has been beaten off.

A single incident which occurred during the preparation for the attack of the 31st of July may be taken as a general example. A howitzer battery had received orders to cut a section of German wire in the neighborhood of Hooge, and 400 rounds had been allocated for the purpose. The battery, situated in an unavoidably exposed position in the neighborhood of Zillebeke Lake, had already been subjected to constant shelling. On the occasion referred to not more than 50 rounds had been fired at the German wire, when a hostile 15-centimeter battery opened a steady and accurate fire in enfilade. Each time the British battery opened, salvos of 15-centimeter shells raked its position. Four of its six guns were put out of action, and two ammunition dumps were blown up, but the remaining two guns continued in action until the last of the 400 rounds had been fired. A few days later, when our infantry advanced over the sector this battery had shelled, the enemy's wire was found to have been completely cut.

The debt owed to the artillery throughout the whole of this year's fighting, and particularly in the Ypres battle, is very great. Despite the extraordinary strain to which the gunners have been subjected, yet, wherever conditions of weather and light have made accurate shooting possible, they have never failed to dominate the German batteries. As the result of their close and loyal co-

operation through long periods of continuous fighting, hostile artillery has never succeeded in stopping our attacks. Our infantry would be the first to acknowledge their admirable devotion and self-sacrifice.

Royal Flying Corps

During the past year the part played by the Royal Flying Corps in modern battles has grown more and more important. Each successive attack has served to demonstrate with increasing clearness the paramount necessity for the closest co-operation between air and land arms. All must work together on a general plan toward our end—the defeat of the enemy's forces.

In accordance with this governing consideration, co-operation with artillery, photography, and reconnoissance have been greatly developed and actively continued. Air fighting has taken place on an ever-increasing scale in order to enable the machines engaged upon these tasks to carry out their work. In addition, a definite aerial offensive, in which long-distance raiding has taken a prominent place, has become a recognized part of the preparations for infantry attack.

Throughout the progress of the battle itself low-flying airplanes not only maintain contact with our advancing infantry, reporting their position and signaling the earliest indications of hostile counterattack, but themselves join directly in the attack by engaging the enemy's infantry in line and in support with machine-gun fire and bombs, by assisting our artillery to dispense hostile concentrations and by spreading confusion among the enemy's transport, reinforcements, and batteries.

In answer to the concentrations of hostile machines on our front and the strenuous efforts made by the enemy to reassert himself in the air, the bombing of German aerodromes has been intensified, and has been carried out at great distances behind the enemy's lines. In more than one instance the enemy has been compelled to abandon particular aerodromes altogether as the result of our constant raids.

Besides his aerodromes, the enemy's railway stations and communications, his dumps and billets, have also been attacked with

increasing frequency and with most successful results.

The persistent raiding by hostile airplanes and airships of English cities and towns, and the enemy's open disregard of the losses thereby caused to civilian life and property, have recently decided our own Government to adopt countermeasures. In consequence of this decision, a series of bombing raids into Germany were commenced in October, 1917, and have since been continued whenever weather conditions have permitted.

In the discharge of duties, constantly increasing in number and importance, the Royal Flying Corps throughout the whole of the past year has shown the same magnificent offensive spirit which characterized its work during the Somme battle, combined with unsurpassed technical knowledge and practical skill.

The enemy, however, shows no sign of relaxing his endeavors in this department of war. While acknowledging, therefore, most fully the great effort that has been made to meet the ever-increasing demands of this most important service, I feel it my duty to point out once more that the position which has been won by the skill, courage, and devotion of our pilots can only be maintained by a liberal supply of the most efficient machines.

Before passing from the artillery and air services I wish to refer to the increasingly efficient work of the anti-aircraft and searchlight sections in France. The growing activity of the enemy's bombing squadrons has thrown a corresponding strain on these units. They have responded to the call with considerable success, and the frequency with which hostile aircraft are brought down by our ground defenses shows a satisfactory tendency to increase.

Cavalry

During the first days of the battle of Arras the depth of our advance enabled a limited use to be made of bodies of mounted troops. The cavalry showed much promptness and resource in utilizing such opportunities as were offered them, and at Monchy-le-Preux, in particular, performed most valuable service in support of and in co-operation with the infantry.

Tanks and Other Special Services

The gradual development of modern warfare during the past year has shown a very definite tendency to emphasize the importance of the various special services, while at the same time bringing their employment into closer co-ordination with the work of the principal arms.

Although throughout the major portion of the Ypres battle, and especially in its latter stages, the condition of the ground made the use of tanks difficult or impossible, yet

whenever circumstances were in any way favorable, and even when they were not, very gallant and valuable work has been accomplished by tank commanders and crews on a great number of occasions. Long before the conclusion of the Flanders offensive these new instruments had proved their worth and amply justified the labor, material, and personnel diverted to their construction and development.

In the course of the various operations in

which tanks have taken part—at Arras, Messines, and Ypres—officers and men have given frequent examples of high and self-sacrificing courage, as well as strong esprit de corps.

Trench mortars have continued to play an important part in supplementing the work of our artillery in trench warfare, and have also been used most effectively in the preliminary stages of our offensives. The personnel concerned have shown great skill and enterprise in obtaining the best results from the various types of mortars.

Machine-Gun Corps

During the past year the use of the machine gun in offensive warfare has been considerably extended. The machine-gun barrage has taken a definite place with the artillery barrage in covering the advance of our infantry, while the lighter forms of machine guns have proved of great assistance in the capture of hostile strong points. In these directions, as well as in the repulse of hostile counterattacks, great boldness and skill have been shown, and very valuable work has been done by all ranks of the machine-gun corps.

Royal Engineers

The prolonged period of active fighting and the vast amount of work involved by our different offensives have thrown a peculiarly heavy burden on the Royal Engineers, both preparatory to and during operations.

The field, signal, army troops, and tramway companies, together with pioneer and labor battalions, from home and overseas, have played an increasingly important part, not only in the preparation for our offensives, but also during the latter stages of the battles. The courage and enduring self-sacrifice displayed by all ranks, whether in the organization of captured positions or in the maintenance of forward communications under heavy shellfire, are deserving of the highest praise.

The tunneling companies have maintained their superiority over the enemy under ground, and the important tactical success achieved by the Messines mines is a sufficient testimony of their untiring efforts. They have taken a large share in the construction of dugouts and road-making during operations, and have worked with great courage and cheerfulness under conditions of much hardship and danger.

The successful manner in which the difficult problem of water supply during operations was overcome reflects great credit upon the Royal Engineers. My thanks are also due to the War Office staff concerned, and the manufacturers and their employes, for the special efforts made by them to meet the demands of the army in respect of the necessary machinery and plant.

The other engineer units, both in forward areas and on the lines of communication, have discharged their various special duties

with an equal skill and perseverance. The increased demand for accommodation, hospitals, and workshops on the lines of communication has been met with commendable promptitude, and the supply of engineer stores and materials, now required in vast quantities, has throughout been most efficiently maintained. A notable feature also is the progress which has been made in the devices for the concealment of troops and material.

Signal Services

The signal service, which at the end of the battle of the Somme had already grown into a great and intricate organization, has had even larger demands made upon it during the past year.

Apart from the perfecting and maintenance of rear communications, special provision has had to be made for carrying our communications forward as our troops have advanced. The measures adopted to this end have been skillfully devised and admirably carried out. In many cases, within a few hours of a successful operation large numbers of buried telephone circuits have been extended into the captured zone under very trying conditions; the provision of communications for artillery forward observation officers, &c., proceeding simultaneously with the organization of the new line. Thanks to the rapidity with which communications in the forward areas have been established, information of hostile concentrations has frequently been transmitted by their means from the front in time to enable the artillery to break up impending counterattacks.

The success which has attended the establishment of these forward communications has been largely due to the untiring energy and devotion to duty of the officers and men of the numerous small signal sections and detachments. On them has devolved, in circumstances of great difficulty and danger, the execution of the complicated schemes of communication necessitated by the present form of warfare.

The carrier pigeon service has also been greatly developed during the present year, and has proved extremely valuable for conveying information from attacking units to the headquarters of their formations.

Gas Services

Reference has been made earlier in this dispatch to the valuable services rendered by the special brigade, both on the defensive fronts and in the battle areas, where large quantities of gas were successfully discharged in preparation for our different offensives. These special troops have taken an active part also in our feint attacks and in the various measures taken to harass German divisions sent by the enemy to recuperate on the quieter portions of his front. Gas discharges have become matters of almost nightly occurrence, and have been carried out with success on all portions of the front from the

right of our line to the sea. In the period covered by this dispatch a total weight of nearly 2,000 tons of gas has been liberated in the course of 335 separate discharges.

Numerous new methods and devices have been put into practice with excellent results. Many of these have entailed very heavy work and great courage and devotion on the part of the personnel employed; but all demands have been met with unflinching cheerfulness and carried out with the greatest efficiency. Evidence of the serious casualties inflicted on the enemy by gas and kindred methods of offense continues to accumulate.

Field Survey Companies

Special mention again deserves to be made of the field survey companies, who throughout the year's operations have carried out their important functions with the utmost zeal and efficiency. With the assistance of the ordnance survey they have enabled an adequate supply of maps to be maintained in spite of the constant changes of the battle front. Their assistance has also been invaluable to our artillery in locating the enemy's new battery positions during the actual progress of battle.

The meteorological section has kept me furnished with valuable information concerning the probable course of the weather, in spite of the limited area from which the necessary data are now procurable.

Transportation Services

In describing the preparations for our offensives, constant reference has been made in the body of this dispatch to the work of the transportation services. The year has been one of rapid expansion in all branches of the various transportation services, and the manner in which the calls made upon them have been met is deserving of the highest praise.

During the present year the dock capacity allotted to the British armies in France has been thoroughly organized, and its equipment, efficiency of working, and capacity greatly improved. In the first nine months of this year the number of working cranes was more than doubled, and during the year the discharging capacity of the docks has proved equal to the maximum import requirements. The rate of discharge of vessels has been accelerated by 100 per cent., and the weekly average of ship-days lost has been reduced to nearly one-fifth of its January figures.

As regards railway expansion, the number of imported broad-gauge locomotives in traffic in France in October, 1917, was nearly ten times as great as at the end of 1916. The number of imported broad-gauge wagons in traffic shows a corresponding growth, and the necessary erecting and repairing shops for this increased rolling stock have been provided and equipped. Many hundred miles of broad-gauge track have been laid, also, both in immediate connection with our of-

fensives and for the general service of our armies.

The result of these different measures has naturally had a most marked effect upon the traffic-carrying capacity of the broad-gauge railway system as a whole. The average number of trains run daily during October, 1917, showed an increase of nearly 50 per cent. on the daily average for March.

Light railways have grown with a like rapidity, and the track operated at the end of October was already eight times as great as that working at the commencement of the year. During the same period the plant used in the making and upkeep of roads has been multiplied nearly seven times, rendering possible a very considerable improvement in the conditions of road transport. At the same time, the possibilities of inland water transport have been further developed, resulting in October, 1917, in an increase of 50 per cent. in the weekly traffic handled, as compared with the figures for January, 1917.

Forestry and Quarry Units

In the Spring of 1917 the activities of the army were extended by the formation of a forestry directorate, controlling Royal Engineer and Canadian forestry companies, to work certain forest areas in France and provide material for the use of our own and the French armies. Quarry companies have also been formed in immediate connection with the transportation services.

Some idea of the magnitude of the work involved can be gained from the fact that from quarries worked in a single locality over 600,000 tons of material were produced in the nine months ended Aug. 31, 1917. Between March and October of this year the total weekly output of road metal received in the army areas has nearly doubled. The average area of new and remade roads completed weekly during October was seven and a half times greater than the weekly average for March.

By September, 1917, the army had become practically self-supporting as far as regards timber, and during the active period of working, from May to October, over three-quarters of a million tons of timber were supplied for the use of the British Army. Included in this timber was material sufficient to construct over 350 miles of plank roads and to provide sleepers for 1,500 miles of railway, besides great quantities of sawn timber for hutting and defenses and many thousand tons of round timber for fascines and fuel. The bulk of the fuel wood is being obtained from woods already devastated by artillery fire.

These forestry and quarry units have proved of great value, and have been the source of very considerable economy. My special thanks are due to the French forestry authorities, as well as to the Comité Interallié des Bois de Guerre, for

their assistance in our negotiations regarding the acquisition of woods and forest areas.

Army Service Corps

The long period of active fighting, combined with the magnitude of our operations, has once more placed a heavy strain upon the personnel of the Army Service Corps and of the administrative services and departments generally. The difficulties of supply have been increased by the unavoidable congestion of the areas in which operations were taking place, as well as by the inevitable deterioration of roads and by long-distance shelling and bombing by the enemy.

In spite of all difficulties, the Army Service Corps has never failed to meet the needs of our troops in food, ammunition, material, and stores of all kinds. Particularly good work has been done by the motor transport drivers, who have shown the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty in getting forward the requisites of the army under heavy shellfire and during long hours of exposure.

Ordnance Corps

The energy and zeal of the Ordnance Corps have also been admirable. The intensity of our artillery preparations and bombardments has placed the heaviest demands upon the ordnance workshops in the repair and the overhauling of guns of all calibres. Work has been continued by day and night in order to keep our guns in action, and the unsparing efforts of officers and men have contributed in no small degree to the success of our operations.

Medical Services

The work of the medical service in all its branches has continued to afford me most valuable assistance. The high standard of efficiency displayed by all ranks of the medical service has resulted in an almost entire freedom from epidemic disease, and

has been the cause of much saving of life and limb among the wounded.

The devotion and gallantry of the Royal Army Medical Corps and of the Medical Corps of the overseas dominions during the recent operations have earned universal admiration and praise. Their work of collecting the wounded from the front has been of an exceptionally arduous nature, owing to the condition of the ground and weather. I regret that so many gallant officers and men have lost their lives in carrying out their duties.

The medical service of the United States of America has shared in the work of the British medical service and has given very valuable help.

I am much indebted to the devotion and work of the consulting surgeons and physicians and to the auxiliary services of the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

The nursing services, several of whose members have unfortunately lost their lives from hostile air raids, have, as always, devoted themselves with untiring care and zeal to their work of mercy.

The excellent organization and administrative work of the medical services as a whole have given me entire satisfaction.

The work of the Army Veterinary Corps and of the mobile veterinary sections has been ably carried out and has contributed largely to the general efficiency of the army.

The Chaplain's Department

I take this opportunity to express, on behalf of all ranks of the British armies in France, our great appreciation of the devotion and self-sacrifice of the army Chaplains serving in France. No considerations of personal convenience or safety have at any time interfered with their work among the troops, the value of which is incalculable.

Tribute to Commanders and Allies

My thanks are again due to the army commanders for the complete loyalty and conspicuous ability with which they have carried out my plans during the past year. The task of launching three great offensives on different sectors of the British front, in addition to the almost constant fighting that has taken place in the neighborhood of Lens, has demanded professional knowledge, determination, and soundness of judgment of a very high order on the part of the commanders of the armies concerned. It required, moreover, the most willing and unselfish co-operation between armies, and an absolute subservience of all personal interests to the common good.

In all these respects the different army commanders have most completely fulfilled the high standard of character and ability required of them.

In the heavy and responsible work which they have so admirably performed the army commanders have been most loyally supported and assisted by their staff officers and technical advisers, as well as by the commanders and staffs of the units serving under them.

Staff

My Chief of the General Staff, Lieut. Gen. Sir L. E. Kiggell, K. C. B.; my Adjutant General, Lieut. Gen. Sir G. H. Fowke, K. C. B., and my Quartermaster General, Lieut. Gen. Sir R. C. Maxwell, K. C. B., as well as the other officers of my staff and my technical advisers at General Headquarters and on the lines of communication, have given me the greatest and most valuable assistance. I am glad once more to place on record the debt that I owe to them.

The entire absence of friction or discord which characterized the work of all services and departments during the Somme battle has constituted a most pleasing feature of the operations of the past year. There could be no better evidence of the singleness of purpose and determination of the armies as a whole and no stronger guarantee of victory.

Acknowledgment to the Navy

(64) The debt which the army owes to the navy grows ever greater as the years pass, and is deeply realized by all ranks of the British armies in France. As the result of the unceasing vigilance of the navy, the enemy's hope that his policy of unrestricted submarine warfare would hamper our operations in France and Flanders has been most signally disappointed. The immense quantities of ammunition and material required by the army, and the large numbers of men sent to us as drafts, continue to reach us with unfailing regularity.

To Home Authorities

In this connection, I desire once more to record the obligation of the army in the field to the different authorities at home, both civil and military, and to the great mass of men and women in Great Britain and throughout the empire who are working with such loyalty to enable our manifold requirements to be met.

The confidence which is felt throughout the army that the enemy can and will be beaten is founded on the firm conviction that their own efforts in the field will be supported to the limits of their power and resources by all classes at home.

To Britain's Allies

At the close of another year of fighting in France and Belgium, it is a source of great gratification to me to be able to record that nothing has occurred to mar the happy relations existing between the allied armies, or between our troops and the civil population in France and Belgium.

The feelings of good-will and comradeship which existed between the French and British Armies on the Somme have been continued in Flanders, where the same excellent relations have characterized the combined operations of the Belgian, French, and British troops.

During the present year the Portuguese expeditionary force has taken its place in the line, and for many months has held a sector of the British front. Though they have not been engaged in major offensive operations, yet in a number of raids and minor engagements the officers and men of the Portuguese expeditionary force have shown themselves gallant and efficient soldiers.

During the present year, also, the United States of America has entered the war, and has taken up its part in it with all the well-known energy and ability of that great nation. Already many thousands of American soldiers are in France. Warm as is the welcome they have received from the French people, nowhere will they find a more genuine or a more friendly greeting than among all ranks of the other great English-speaking armies. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

D. HAIG, Field Marshal,

Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

Messages of King George and President Wilson

The following telegrams were exchanged by King George of England and the President of the United States:

Jan. 1, 1918.

On the occasion of the New Year I desire, Mr. President, to express to you my sincerest good wishes for your welfare and for the prosperity and success of the United States of America in the great undertaking to which they have set themselves under your leadership in support of the high principles of liberty and justice.

The powerful exertions which are being made by the great Republic which you represent afford the surest guarantee that

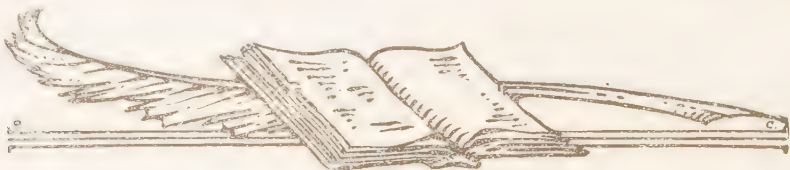
the high aims which we pursue in common will be happily achieved.

GEORGE R. I.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY

At this solemn hour, when the New Year looks upon a world red with the outpoured blood of the regeneration of the eternal rights of the peoples, and forecasts the happy achievement of universal safety and peace in the brotherhood of nations, your message comes to hearten the American people and strengthen their conviction of the righteousness of the great cause to which they have consecrated their lives and their national honor.

WOODROW WILSON.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Wheel of Time



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

CHRONOS: "I shall have to settle it for them, after all."

[Italian Cartoon]

The Colossus of Monte Grappo



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

GERMANY: "Der Teufel! I've been digging away here for two months, and have hardly made a dent."

ITALY: "You thought we were soft dough, but you have found we are granite."

[Russian Cartoon]

Hunger



—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd

Will he occupy the vacant throne?

[French Cartoon]

The Cannon, God of Death



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris

“Dear soul! You are the only one I love to kiss on the mouth!”

[French Cartoon]

The Airplane Goddess



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

The power that hovers high in air over the battlefields.

[English Cartoon]
Signs of the Times



—From *London Opinion*.
Our grocer takes a walk on Sunday.

[American Cartoon]

While the Shadow Lengthens



—From The New York Times.

[English Cartoon]

The Old Game of Bluff



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

OLD MAN DEUTSCH: "Himmel! Id looks like der Stars und Stripes!"

WILHELM: "Nonsense! Dey vos only some more contemptibles, ain't it, Hindy?"

HINDENBURG: "Ja wohl, All-Highest. Old man Deutsch vos a leedle bilious."

[English Cartoon]

The Insatiable Moloch



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

[American Cartoon]

Civilization Crucified!



—Chicago Herald.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Secret Diplomacy



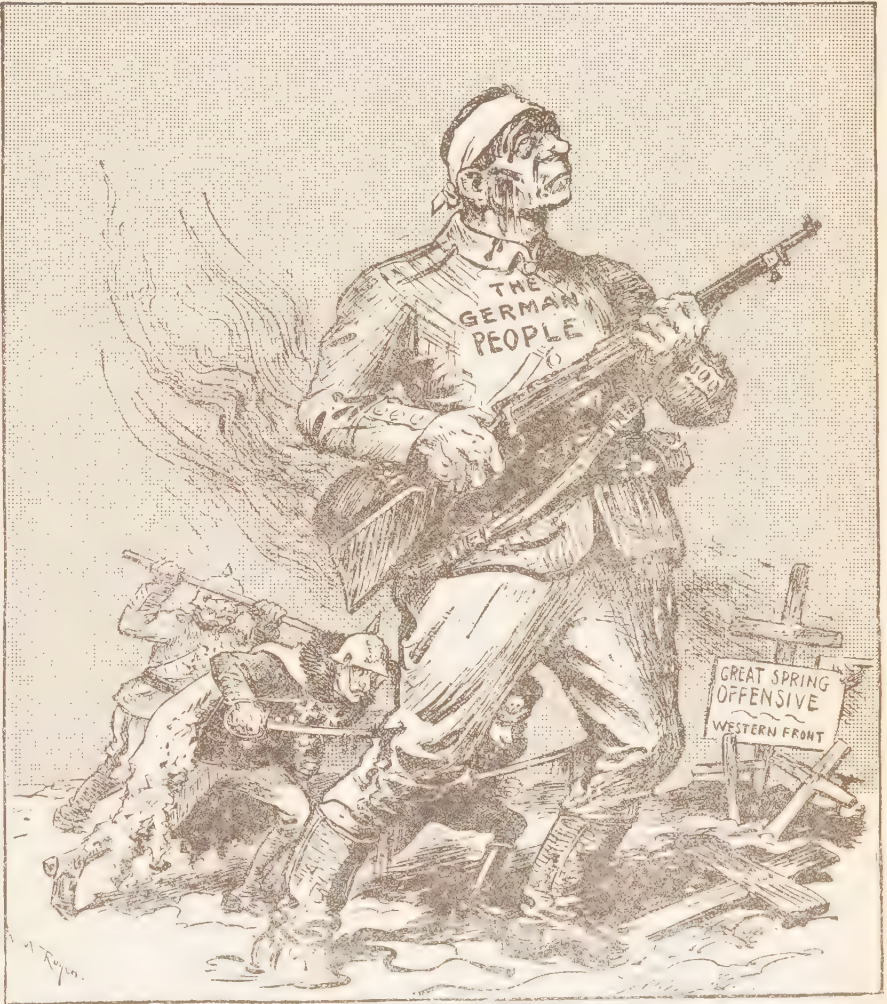
—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

“Never before was I as naked as this.”

[After publication of secret treaties at
Petrograd]

[American Cartoon]

Forward Mit Gott!

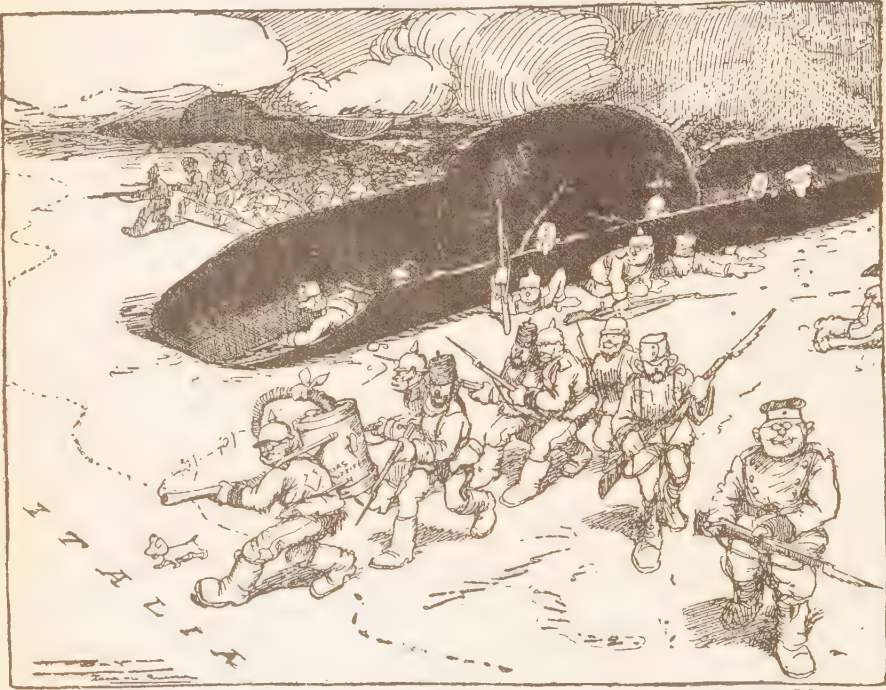


—From *The New York Herald*.

The great drive of 1918!

[Italian Cartoons]

The Boats on Which the Teutons Crossed the Isonzo



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

[One of many Italian cartoons in reply to an article in the Cologne Gazette, the German organ of the Jesuits, which declared that Italy was a vile traitor unfit to live. The "boats" are Jesuit hats.]

Obstacles on the Road to Venice



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

The riders thought the course was easy, but somehow the steeds think otherwise.

[Dutch Cartoons]

The Taking of Jerusalem



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

“Sound the Trumpet of Zion!”—Joel II., 1.

Russia's Peace Move



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

A place where extremes meet.

[American Cartoon]

“What Else Can I Do for You, Wilhelm?”



—From The Dayton News.

[American Cartoon]

Why He Always Falls Down



—From The Albuquerque Morning Journal.

[American Cartoon]

The Peacemaker



—From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

[American Cartoon]

Not to Say "Mein Gott!"



—Los Angeles Times.

[English Cartoon]

The Baited Peace Trap



—National News, London.

KAISER: "He nearly had me once—but I've nearly got him now." (But has he?)

[English Cartoon]

The Outcasts at Jerusalem

[English Cartoon]

The Wailers at the Wall



—Westminster Gazette.



—The People, London.

[American Cartoons]

To Have and to Hold



Camouflage



His Days of Real Sport



"Almost Thou Persuadest Me to be a Christian"



San Francisco Chronicle.

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Putting the Egg Back in the Shell



—Knickerbocker Press, Albany.

But Hohenzollernism won't go back into the Status Quo Ante.

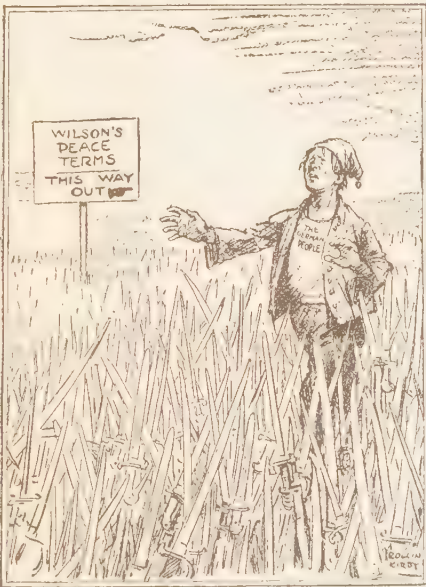
His God



—Providence Journal.

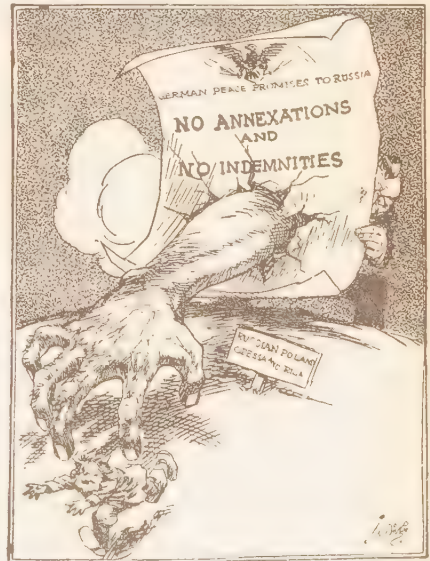
"Forward with God to Fresh Deeds and Fresh Victories!"

Will He See It?



—New York World.

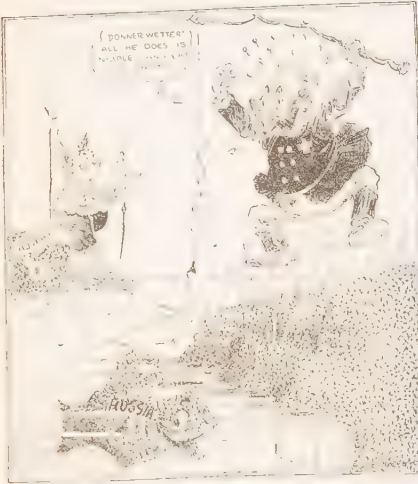
Another Scrap of Paper



—New York Tribune.

[American Cartoons]

Fisherman's Luck



—San Francisco Call-Post.

A Tailor's Trick



—San Francisco Call-Post.

"If You Want to do Business,
Call Off That Dog!"



—Baltimore American.

Look Oudt, Fritzie, der Ladder
Iss Shaking!



—Baltimore American.

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